His Royal Highness William
Duke of Glocester.

Printed for ... Gillyflower and L. Meredith.

THE

Royal Politician

REPRESENTED

IN

One Hundred Emblems.

Written in *Spaniſh* by

Don Diego Saavedra Faxardo,
Knight of the Order of St. *Jago*,
Plenipotentiary Ambaſſador

To the Cantons of *SWITZERLAND*,
At the Imperial Diet at *RATISBON*,
At the Famous Treaty of *MUNSTER*,
And of the Supreme Council of State for both the *INDIES*.

With a large Preface, containing an Account of the Author, his Works, and the Uſefulneſs thereof.

Done into *Engliſh* from the Original.

By Sir *J. A. STRY.*

VOL. I.

LONDON:

Printed for *Matt. Gylliflower* at the *Spread-Eagle* in *Weſtminſter-Hall:* And *Luke Meredith* at the *Star* in St. *Paul's* Church-Yard, MDCC.

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TO

His HIGHNESS

THE

Most Illustrious Prince,

WILLIAM,

Duke of *Gloceſter*.

May it pleaſe your Highneſs,

THE *Author of the enſuing Work, originally a* Spaniard, *was in his life-time, ſo highly eſteemed for his* Learning, Wiſdom, *and* Experience *in* State Affairs, *that he made no ſmall Figure in the greateſt* Courts *of* Europe. *Nor has this Off-ſpring of his Brain met with leſs favourable* Succeſs. *For having*

A *been*

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been tranſlated into ſeveral Languages, and in each often printed, it has been received with great Applauſe, and ever been honoured with the Protection of ſome Illuſtrious Young Prince.

But Precedent, Roval Sir, *is not my only Apology for this Preſumption; for were* Saavedra *now living, he might ſee his Theory reduced to Practice by the beſt of* Kings, *in the beſt of* Governments: *And though he has indeed given you excellent* Maxims, *ſupported by many eminent* Examples, *yet are there none ſo worthy your Imitation, as thoſe you may continually obſerve, in the Conduct and Bravery of that moſt Excellent* Prince, *your* Heroick *Uncle; the whole Series of whoſe Life as far ſurpaſſes Panegyrick, as the Greatneſs of his Soul abhors Flattery. And I was the rather induced to attempt this unpoliſhed Verſion, knowing that honeſt Plain-dealing and unbiaſſed Integrity, the two darling Miſtreſſes of our Author, could not be unacceptable in a Nation where they are ſo generally beloved, and in a Court where they are beyond*

Precedent,

Precedent, more peculiarly cheriſhed and maintain'd.

Your Royal Highneſs *will here find Diſcourſes, which I hope will not only be divertive to your Youth, but profitable even in your ripeſt Years; by reviving thoſe Seeds of* Honour *and* Virtue, *which are daily ſown by the pious Care and Example of Your moſt Illuſtrious Parents. You may here learn, not only the Duty of a* Prince, *but that alſo of an accompliſh'd* States-Man *and* Loyal Subject: *And if ever it ſhall pleaſe God to make You his Vicegerent, You may from hence (next to the Holy Scriptures) learn your Duty to him alſo,* by whom Kings Reign, and Princes decree Juſtice.

In fine: You have here a Compleat Syſtem of Religious Politicks, *which may guide You through all the Labyrinths of Government in this World, and crown You with immortality in that to come. But, pardon me,* Royal Sir, *I preſume not by this Addreſs to think, but that the niceſt Stroaks of our Author come far ſhort of Your* Highneſs's *blooming Virtue, but as near as Per-*

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ſection can be copied, this Work has a Right in Your Royal Highneſs, *it ſhewing not ſo much what You ſhould be, as (if we may Judge the enſuing Day by the Glorious Morn) what You will be, the beſt of Princes.*

But here I beg leave to retire, having already waded out of my Depth, Your Highneſs's *Praiſes being a Topick ſo profound, that in attempting them, I ſhould only trouble the* Stream *without hopes of ever plumbing the* Bottom. *The main Motives to this Dedication, were thoſe two inherent Paſſions of Mankind, eſpecially Writers,* Intereſt *and* Ambition; *the firſt in Regard to this Work, which has need of no leſs a Name, than that of Your* Royal Highneſs *to protect it; the laſt in reſpect to my ſelf, having none greater than to ſubſcribe my ſelf,*

Your Highneſs's moſt Faithful

and moſt Obedient Humble Servant,

J. A.

The Author *to the* Reader.

IN the toilſome Leiſure of my continual Travels over *Germany*, and ſeveral other Countries, I compos'd theſe Hundred Emblems; wherein you have an Idea of a Royal Chriſtian Politician, penning them down at vacant Intervals. Theſe I had meditated on in my Journeys upon the Road, as oft as that continual Intercourſe I had by Letters with his Catholick Majeſty and his Miniſters, and other publick Concerns incumbent on me, gave me Time and Leiſure. By Degrees the Work ſwell'd, and though I was well aſſured, it came far ſhort of Perfection, as not being compil'd with that continual Application of Thought, nor with that Accuracy and Labour corrected, as was requiſite to have rènder'd it agreeable in all its Parts, and an abſolutely perfect Piece; and that I would

would be thought Pride in me, to presume to prescribe Precepts to Princes (1): However, the Importunity of my Friends (who have ever great Influence over me) prevail'd upon me to publish it; in which also Self-love had some part, for we are generally as fond of the Products of our Brain, as of those of Nature. I write not this, *Reader*, to excuse my Errors, for that I can't do sufficiently, but that I may more easily obtain Pardon of those, who shall consider my Zeal, in having amidst such a Croud of Business, Fatigues, and Dangers, compil'd this Book; that if any Benefit might be reap'd from it, it might accrue to my Prince and Master; and least with me should die the Experience which I have acquir'd by a continued Exercise in Business for Four and thirty Years, which after five years Study in the University of *Salamanca*, I have pass'd in the principal Courts of *Europe*, always employ'd in Publick Affairs, having been at *Rome* at the Election of two Popes; at the Assembly of the Electoral Princes at *Ratisbone* when *Ferdinand* the Third, the present most August Emperor, was created King of the *Romans*; at Eight Diets in *Switzerland*; and lastly at the Imperial Diet at *Ratisbone*, being Plenipotentiary for the most Serene House and Circle of *Burgundy*. Wherefore, if any one of these Political Counsels or Precepts, shall be any ways beneficial to him who is happily born to govern both the Old and New World, I believe this Attempt will be excus'd.

Nor should any one be disgusted at the Use of Emblems, since God himself is the Author of them. The Brazen-Serpent (2), The Flaming-Bush (3), *Gideon's* Fleece (4), *Sampson's* Lion (5), The Priests Garments (6), The Amours of the kind Spouse (7), What are they else but Emblems?

It has been my chiefest Endeavour to have the Invention new; whether the Performance be answerable

(1) *Præcipere quàm debeat esse primeps, pulchrum quidem, & generosum, & prope superbum.* Plin. Jun. lib. 3. Epist. 18. (2) Numb. 21. (3) Exodus 3. (4) Judges 6. (5) Judges 14. (6) Exodus 28. (7) Song of Solomon.

I know

I know not. There have been many Ingenious Men, who have wrote upon the same Subject, and 'tis very obvious for different Persons to Jump upon the same Thoughts; which has been my Fortune, having afterwards met with in other Authors those Emblems which I at first thought my own Invention, which I therefore thought fit wholly to omit, not without Prejudice to my Design, for my Predecessors have made use of several Figures and Motto's, which has oblig'd me to take up with others less proper.

Also some Political Precepts, which though my own, as to the Invention at least, yet I have found since to be of other, and far more ancient Authority: I have therefore Inserted the Authors Names in the Margin, that due Honour may be paid to Antiquity. 'Twas the Happiness of the Wits of former Ages, that they could engross from their Posterity the Glory of Invention. I have made it my Design and Care, to Interweave this Web with some Threads of *Cornelius Tacitus*, without doubt the most accomplish'd Master of Princes, and who most judiciously penetrates their Nature, and the Customs and Intrigues of Courts, as also the Miscarriages and Success of Governments; with Precepts and Sentences taken from this Great Man, as with my Hand, I lead the Prince whom I would mould by these Emblems, that he may without danger, gather Flowers transplanted hither from another's Garden, and purg'd from the Venom and Thorns which their native Soil frequently subjects them to, or the rankness of those times produc'd. In this Second Edition, I also illustrate the principal Maxims of State, with Proofs from Holy the Scriptures; for those Politicks which are refin'd in that Furnace, may be truly call'd, Silver try'd and refined seven times in the Fire of Truth (8). And who would learn of a Heathen, or Impious Person, when the Holy Spirit is so ready to give Instruction?

(8) *Psalm* 12. 7. The Words of the Lord are pure Words, as Silver tried in a Furnace of Earth, purified seven times.

In explaining the Emblems, I am not too prolix, that the *Reader* may not loſe the Satisfaction of diſcovering their meaning of himſelf. If by Chance, in my Diſcourſe, I ſprinkle a little Learning, it is not out of Oſtentation, but to enlighten the Prince's Mind, and render the Inſtruction more agreeable.

The whole Work conſiſts purely of State Maxims and Rules, thoſe being the fitteſt Materials for ſuch a Politick Building; however I don't barely propoſe them, but intermix them with the whole Diſcourſe, applying them all along to particular Caſes, to avoid the Danger of general Precepts.

It has been alſo my Endeavour to render the Stile polite, but without Affectation; ſhort too and conciſe, but not obſcure; which in *Horace*'s Judgment was a difficult Matter (9), and of which I have not yet ſeen an inſtance in the *Caſtillian* Language. I have however made an Eſſay towards it, knowing that what is written to Princes ſhould be neither idly Sententious, nor ſuperfluouſly Copious. Their time is precious, and he does not a little obſtruct the Publick Intereſt, who with empty and frivolous Diſcourſe diverts them from Affairs of greater Importance.

I don't ſo wholly confine my ſelf to the Inſtitution and Direction of Princes, but that I alſo deſcend to Governments, reflect upon their Growth, Preſervation, and Fall; and ſo to frame a Miniſter of State, and a prudent Courtier.

If at any time I am liberal of my Commendations of any, 'tis to excite Emulation, not to Flatter, to which I am very averſe; for it were a Crime unpardonable to publiſh to the whole World, Flatteries, and thoſe too engraven in Braſs, or to make my ſelf guilty of the very ſame thing, which I ſo much reprove and diſcommend in others.

If I ſpeak the Truth with too much Freedom, 'tis to be imputed to Ambition, which is ſo deeply rooted in Mens minds, that without Fire and Sword 'tis incurable.

(9) *Brevis eſſe labore obſcurus fio, Hor.*

The

The Doctrine is general; but if any one ſhall from a Reſemblance of Vices, think himſelf levell'd at, or that what is blam'd in him is commended in others, 'tis not my Fault (10).

As alſo when I reprove Princes Actions, or reflect upon Tyrants, or only on the Nature of Sovereignty, it being no new or unuſual thing, for a good Prince to do ill, when either he is not clearly inform'd of the Truth, or governed by ill Counſellors.

The ſame I would have underſtood of Commonwealths, if in any thing I ſeem to diſlike them; for either my Reflections are upon what is very uſual in Communities, or at leaſt comprehend not thoſe crown'd and well conſtituted Republicks, whoſe Government is Generous and Royal.

I have us'd Examples, both Ancient and Modern; thoſe for their Authority, theſe partly as being more perſuaſive, partly too, becauſe by Reaſon of Propinquity of time, the State of Affairs is leſs altered, and conſequently may with leſs Danger be imitated, and a Prudent and Politick Judgment may more ſafely be formed thereon, which is the principal Advantage of Hiſtory. Nor is our Age ſo barren of virtuous and great Atchievements, as not to have furniſh'd us and our Poſterity with good Examples (11). Beſides, really it were black and envious in us to extol ancient, without the leaſt regard to modern Actions (12).

I am well aſſur'd, *Reader*, that Books of this nature which treat of State Affairs, are like † *Statues*, which in running at the *Quintin*, all aim at with their Lances, all ſtrike. I well know that whoever deſigns to be an Author, muſt ſubmit to the Black Ink, and Preſs of Detraction, (which I deſign'd to ſignify by this Emblem;) but withal I am not ignorant, that the blacker that Ink, with which the Letters are daub'd, and the cloſer the Preſs wherewith they are preſs'd, the fairer afterwards, and more conſpicuous they appear.

(10) Tac. 4. ann. *Qui ab ſimilitudinem alienæ malefacta ſibi objectari putant.* (11) Tac. 4. Hiſt. (12) Ibid. † *Eſtafermes.*

THE

THE TRANSLATOR TO THE READER.

I *Will not endeavour with Rhetorical Flouriſhes to captivate any Perſon into a good Opinion of my Author, or his Work, being ſenſible I ſhould therein do an Injury to his Memory, who has ſo often declared his Averſion to Flattery. I only deſire the* Reader *to remember always that he was by Birth a* Spaniard, *and though Educated in the Church of* Rome, *was by Profeſſion a Lawyer and Stateſman, who being generally wiſer, are leſs bigotted to the fooliſh Principles and Practices of that Religion. However, as I think it on the one Hand needleſs to vindicate the Illuſtrious Houſe of* Naſſau *from his partial Reflections, (which were modiſh in the* Spaniſh *Court when he wrote* (1)*) the whole World being ſatisfied in the Juſtice of their Cauſe, the Heroick Proſecution thereof, and what Additional Laurels they juſtly acquir'd thereby; ſo on the other ſide, I would not be thought to recommend his Religion either to Prince or People. We too lately eſcaped the Snare, to be again entangled with the Knaveries or Fooleries, to ſay no worſe, of the Church or Court of* Rome; *and next under God muſt own our ſole Deliverance to a Branch of that Ancient and Imperial Family, our preſent Gracious Sovereign.*

(1) The firſt Edition that I know of, was at *Munſter*, *Anno* 1642. which being near ſix Year before the Concluſion of the Peace there, may ſerve as ſome Apology for the Author's Reflections on the Princes of *Orange*, and other Heroes of the Adverſe Party.

Theſe

These Precautions being observed, I humbly presume this Book will be of excellent Use to all Ingenuous Persons of what Degree or Quality soever. For though by the Title it seems calculated for the Meridian of Kings and Princes only, yet it in some measure comprehends all Persons within the Circumference of their Dominions.

The Statesman and Politician may herein learn what Qualifications they ought to be endowed with for Negotiations, either at Home, or in Foreign Courts; how by avoiding the Vices usually attending their High Stations, and embracing the contrary Virtues, they may render their Actions meritorious to their Prince or Country.

The Officers and Soldiers of an Army may here without Danger behold the Methods and Stratagems their Predecessors have used to Conquer their Enemies, and learn that their greatest Interest consists in good Order and Discipline, and absolute Obedience to their Superiors, that Vice is as pernicious in a Camp as a Court, and that Bravery and Virtue in Conjunction merit the greatest Reward and Affection from their Prince or Country.

The Merchants and Seamen may here behold the vast Advantage, their Profession is to a Government, and how Ships are the Moveable Poles, on which the Stability thereof depends.

In fine, all Persons of Learning, Sense, or Reason, may from many excellent Precepts and eminent Examples contain'd therein, improve and refine their Talents to the greatest Advantage imaginable, remembring always my previous Caution to avoid some few mistaken Aphorisms of his Religion and Country.

Our Celebrated Author, Don Diego Saavedra Faxardo, *Knight of the Order of St.* Jago, *was Born of a Noble Family of* Murcia *in* Spain. *He was the Son of* Peter de Saavedra *and* Fabiana Faxardo, *who was also of Noble Extraction. He was Educated in the University of* Salamanca, *in the Profession of the Laws, wherein he became very Eminent, especially in those Parts thereof which are requisite for the Accomplishment of an Absolute Politician and Compleat Statesman. From thence he was chosen Secretary to Cardinal* Gaspar

Gaſpar Borgia, *Vice-Roy of* Naples, *and ſoon after Reſident for his Catholick Majeſty at* Rome; *where his Conduct gain'd him ſo great Applauſe, that he was ſent on the ſame Imploy into* Switzerland: *After that, he was Plenipotentiary-Ambaſſador at two Imperial Diets at* Ratisbone; *and then commanded to aſſiſt* Don Gaſpar de Bracamont, Count de Pennecranda, *at the famous Treaty of* Munſter, *where he gave ſignal Demonſtration of his great Experience and Dexterity in the Management of the moſt difficult Affairs of State. At his Return he ſate in the Supreme Council for the Government of both the* Indies; *in which Imploy he died at* Madrid *in the Year* 1648. *All that I know more of him, you may find in his own* Preface, *to which, for brevity ſake I refer you* (2).

The greatneſs of his Perſonal Character and Reputation, and of this Book in particular, are too well-eſtabliſh'd in the World to require any Panegyricks on either; but if the Reader *deſire to ſee how this Work was admired by ſome of the moſt Learned of the Age, let him read the Epiſtles prefix'd to the* Latin *Verſion thereof. His Religious Temper more particularly appears in the great Veneration he always ſhews for the Holy Scripture, and his apt Application thereof; and his Politicks no leſs by being ſo well read in* Tacitus, *the Great Maſter thereof. Were that Excellent* Roman *now living, he could not but be pleaſed, to ſee the Roughneſs and Crabbedneſs of his Stile ſo finely poliſh'd, without Diminution to the profoundneſs of his Senſe and Judgment, in our* Engliſh *Verſion; though in the Annotations thereof, he would find himſelf Rival'd, if not excell'd by a Modern Politician. But there is no greater Argument to prove the general Approbation and kind Reception thereof, than the various Editions in ſeveral Languages, beſides the Original, as* Latin, French, Italian, Portugeſe, *and* High-German. *To enumerate the particular Times and Places of each Impreſſion would be ſuperfluous, were they all known to us. Let it ſuffice to inform you, that*

(2) Nic. Antonio's Bibliotheca Scrip. Hiſpan.
Miræus's Bibliotheca Eccleſiaſt.
Moreri's Great Dictionary.

the Impreſſion of the Original we chiefly made uſe of in this Verſion, is the Fourth Edition, Printed at Valencia, 1660. *as being the moſt Correct we could meet with. He wrote alſo a Book, Entituled,* Corona Gothica, Caſtellanice, & Auſtriaca Politicamente Illuſtrada, *Printed at* Madrid, 1650. *though, as ſome ſay, he died before he had compleated it.*

And here I cannot but obſerve how diſingenuous (to ſay no worſe) the Italian *and* French *Tranſlators, or rather Corruptors, of our Author have been, eſpecially the laſt, who not content only to omit whole Pages and Sections, very material to the Purpoſe, have foiſted in their own fulſome Flatteries inſtead thereof, baſely perverting his very Senſe and Meaning, to comply with the Intereſt and Ambition of particular Perſons or Governments. So dangerous a Thing is Truth in ſome Nations. But we have choſe rather to draw the Copy after the full Proportion of the Original, being ſatisfied we have the Happineſs to live in ſo well Conſtituted a Government, and under ſo Excellent a King, that Truth and Integrity are now become the great Accompliſhments of a Courtier.*

Our Author taking occaſion ſo often to mention Alphonſus *the Wiſe, I preſume it will not be thought unneceſſary, or be unacceptable to ſome* Readers, *to give a ſhort Account of him. He was the Tenth of that Name, King of* Leon *and* Caſtile, *and was alſo Sirnamed the Aſtrologer, and ſucceeded his Father,* Ferdinand *the Third,* 1252. *He made the Aſtronomical Tables, ſtill Extant, which are called from his Name,* Tabulæ Alphonſinæ; *and 'tis certainly affirm'd, That he ſpent* 400000 *Crowns in the Compoſition of them. He refuſed the Imperial Crown of* Germany, *which was offered him after the Rejection of* Richard, *Duke of* Cornwall, *contenting himſelf only with the Title of Emperor, which ſome ſay he reſigned to Pope* Gregory *the Tenth, whereof he repented, and would have reaſſumed the Imperial Title and Arms; but was deterred for fear of an Excommunication againſt him. He was ſucceſsful againſt the* Moors; *but at length detbron'd by his own Son* Sancho, *and died for Grief in* Anno 1284. *In a great Sickneſs, after many*

Remedies

Remedies uſed in vain; he began to read Quint. Curtius's *Hiſtory of* Alexander *the Great, which he did with ſo much Delight, that he recovered his Health; whereupon he ſaid, Farewell Avicen, Hippocrates,* and the whole Croud of *Doctors,* give me my *Curtius* that hath ſaved my Life. *He had read the Bible fourteen Times, with ſeveral Commentaries upon it; he was a great Aſtrologer, and after he had deeply conſidered the Fabrick of the World, the following ſaying of his, reported by* Lipſius, *denotes him to have been none of the moſt Pious; viz.* That if God had adviſed with him in the Creation, he could have given him good Counſel (3).

By the Great Captain, often alſo mentioned, is meant Gonzales of Cordova, *who ſerved under* Ferdinand *and* Iſabella, *in the Conqueſt of* Granada, *and was very famous in his Time.*

It may perhaps, according to Cuſtom, be expected we ſhould give ſome Account of the preſent Performance; but that indeed is a very tickliſh Point; for to Commend, or even Juſtify it would favour of Vanity; and to diſcover its Imperfections, would be very diſobliging to our Friends, *the* Bookſellers. *I ſhall therefore in the Words of an Ingenuous and Judicious Author* (4), *deſire you to conſider, That there are certain Graces and Happineſſes, peculiar to every Language which give Life and Energy to the Words. And whoſoever offers at a Verbal Tranſlation, ſhall have the Misfortune of that Young Traveller, who loſt his own Language abroad, and brought home no other inſtead thereof. For the Grace of the* Spaniſh *will be loſt by being turned into* Engliſh *Words; and the Grace of the* Engliſh *by being turned into* Spaniſh *Phraſe. However we have endeavoured to come as near the Senſe of the Original, as we could, without offering to be* Fidi Interpretes, *that properly belonging to thoſe who Tranſlate Matters of Faith, or ſuch Facts of Moment as have Relation thereunto.*

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(3) Mariana Hiſt. Hiſp. Turquet. Roderick Geneb. Spond. Bzovius.

(4) Sir *John Denham.*

The Reader *is desired to take notice that our Author, as all others of his Religion, makes use of the Vulgar Translation in his Quotations out of the Holy Scripture, which in many Places is so different from the* English *Version, that they are not applicable to the Purpose for which he Quotes them. For Instance the Seventy eighth Emblem is a Syren or Mermaid, and the Motto,* Formosa Superne. *In the beginning thereof, he quotes Isaiah* 13. 22. Et Sirenes in delubris voluptatis, *which we Translate,* and Dragons in their pleasant Places. *How beautiful they are, unless we do them wrong, I leave you to judge. The Fifty fifth Emblem, is a Hand holding a Scepter full of Eyes; the Motto,* His Prævide & Provide. *He there quotes* Jeremiah 1. 11. *where the Vulgar has* Virgam vigilantem ego video; *the* English, I see the Rod of an Almond Tree; *which literally taken, is little to his Purpose, and therefore we leave it in the Sense he took it. The Word in the* Hebrew, *is* Saked, *for an Almond Tree, and Verse the* 12*th*, Then said the Lord unto me, thou hast well seen, for I will hasten my Word to perform it. *The Almond Tree is there mentioned as an Emblem of Hast; the word* Saked, *an Almond Tree, alluding to* Sakad, *a Word which signifies making Haste. Nor is the Allusion frivolous, for* Pliny *says,* Floret omnium prima Amygdala, mense Januario, Martio veró Poma maturat. *Lib.* 16. c. 25. (5).

Now, if any Person thinks himself represented herein, and likes not his Picture, let him consider he sate not for it, and if he finds any Strokes too Bold, let him not blame the Artist, but amend the Original. As for that little Popery that is in it, it has been so solidly confuted by many Eminent Divines of the Church of England, *and so ridicul'd by others, that I presume, it cannot have the least Influence on the meanest Protestant of the Nation. In Answer to what he reflects on some of his Majesty's Heroick Ancestors, (if it may not rather be called an* Encomium) *I refer the* Reader *to that most Excellent and Unanswerable Apology,*

(5) Bochartus's Geograph. Sacra. Phaleg, lib. c. 1. Canaan, lib. 1. c. 33.

wrote

wrote by the Prince of Orange *himself, and publiſhed in all Languages. And for a Concluſion, accept of the following Epigram, by an unknown Hand, repreſenting that Illuſtrious Prince, as Prophetically, ſpeaking to* William *the Third, our preſent Gracious Sovereign.*

Naſſovius Cœli miratus ab Arce Nepotem
Ad Summum tantis paſſibus ire Decus;
Macte, inquit, ſanguis noſter; tibi cedimus ultrò,
Quandoquidem cedunt Terra Freumque tibi.
Me Duce parta meis Libertas priſtina Belgis,
Orbis Hyperboreus, te Duce, liber erit.

In *Engliſh.*

When Naſſau *from the Skies beheld his Son,*
With ſuch large Steps the Race of honour Run;
Proceed, my Boy, proceed with joy, ſaid He;
I do, ſince Earth and Sea ſubmit to thee.
I only to my Country *freedom gave,*
You will the Northern World *from Bondage ſave.*

THE

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OF THE EDUCATION OF A PRINCE.

EMBLEM I.

VAlour is born, not acquired; 'tis an intrinsick Quality of the Soul which is infused with it, and immediately exerts it self: The very Mothers Womb was a Field of Battel to the Two Brothers, *Jacob* and *Esau* (1). Of *Thamar*'s Twins, one

(1) And the Children struggled together within her, *Gen.* 25.22.

by Nature more daring, when he could not be Born before his Brother, broke however the Ligature, and thruſt out his Hand, as if he would ſnatch the Eldership from him (2). A great Soul exerts it ſelf in the Cradle: *Hercules* Crowned by the Conqueſt of Two Serpents, from that day expoſing himſelf to Envy, and making Fortune truckle to his Vertue. A generous Spirit is conſpicuous in the very firſt Actions of Nature. The Infant of *Spain*, your Highneſs his Uncle of Bleſſed Memory, ſaw the Battel of *Norlinguen* almoſt even before he knew what War was, and even then knew how to Command with Prudence and Act with Vigour.

Cyrus, a very Boy when Elected King by thoſe of his own Age, did in that Childiſh Government ſuch Heroick Actions, as ſufficiently manifeſted his ſecret Greatneſs of mind and Royal Genius, Natures moſt excellent Productions are themſelves their own Diſcoverers. Amidſt the rude and unrefined maſs of Oar, the Diamond ſparkles, and Gold gliſters. The Young Lion as ſoon as whelp'd, views his Paws, and with a haughty Mein, ſhakes his curled Main ſcarce yet dry, as preparing to Fight. Childiſh Games, to which Princes are carried by a natural Impulſe, are Signs and prognoſticks of maturer Actions. Nature is never ſo much as a Moment idle, but from the very Birth of it's Off-ſpring is induſtrious in a regular Formation of its Mind as well as Body; for this Reaſon, ſhe has ſtampt ſuch an extraordinary Affection upon Parents to excite their Diligence in well Educating their Children; and leaſt they ſhould (which is no unuſual thing) with a ſtrange Nurſes Milk, imbibe alſo her Vicious Practices, the ſame Nature, provident in her Diſtributions, has diſpenced as it were a double Fountain of purer Blood, to ſupply them with Nouriſhment for their Young Ones: But either Idleneſs, or fear of

(2) And it came to paſs when ſhe travailed, that the one put out his hand firſt, *Geneſ.* 38. 28.

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loſing their Beauty, is frequently the occaſion why Mothers (not without conſiderable Detriment to the Commonwealth) neglect their Duty, and give the ſuckling of their Children to others; which Abuſe, ſince it cannot ſo eaſily be remedied, at leaſt great care ſhould be taken in the Choice of them. *Let them be Healthy, of a good Family, and well bred; for as from the Conception to the Birth the Child is nouriſhed in the Body of its Mother, ſo is it from its Birth till 'tis weaned, by the Nurſe's Breaſt, and this laſt Interval being longer than the other, the Child muſt of Neceſſity imbibe more of the Nature of its Nurſe than its Mother,* Says the Wiſe King *Alphonſo*, who preſcribed Laws to Heaven and Earth.

The Second Obligation Parents lie under, is the Education of their Children (3): there's ſcarce any Animal will forſake its Young Ones without Direction given how to provide for themſelves. Nor are the Advantages of Education leſs conſiderable than thoſe of Nature, and Children are more ready to embrace their Parents inſtructions and bear their Reproofs, than thoſe of others (4): Thoſe particularly who are nobly born diſdain to be govern'd by their Inferiours. In a Childs firſt Procreation, it Received nothing from the Father but a Body, for God alone is the Authour of the Soul, which except the Father afterwards Cultivates and improves by Education (5), he will ſcarce deſerve the name of a true and abſolute Father. Nor is it new in holy Scripture for a Maſter to be called Father. For Example, *Jubal* the firſt Teacher of Muſick (6). And who, I pray, is fitter to Teach his Son how to appear with Majeſty, how to keep a Decorum in all things, Maintain his Authority, and govern his Subjects, than the Prince himſelf (7)? He only has the full practick

(3) Haſt thou Children, inſtruct them. *Eccleſ.* 7. 23. (4) *Educati ſiquidem recte à parentibus, per ſanctas & juſtas mores boni merito evadent. Ariſtot. Oecon. lib.* 2. (5) Wiſdom exalteth her Children. *Eccleſ.* 4. 12. (6) He was the Father of all ſuch as handle the harp and Organ, *Gen.* 4. 21. (7) My Son, give me thine heart, and let thine Eyes obſerve my ways. *Prov.* 23. 26.

Knowledge of Government, which others know only in part and by Speculation: Nor without reaſon did *Solomon* boaſt that he Received great Improvement from his Fathers Inſtructions (8); however ſince Fathers ſometimes have not themſelves the Qualifications requiſite for a good Education of their Children, or at leaſt have not leiſure to take that Trouble upon them, Maſters muſt be looked for of an unblamable Life and Converſation; eminent withall for Learning and Experience (9); ſuch as King *Alphonſo* in his Laws deſcribes in theſe Words. *So that for all theſe reaſons, Kings ought to take great care of their Children, and to chooſe them Tutours of a good Family and good Livers, ſound both in Mind and Body, and above all faithfull and juſt, firm to the Intereſt of their King and Country.* To which I add, that they ought to be Men of Valour and a great Spirit, well Experienced in Affairs, as well of Peace as War, ſuch was *Seneca*, whom therefore *Agrippina* made Choice of for *Nero*'s Maſter (10). 'Tis impoſſible, without doubt, for a Man of an abject and mean Spirit to imprint on a Prince thoughts more ſublime than his own. Were an Owl to inſtruct an Eagle, ſhe would not teach her to look on the Sun, or ſoar above lofty Cedars; her School would be kept altogether in the dark, amidſt the lower Branches. The Maſter's Image appears in the Scholar, and in him, he in a manner Repreſents himſelf. For no other reaſon did *Pharaoh* make *Joſeph* Lord of his houſe, and Ruler of all his ſubſtance, but to teach his Princes to be like himſelf (11). Thoſe who have the tuition and government of Princes Sons, ought to be as careful of their tender years, as Gardi-

(8) For I was my Father's Son, tender and only belov'd of my Mother; he taught me alſo, and ſaid, Let thine heart retain my words. *Prov.* 4. 3. (9) *Quarendi ſunt liberis Magiſtri, quorum & inculpata ſit vita & mores.* Plut. de Educ. (10) *Utq; Domitii pueritia tali Magiſtro adoleſceret; & conſiliis ejuſdem ad ſpem dominationis uteretur.* Tac. 12. Ann. (11) And he made him Lord of his houſe, and ruler of his ſubſtance: To bind his Princes at his pleaſure: and teach his Senatours wiſdom, *Pſal.* 105. 21, 22.

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ners are of their moſt delicate Plants, which even before they appear above ground; they ſecure with Fences to prevent their being injured, by treading on, or handling. On the firſt ſtroak depends the Perfection of a Picture, ſo does a good Education on what the firſt years have imbibed, before the paſſions get ſtrength and refuſe to ſubmit to reaſon (12). From a very minute Seed a vaſt Tree proceeds, which however ſmall a twig at firſt, and eaſily flexible every way, when 'tis inveſted with Bark, and has diffuſed it ſelf into Branches, ſtands immoveable. The affections in youth are not much unlike poiſon, which having once made its paſſage into the Heart, leaves the paleneſs conſequent to it incurable. Vertues that improve and increaſe with our Age have not only the precedency of others, but excell even themſelves (13). Of the four Winged Animals in *Ezekiel*'s Viſion, the Eagle, one of that very number, was carried higher than all thoſe four (14), for becauſe ſhe as ſoon as hatcht began to have Wings, the others not till long after, ſhe not only appeared above them, but her ſelf too. For want of a ſuitable conſideration of this, I Imagine it is that many perſons uſually commit the Care of their Sons as ſoon as they come into the World, to Women, who with the idle fear of ſhadows, agreeable to the genius of their Sex, enfeeble their minds, and ſtamp other Effœminate paſſions on them, which with time take deep root (15). To avoid this inconveniency, the *Perſian* Kings Commited theirs to the care of perſons of worth and prudence (16). But above all, Children's natures are

(12) Bow down his neck while he is young, and beat him on the ſides while he is a Child, leaſt he wax ſtubborn, and be diſobediene to thee, and ſo bring ſorrow to thine heart. *Eccleſ.* 30. 12. (3) It is good for a Man that he bear the Yoke in his Youth, he ſitteth alone, and keepeth ſilence, becauſe he hath born it upon him, *Lam.* 3. 27, 28. (14) They four had alſo the face of an Eagle. *Ezek.* 1. 10. (15) Train up thy child in the way he ſhould go: and when he is old he will not depart from it. Prov. 22. 6. (16) *Nutritur puer non à Matre nutrice parum honorifica, verum ab Eunuchis, qui reliquorum circa Regem optimi videantur*, Plut. primo Alcib.

to be taken particular notice of, it being impoſſible without it to draw a true Scheme of Education.

Now no Age is more proper for it than their infancy, when nature as yet free from envy and diſſimulation (17), ſincerely diſcloſes it ſelf; when in their Forehead, Eyes, Hands, their Smiles and other motions of their Body, their paſſions and inclinations appear without diſguiſe. The Ambaſſadours of *Bearn* having power given them by the illuſtrious *William* of *Moncada* to Chooſe which of his Sons for their Prince they thought fit; upon obſervation, that Ones hand was Clinched, the others open, Choſe this latter, interpreting it to be a ſign of Munificence and Liberality, as it afterwards prov'd. If an Infant be of a generous and great Mind, at hearing his own commendations he ſmooths his Brows, looks pleaſantly and ſmiles; on the contrary, when diſcommended, he is concerned, bluſhes and caſts his Eyes on the ground; if of an undaunted Spirit, he looks ſtern, is not terrified with ſhadows or threats; if Liberal, he deſpiſes toyes and preſents, or readily parts with them again to others; if revengeful, he continues Angry, is all in Tears till he have ſatisfaction; if he be Cholerick, the leaſt trifle puts him in a heat, he lets fall his Brows, looks dogged, and threatens with his fiſt; if Affable, with a ſweet Smile and alluring Eye, he wins favour and acceptance; if Melancholy, he avoids Company, delights in ſolitude, is often complaining, ſeldom Laughs, and generally looks ſullen; if he be Airy, he unfolds the Wrinkles of his Forehead, and now gratefully fixing his Eyes ſeems to dart a pleaſing light, by and by with a kind of Complacency withdrawing them, and agreeably pleating his brows, betrays the Chearfulneſs of his Mind. Thus does the heart repreſent the other Vertues alſo, and vices in the face and exterior motions of the Body, till more cautious Age has taught it to Conceal them.

(17) *Juvenes non ſunt maligni moris, ſed facilis moris, propterea quod nondum viderunt nequitias.* Arist.

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In the very Cradle and Nurſe's Arms, the whole Court admired in your Highneſs, a certain natural pleaſantneſs and grateful Majeſty, and indeed that grave carriage and preſence of Mind which appeared in your Highneſs, when the Two Kingdoms of *Caſtile* and *Leon* took an Oath of Allegiance to you, exceeded the ordinary capacity of your years.

I would not have however, theſe reflections of mine upon infancy be look'd upon as infallible and without exception, for nature ſometimes deviates from her Common Road, and deceives the too curious Enquirer, there are ſome, who tho' vitious in their infancy, when at years of diſcretion take up and Reform, which happens perhaps, becauſe one of a great and haughty Spirit deſpiſes Education, and conſequently is ſubdued by his natural paſſions, while right reaſon is too weak to reſiſt them, till that getting ſtrength He acknowledges its errours and corrects them effectually: 'twas a cruel and barbarous Cuſtom therefore of the *Brachmans*, who either killed or expoſed their Children after they were Two Months Old in the Woods, if there appeared in them any tokens of an ill nature. As inhumane were the *Lacedæmonians* who threw theirs into the River *Taygetes*. Both ſeemed to make no account of Education, of right reaſon and free-will which uſually correct and regulate natural affections. This alſo ſeems unaccountable, when nature joyns ſome eminent Vertues with the moſt enormous Vices in the ſame perſon; as too different ſlips are often grafted upon two branches, which growing out of the ſame Root produce different, nay contrary Fruits, bitter and ſweet.

This was Viſible in *Alcibiades* of whom 'twas a queſtion whether he was more eminent for his Vertues or Vices. And thus Nature works ere ſhe has begun to know her ſelf, but reaſon afterwards and induſtry correct and poliſh her operations.

Laſtly ſince I propoſed to my ſelf by theſe Emblems to give an exact Model of a Prince from the Cradle to the Tomb, It won't be amiſs to accommodate my rudi-

ments and ſtile to each particular Age, as *Plato* and *Ariſtotle* have done. At preſent, I Adviſe that ſpecial Care be taken to render his Arms and Legs active by Exerciſe. If by chance any of his Limbs ſhould be crooked they may be ſtraightned by artificial Inſtruments (18). Let frightful ſpectacles which may injure the imaginative faculty be kept from him: Let him not be ſuffered to look aſquint at any thing: Uſe him gradually to the ſharpneſs of the Air, nor ſhould Muſick be Wanting to quicken his Spirits now and then: for whatever new thing Children meet with, that 'tis they admire, that makes the deepeſt Impreſſion on their Imagination.

(18) *Caterum ne propter teneritatem membra torqueantur, nationes quibuſdam artificioſis inſtrumentis utebantur.* Ariſt. lib. 7. Pol. cap. 17.

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EMBLEM II.

WIth Pencil and Colours Art admirably Expreſſes every thing. Hence, if Painting be not Nature, it certainly comes ſo near it as that often its works deceive the ſight, and are not to be diſtinguiſhed but by the touch. It can't, it's true, animate Bodies, but it frequently draws the Beauty, Motions and Affections of the Soul. Altho' indeed it cannot intirely form the Bodies themſelves for want of matter, yet the Pencil ſo exquiſitely deſcribes them on Canvaſs, that beſides Life there's nothing that you can deſire more. Nature I believe would envy Art if ſhe could poſſibly do the ſame, but now ſhe is ſo kind, as in many things to uſe the Aſſiſtance of Art; for whatever the Induſtry of this can perfect, that Nature does not finiſh her ſelf. Thus we ſee man is born without any manner of knowledge or propriety of ſpeech, inſtruction and learning being left to draw the lineaments of

of Arts and Sciences on his mind as on a blank Canvaſs, and Education to Imprint morality thereon, not without great advantage to humane Society; for hence it comes to paſs that by One mans having Occaſion for the Aſſiſtance of another, the bonds of gratitude and affection are ſtrengthened: for Nature has ſown the ſeed of Vertue and knowledge in all of us, we are equally born to thoſe goods of the mind, which muſt be cultivated and quicken'd by ſome other hand (1). But 'tis neceſſary theſe meaſures be taken in the tender years, while the mind is fitter to Receive all manner of forms, ſo readily apprehenſive of ſciences as to appear rather to remember than firſt learn them; which *Plato* made uſe of as an argument to prove the immortality of the Soul (2); but if this be neglected in the firſt Age, the affections by degrees get ground, and their depraved inclinations make ſo deep an impreſſion upon the will as no Education can efface. The Bear no ſooner whelps but licking the limbs of her deformed Litter while they are ſoft, perfects and brings them to ſhape, whereas if ſhe ſuffered them to grow firm her pains would be ineffectual. It was wiſely done (in my Judgment) of the Kings of *Perſia* to Commit their Sons in their Infancy to Maſters, whoſe care it ſhould be for the firſt ſeven years of their life to Organize their Bodies: In the ſecond to ſtrengthen them by uſing them to fencing and the like Exerciſes. To theſe they after added four ſelect Perſons to give the finiſhing ſtroaks; the firſt eminent for Learning, made 'em Scholars; the ſecond a diſcreet, ſober man, taught them to govern and bridle their appetites; the third a Lover of Equity, inculcated the Adminiſtration of Juſtice; laſtly the fourth eminently Valiant and Experienced in Warfare, inſtructed them in Mili-

(1) *Omnibus natura fundamenta dedit, ſemenque virtutum, omnes ad iſta omnia nati ſumus; cum irritator acceſſit, tunc illa animi bona, velut ſopita excitantur.* Sen. Epiſt. 10. (2) *Ex hoc poſſe cognoſci animas immortales eſſe, atque diuinas, quod in pueris mobilia ſunt ingenia, & ad percipiendum facilia.* Plat. de An.

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tary Diſcipline, eſpecially endeavouring by incentives to Honour, to divert their minds from fear and Cowardice. But this good Education is particularly neceſſary in Princes as they are the Inſtruments of Politick happineſs and publick ſafety. In others the neglect of a good Education is only prejudicial to ſingle perſons or at leaſt influences very few: but in a Prince 'tis not only againſt his private, but every ones common intereſt, whilſt ſome he injures immediately by his Actions, others by his Example. Man well Educated is the moſt divine Creature in the World; If ill, of all animals the moſt ſavage (3). What, I pray, can you expect from a Prince who is ill Educated, and has got the ſupreme power in his hands? other evils of a Common wealth are of no long continuance, this never terminates but with the Princes life. Of what Importance a good and honourable Education is, *Philip* King of *Macedon* was ſenſible, declaring in his Letters to *Ariſtotle* upon the Birth of his Son *Alexander* his Obligation to the Gods, not ſo much for giving him a Son, as that he was born at a time when he could make uſe of ſuch a Maſter, and 'tis certainly never convenient to leave nature otherwiſe good, to her ſelf and her own operations, ſince the beſt is imperfect and requires ſome external induſtry to cultivate it, as indeed do moſt things neceſſary for man's well being. The puniſhment derived to us by the fault of our firſt parents being not to enjoy any thing without labour and the ſweat of the Brow, how can you expect a Tree to bear ſweet fruit unleſs you tranſplant it, or by graffing it upon ſtems of a more refined and generous nature, correct its Wildneſs. Education improves the good and inſtructs the bad (4). This was the rea-

(3) *Homo rectam nullus inſtitutionem diviniſſimum manſuetiſſimumque animal effici ſolet; ſi vero, vel non ſufficienter, vel non benè educetur, omnium quæ terra progenuit, ferociſſimum.* Plat. lib. 3. de leg. (4) *Educatio, & inſtitutio commoda, naturas bonas inducit, & rurſum bonæ naturæ ſi talem inſtitutionem conſequantur, meliores adhuc & præſtantiores evadere ſimus.* Plat. Dial. 4 de Leg.

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ſon why *Trajan* became ſo eminent a Governour, becauſe he added induſtry to his natural parts and had the direction of ſuch a Maſter as *Plutarch*. Nor had King *Peter* ſirnamed the Cruel, ever proved ſo barbarous and tyrannical had *John Alphonſo*, Duke of *Albuquerque*, his Tutor, known how to mollifie and break his haughty temper. There's the ſame difference in Mens diſpoſitions as in Metals, ſome of which are proof againſt fire, others diſſolve in it; yet all give way to the graving tools, are maleable and ductile. So there's no humour ſo rugged but care and correction may have ſome effect on. Altho' I confeſs Education is not always ſufficient of it ſelf to make men Vertuous, becauſe many times under Purple as among Briars and Woods, there ſpring up ſuch monſtrous Vices, particularly in perſons of a great Spirit, as prove utterly Incorrigible. What is more obvious than for young men to be debauched by Luxury, Liberty or Flattery in Princes Courts, where abundance of Vicious affections grow as Thorns, as noxious and unprofitable weeds upon ill manured Land. Wherefore Except theſe Courts are well inſtituted the care taken in a good Education will be to very little purpoſe; for they ſeem to be like Moulds and accordingly ſo Form the Prince as themſelves are well or ill diſpoſed, and thoſe Vertues or Vices which have once began to be in repute in them, their miniſters tranſmit to poſterity. A Prince is ſcarce Maſter of his reaſon when his Courtiers out of flattery Cry up the too great Liberty of his Parents and Anceſtors, recommending to him ſome great and renowned Actions of theirs, which have been as it were the propriety of his Family. Hence alſo it comes to paſs that ſome particular Cuſtoms and Inclinations are propagated from Father to Son in a continued ſucceſſion, not ſo much by the Native force of their blood, (for neither length of time nor Mixtures of Marriage are uſed to Change them) as becauſe they are eſtabliſhed in the Courts where Infancy imbibes them and as it were turns them into nature, thus among the *Romans* the

Claudii

Claudii were reputed Proud, the *Scipio's* Warlike, the *Appii* ambitious; as now in *Spain* the *Guſmans* are looked upon to be Good Men, the *Mendozas* Humane, the *Mauriques* have the Character of Formidable, the *Toletan's* Severe and Grave. The ſame is Viſible in Artificers, when any of a family have attained an Excellency, they eaſily tranſmit it to their Children, the Spectatours of their Art and to whom they leave their Works and Monuments of their Labour. To all this may be added, that Flattery mixt with Errour ſometimes commends in a Boy for Vertue what by no means deſerves that name, as Lewdneſs, Oſtentation, Inſolence, Anger, Revenge and other Vices of the like nature; ſome men erroneouſly perſwading themſelves that they are tokens of a great Spirit; which withall induces 'em too eagerly to purſue theſe, to the neglect of real Vertues: as a Maid ſometimes if ſhe be commended for her free Carriage or Confidence, applies her ſelf to thoſe rather than Modeſty and Honeſty, the principal good Qualities of that Sex. Tho' indeed young men ought to be driven from all Vices in general, yet more eſpecially from thoſe which tend to Lazineſs or Hatred they being more eaſily imprinted in their minds (5). Care therefore muſt be taken that the Prince over-hear no filthy or obſcene expreſſions, much leſs ſhould he be ſuffered to uſe them himſelf: We eaſily execute what we make familiar to us in diſcourſe, at leaſt ſomething near it (6). Wherefore to prevent this Evil the *Romans* uſed to Chooſe out of their families ſome grave Ancient Matron to be their Sons Governeſs, whoſe whole Care and Employment was to give them a good Education, in whoſe preſence it was not allowable to ſpeak a foul word or admit an indecent Action (7). The deſign of

(5) *Cuncta igitur mala, ſed ea maximè quæ turpitudinem habent vel odium parent, ſunt procul à pueris removenda.* Ariſt. Pol. 7. c. 17. (6) *Nam facile turpia loquendo, efficitur ut homines his proxima faciant:* Ariſt. Pol. 7. c. 17. (7) *Coram quâ neque dicere fas eſt ac, quod turpe dictu, neque facere quod inhoneſtum factu videretur.* Quint. dial. de orat.

this

this ſevere diſcipline was that their nature being preſerved pure and untainted, they might readily embrace honeſt profeſſions (8). *Quintilian* laments the neglect of this manner of Education in his time, Children being uſually brought up among ſervants, and ſo learning to imitate their Vices. Nor, ſays he, is any one of the family concerned what he ſays or does before his young Maſter, ſince even their parents don't ſo much inure them to Vertues and Modeſty as Lasciviouſneſs and Libertiniſm (9). Which to this day is uſual in moſt Princes Courts: nor is there any remedy for it, but diſplacing thoſe Vicious Courtiers and ſubſtituting others of approved Vertue who may excite the Princes mind to Actions more generous and ſuch as tend to true honour (10). When a Court has once bid adieu to Vertue, 'tis often Changed but never for the better, nor does it deſire a Prince better than it ſelf. Thus *Nero*'s family were Favourers of *Otho*, becauſe he was like him (11). But if the Prince cannot do this, I think it were more adviſeable for him to leave that Court, as we remember *James* the 1ſt. King of *Arragon* did, * when he ſaw himſelf Tyrannized over by thoſe who educated and confined him as it were in a priſon: nor can I give thoſe Courts any other name, where the principal aim is to enſlave the princes will, and he is not ſuffered to go this way or that by choice and at his own pleaſure, but is forcibly guided as his Courtiers pleaſe, juſt as Water is conveighed thro' private Channels for the ſole benefit of the ground thro' which it paſſes. To what purpoſe are good natural Parts and Education, if the Prince is

(8) *Quæ diſciplina, ac ſeverĭtas eo pertinebat, ut ſincera & integra, & nullis pravitatibus detorta uniuſcujuſque natura tota ſtatim prope arriperet artes honeſtas.* Quintil. Ibid. (9) *Nec quiſquam in tota domo penſi habet quid coram infante domino, aut dicat aut factet; quando etiam ipſe parentes, nec probitati neque modeſtiæ parvulos aſſuefaciunt, ſed laſcivire, & libertati.* Quint. ibid. (10) *Neq; enim auribus jucunda convenit dicere, ſed ex quo aliquis gloriosus fiat.* Euripi. in Hippol. (11) *Pronæ in cum aures. Neronis at ſimilem.* Tac. 1. Hiſt.

* Mar. H ſt. Hiſp.

ſuf-

ſuffered to ſee, hear and know no more than his Attendance think fit? What wonder if *Henry* the 4th. King of *Caſtile* † proved ſo negligent and ſluggiſh, ſo like his Father *John* the Second in all things, after he had been Educated among the ſame Flatterers that occaſioned his Fathers male Adminiſtration? Believe me, 'tis as impoſſible to form a good Prince in an ill Court, as to draw a ſtraight Line by a Crooked ſquare: there's not a wall there which ſome laſcivious hand has not ſullied; not a Corner but Echoes their diſſolute Courſe of Life: all that frequent the Court are ſo many Maſters and as it were Ideas of the Prince, for by long uſe and Converſation each imprint ſomething on him which may either be to his benefit or prejudice; and the more apt his Nature is to Learn, the ſooner and more eaſily he imbibes thoſe domeſtick Cuſtoms. I dare affirm that a Prince will be good if his Miniſters are ſo; bad if they be bad: an inſtance of this we have in the Emperor *Galba*, who when he light upon good Friends and Gentlemen, was governed by them, and his Conduct unblameable; if they were ill, himſelf was guilty of inadvertency (12).

Nor will it ſuffice to have thus reformed living and animate figures in a Court, without proceeding alſo to inanimate: for tho' the graving Tool and Pencil are but mute Tongues, yet Experience has taught us they are far more eloquent and perſwaſive. What an incitement to Ambition is *Alexander* the great's Statue? how ſtrangely do pictures of *Jupiter*'s lewd Amours inflame Luſt? beſides, for which our corrupt nature is blameable, Art is uſually more celebrated for theſe kind of things than Vertuous inſtructive pieces; At firſt indeed the excellency of the workmanſhip makes thoſe pieces Valuable, but afterwards laſcivious perſons adorn the Walls with them to pleaſe and entertain the Eyes. There ſhould be no ſtatue or piece of painting al-

† Mat. Hiſt Hiſ. (12) *Amicorum, libertorumq; ubi in bonos incidiſſet, ſine reprehenſione patrens. ſi malos ferent, vſq; ad culpam ignarus.* Tac. 1. Hiſt.

lowed,

lowed, but ſuch as may Create in the Prince a glorious Emulation (13). The Heroick Atchievements of the Ancients are the propereſt ſubjects for Painting, Statuary and Sculpture; thoſe let a Prince look on continually, thoſe read; for Statues and Pictures are fragments of Hiſtory always before our Eyes.

After the Vices of the Court have been (as far as poſſible) thus corrected, and the Princes humour and inclinations well known, let his Maſter or Tutor endeavour to lead him to ſome great undertaking, ſowing in his Mind Seeds of Vertue and honour ſo ſecretly, that when they are grown it will be difficult to judge whether they were the product of Nature or Art. Let them incourage Vertue with Honour, brand Vice with Infamy and Diſgrace, excite Emulation by Example; theſe things have a great Effect upon all Tempers, tho' more on ſome than others. Thoſe who are of a Generous diſpoſition, Glory influences moſt; the Melancholy, Ignominy; the Cholerick, Emulation, the Inconſtant, Fear; the Prudent, Example; which is generally of moſt efficacy with all, eſpecially that of Anceſtors; for often what the Blood could not, Emulation does perform. 'Tis with Children as young trees on which you muſt Graff a branch (as I may ſay) of the ſame Father, to bring them to perfection. Theſe Grafts are the famous examples which infuſe into Poſterity the Vertues of their Anceſtors and bear excellent fruit. That therefore it may be conveighed as it were thro' all the Senſes into the mind, and take deep Root there, ſhould be the particular induſtry of his Inſtructors, and conſequently they are not to be propoſed to the Prince in ordinary Exhortations only or Reproofs, but alſo in ſenſible objects. Sometime let Hiſtory put him in mind of the great Atchievements of his Anceſtors, the glory of which eternized in print may excite him to imitate them. Sometimes Muſick (that

(13) *Cum autem ne quis talia loquatur prohibetur, ſatis intelligitur vetari, ne turpes, vel ſiſturas vel fabulas ſpectet.* Ariſt. 7 Pol. cap. 17.

ſweet

ſweet and wonderfull Governeſs of the paſſions) playing their Trophies and Triumphs, will be proper to Raiſe his Spirits. Sometimes let him hear Panegyricks recited upon their Life, to encourage and animate him to an Emulation of their Vertues, now and then reciting them himſelf, or with his young Companions Act over their Exploits as upon a ſtage, thereby to inflame his mind: for the force and efficacy of the action is by degrees ſo imprinted on him that he appears the very ſame whoſe perſon he repreſents: Laſtly let him play the part of a King amongſt them, receive petitions, give audience, ordain; puniſh, reward, command or marſhal an Army, beſiege Cities and give Battel. In experiments of this nature *Cyrus* was educated from a little Boy and became afterwards an eminent General. But if there be any inclinations unbecoming a Prince diſcernible in his Infancy, he ſhould have the Company of ſuch as are eminent for the oppoſite Vertues to correct the Vices of his Nature; as we ſee a ſtraight Pole does the Crookedneſs of a tender Tree tyed to it. Thus if the Prince be covetous, let one naturally liberal be always at his Elbow; if a Coward, one bold and daring; if timorous, one reſolute and active; if Idle and Lazy, one diligent and induſtrious: for thoſe of that Age as they imitate what they ſee or hear, ſo they alſo eaſily copy their Companions Cuſtoms. To Conclude, in Education of Princes too rough Reprehenſion and Chaſtiſement is to be avoided as a kind of Contempt. Too much Rigour makes men mean ſpirited; nor is it fit, that he ſhould be ſervilely ſubject to One Man, who ought to Command all. It was well ſaid of King *Alphonſus, Generous Spirits are ſooner corrected by words than blows, and love and reſpect thoſe moſt who uſe them ſo.*

Youth is like a young horſe that the Barnacle hurts, but is eaſily governed by the gentler Bit. Beſides that men of generous Spirits uſually conceive a ſecret horrour of thoſe things they learnt thro' fear; on the contrary have an inclination and deſire to try

thoſe Vices which in their Childhood were prohibited them. Affections too much confined (eſpecially ſuch as nature endows a Prince withall) break out at laſt into Deſpair, as Exhalations hard bound within the Clouds, into Lightning. He that imprudently ſhuts the gates upon natural inclinations, is the occaſion of their attempting to get thro' the Windows. Some allowance is to be made to humane infirmity, which is by ſome innocent diverſions to be raiſed to Vertue: this method they took who had the Care of *Nero*'s Education (14). The Tutor ought to chide the Prince in private, not before Company, leaſt he rather grow obſtinate when he ſees his Vices are publick. In theſe two Verſes of *Homer* is very aptly contained how a Prince ought to be inſtructed how to obey:

Adviſe, Command him, and what's good ſuggeſt
He will obey when for himſelf 'tis beſt. Hom. 2. *Il.*

(14) *Quo facilius lubricam Principis ætatem, ſi veritatem aſpernaretur, voluptatibus conceſſus, retineret.* Tac. 13. ann.

EMBLEM III.

BY the induſtry of ſome ingenious and carefull hand one while watering, another time defending it from the injuries of Wind and ill Weather, the Roſe grows, and as the Bud opens unfolds its little leaves into a circular form: A flower ſtrangely pretty, but which flatters only the Eyes, and is ſubject to ſo many caſualties, that in this its infinite delicacy 'tis by no means ſecure. The very ſame Sun which ſaw it bloom, ſees it alſo whither, and that without any other benefit, than juſt ſhewing the World its beauty; it brings ſo many months Labour to nothing, nay oftentimes wounds the very hand that planted it; nor could it be otherwiſe than that ſuch rank tillage ſhould produce thorns. Of Coral (a Sea ſhrub) there's quite another account to be given; for that growing under Water, and continually toſſed by the Violence of

Waves and Tempeſtuous Winds becomes ſo much the harder and more beautiful; nay, then firſt is it more illuſtriouſly uſeful, when it has underwent the rage of ſo many Elements. Such contrary Effects ariſe from the different manner of growing of this Shrub, and that Flower in reſpect of ſoftneſs and hardneſs. The ſame happens in the Education of Princes, for they who are brought up ſo tenderly and cloſely that neither the Sun, Wind or other Air can come to them, but that of perfumes, prove too delicate and little fit for Government; they on the contrary are ſtrong and able who inure their Bodies to laborious Exerciſes. It's alſo convenient to uſe ones ſelf to Cold from our infancy as a thing of great advantage to health, and that will enable us to undergo Military duties (1). By theſe Exerciſes Life is prolonged, by Voluptuouſneſs and Luxury ſhortned. a Veſſel of Glaſs formed with a blaſt of the Mouth, is with a blaſt broken; Whereas one of Gold wrought with a hammer reſiſts a hammer. 'Tis no matter if he that lives a private and retired Life, be delicate; but one who is to ſupport a Kingdom, as *Atlas* the Heavens, upon his ſhoulders, had need be ſtrong and robuſt. A Common-wealth has not occaſion for a Prince only for a ſhew, but in the Field alſo and in time of War, and in Scripture we find an effeminate King mentioned as a kind of divine puniſhment (2). The advantage or diſadvantage of this different Education was viſible in the Two Kings, *John* the Second, and *Ferdinand* the Catholick, one of which had his at Court, the other in the Camp; that among Women, this among Soldiers; that entring his Government ſeem'd to ſail into a ſtrange Gulf, and leaving the Helm, committed the guidance of it to his Miniſters; this was neither ignorant of, nor unacquainted with Govern-

(1) *Eſt etiam utile ſtatim ab ineunte ætate frigoribus aſſuefcere, hoc enim tum ad valetudinem, tum ad munera militaria commodiſſimum eſt.* Ariſt. Pol. 7. cap 17. (2) I will give Children to be their Princes, and Babes to rule over them, *Iſai.* 3. 4.

ment;

ment; but knew how to Rule even in another's Dominion, and force Subjects to their Duty; that was contemn'd, this honoured and esteemed by all; that ruined his Kingdom, this advanced to a Monarchy. 'Twas upon this consideration that King *Ferdinand* Sirnamed the holy, was desirous to breed his Sons, *Alphonso* and *Ferdinand*, Soldiers. And what else was it rendred the Emperour *Charles* really great, as well as titularly so? was it not his continual Travels and indefatigable Labours? Nor had *Tiberius* any other thoughts when he design'd his Sons *Germanicus* and *Drusus* for the Army, chiefly for these four Reasons; that they might accustom themselves to War; gain the Soldiers hearts; be free from the Debauchery of the Court; and Lastly that himself might live in more security when both his Sons commanded his Legions (3).

He that lives in a Camp, by the many Experiences he has there, spends his time to advantage; the Courtier utterly loses his in Riot, Ceremonies and trifling Diversions. At Court a Prince studies more how to set off his Body than improve his Mind. And tho' this latter is rather to be regarded, yet Ornaments of the Body, and a comely Presence should not be wholly neglected. For those captivate the Eyes, as this does the Eyes and Soul. God himself seem'd pleased with the shape and proportion of *Saul* (4). *Ethiopians* and *Indians* in some parts choose them Kings, whom the most Majestick Mien recommends: as the Bees do the biggest among them, and that of the most shining Colour. People Judge of a Prince's Actions by his Presence, and think him the best who is the Comeliest. *Galba*'s very Age, says *Tacitus*, was ridiculed and scorn'd by those who were used to *Nero*'s

(3) *Ut sueſceret Militiæ, ſtudiaq; exercitui pararet, ſimul juventutem urbanæ luxu laſcivientem mediis in caſtris haberi Tiberius, ſeque tutiorem rebatur, utroq; filio legiones obtinente.* Tac. 2. ann. (4) And when he ſtood among the people, he was higher than any of the people from the ſhoulders upwards, 1 *Sam.* 10. 22.

blooming Youth (5). A handſome face joyned with a kind of Majeſty encreaſed *Veſpaſian*'s fame (6). Thus Beauty ſtrikes the Eyes, and thro' them wounding the Soul engages Mens affections and good opinions: 'tis a particular privilege of nature, a pleaſing Tyrant over the affections and a certain Sign of a well diſpoſed mind; and tho' the holy Spirit for more ſecurity adviſes us not to judge by exteriours, yet do we ſeldom find a generous Soul in a deformed body (7).

'Twas a ſaying of *Plato*'s, that as a Circle can't be without a Center, ſo neither can external Beauty Conſiſt without interiour Vertue. King *Alphonſus* therefore well adviſed to have a Prince Marryed to a handſome Woman, *that* ſays he, *the Children may be beautifull as a Prince's ought to be, that they may be above other men.* The *Lacedæmonians* fined their King *Archiadinus* for Marrying a little Woman, however Wittily he excuſed himſelf by ſaying, *of two Evils he had choſe the leſs.* Beauty of the Body is the image of the Soul and picture of Goodneſs (8). It nevertheleſs happens ſometimes that nature intent upon outward perfections forgets inward which are more deſirable. So it was with *Peter* the Cruel, whoſe ſavage and rough diſpoſition Nature had concealed under an agreeable Perſon. Pride and Oſtentation of Beauty eaſily diſcompoſe the Modeſty of Vertue; a Prince therefore ſhould not eſteem feminine and affected Charms, which ſerve only to inflame another's Luſt; but thoſe which uſually accompany true Vertue; for the Soul is not to be adorned with the Beauties of the Body, but this rather with the Ornaments of the Soul.

A Commonwealth requires a Prince perfect in mind rather than One ſo in Body; tho' twere a great orna-

(5) *Ipſa ætas Galbæ & irriſui & faſtidio erat aſſuetis juventa Neronis, & Imperatores forma & decore corporis, (ut eſt mos vulgi) comparantibus.* Tac. 1. Hiſt. (6) *Augebat famam ipſius decor oris cum quadam Majeſtate.* Tac. 2. Hiſt. (7) Commend not a Man for his beauty, neither abhor a man for his outward appearance. *Eccleſ* 11.2. (8) *Speciei enim corporis ſimulacrum eſt mentis, figuraq; probitatis.* Ambr. 2. de vir.

ment

ment if he were eminent for both. Thus the Palm is ſingularly commended, as well for the neatneſs of its Trunck and Leaves, as for the pleaſant Fruit it bears, and other excellent qualities of it, being a Tree ſo uſefull, that *Plutarch* ſays the *Babylonians* reckoned 360 Vertues in it; theſe, I conceive, the Complement of the Coeleſtial Bridegroom points at, *Thy ſtature is like to a Palm Tree* (9). For by theſe words he would commend not only the beauty of his Spouſe's Body, but the endowments alſo of her Soul, ſignified by the Palm as 'tis an Emblem of Juſtice and Fortitude: of Juſtice becauſe its leaves hang in æquilibrio; of Fortitude upon the account of the admirable ſtrength of the Boughs, which the more weight they are loaded with, the more forcibly grow up. 'Tis further an Hieroglyphick of Victory, becauſe in the Games and Exerciſes of the Ancients, the Victors were crowned with Branches of it. The Cypreſs was never eſteemed at this Rate, however flouriſhing and green it always is, lifting its ſelf even up to heaven in form of an Obelisk: for that its beauty is meer outſide without any good quality inherent in it; it's of a ſlow growth, bears uſeleſs fruit, bitter leaves, has a ſtrong ſmell and taſte, a thick and melancholy ſhade. To what purpoſe is a Prince of a delicate Body, if he only ſatisfies the Eyes, and does not diſcharge his Duty. There needs no more in him than an agreeable harmony of parts to ſhew a generous and well diſpoſed mind, into which afterwards Art and Induſtry may inſpire Motion and Vigour, for without that every Action of a Prince will be dull, and rather cauſe Ridicule and Contempt than procure Authority with his Subjects. But ſometimes theſe extraordinary Endowments of the Mind don't render a Prince amiable, as when the State is diſtempered and inclined to Change its Government, which *Ferdinand* King of *Naples* had once Experience of; nay ſometimes Vertue her ſelf is unhappy, and a good Prince

(9) Cant. 7. 7.

often odious; as on the other ſide his Vices taking, as were thoſe of *Vitellius* (11). But for the generality humane Will embraces that which is moſt perfect; and it will be therefore a Prince's intereſt as well in publick as private Exerciſes, to ſtudy by them to ſupply and perfect Nature, to ſtrengthen himſelf in his Youth, to create generous Thoughts in his Mind, and in all things to pleaſe the People: for the Perſon of a Prince ſhould not only court the Minds but Eyes too of his Subjects (12), who chooſe to be governed by him in whom they ſee moſt Ornaments of Nature and Vertue. Our moſt Catholick King, Your Highneſs's Father, by the pains he took and reſolution he ſhewed at a Chaſe, by his Valour and Dexterity in Military Exerciſes, his ſingular Carriage and Vivacity in publick Actions, what vaſt Reputation did he gain? How beloved by their Subjects, and eſteemed by Foreigners were the Kings *Ferdinand* the holy, *Henry* the II, *Ferdinand* the Catholick, and the Emperour *Charles* the Vth. in whom Beauty and a juſt Proportion of Body were joyn'd with Induſtry, Vertue and Valour. But thoſe Exerciſes are better learnt by Converſation and in Company, where Emulation enflames the Mind and awakens Induſtry. For this reaſon the Kings of the *Goths* Educated the Sons of the *Spaniſh* Nobility in their Courts, not only to lay an Obligation upon thoſe Families, but that their own Sons might have their Education and learn the Sciences with them. The ſame thoſe of *Macedon* uſed to do (13), among whom the Court was as it were a ſeminary of Commanders. Which good Cuſtom is either utterly forgot, or at leaſt has not been hitherto in Vogue in the Court of *Spain*. 'Twere otherwiſe the propereſt means in the world to engage the Hearts of foreign Princes,

(11) *Studia exercitus raro cuiquam horum artibus quæſita, perinde ad ſuere quam huic peregrinaviam.* Tac. 3 Hiſt. (12) *Perſona Principis non ſolum animis, ſed etiam oculis ſervire debet civium.* Cic. Phil. 8. (13) *Hæc cohors, velut ſeminarium Ducum, Præfectorumq; apud Macedonas fuit.* Curt.

to

to inſtitute Seminaries of that Nature, to which their Sons might travel and be inſtructed in Arts and Sciences worthy a Prince. From which alſo this advantage would ariſe, that the King's Sons would inſenſibly be accuſtomed to the Manners and Genius of thoſe Nations, and meet with a great many among them, who with ſingular Affection and Gratitude for ſo good an Education would return the Obligation with their Service. To this End King *Alphonſus* ſirnamed the wiſe, in the Second of his excellent Laws, call'd the *Partidas*, has drawn up a Catalogue of thoſe Arts and Duties it is proper for Kings Sons to be exerciſed in.

For all theſe Exerciſes nothing renders a Prince ſo fit as Hunting, for herein Youth exerts it ſelf, becomes ſtrong and active; that gives occaſion to uſe Military Arts, to view Ground, meaſure the time, know when to expect, when aſſault and ſtrike, what uſe to make of Accidents and Stratagems. There the ſight of the Blood of wild Beaſts, and the trembling Motion of their Limbs as they expire, purge the Affections, fortify the Mind, and inſpire generous Thoughts, ſuch as deſpiſe Fear and Danger: for the Solitude of a Wood and that Silence which uſually is kept in Hunting raiſe the Thoughts to glorious Actions (14).

Laſtly all thoſe Exerciſes are to be uſed with that moderation that they render not the Mind either wild or ſtupid; for the Mind is no leſs harden'd with too much Labour, and made as it were callous and inſenſible, than the Body. 'Tis therefore not convenient to fatigue both at the ſame time, for theſe Labours have contrary Effects; that of the Body is a hindrance to the Mind, that of the Mind to the Body (15).

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(14) *Nam & ſilvæ ſolitudo, ipſumq; illud ſilentium quod venationi datur, magna cogitationis incitamenta ſunt.* Plin. lib. 1. Epiſt. ad Cor. Tac.

(15) *Nam ſimul mentem & corpus laboribus fatigare non convenit, quoniam bi labores contrariarum rerum efficientes ſunt. Labor enim corpori is menti eſt impedimento, mentis autem corpori.* Ariſt. Pol. 8. C. 4.

EMBLEM IV.

KNowledge is neceſſary in a Governour, in a Subject natural Prudence is ſufficient, nay ſometimes meer Ignorance. In the Idea and Contrivance of a Building the Brain is employed, in the Fabrick it ſelf the Hand labours. Command proceeds from Underſtanding and is quick-ſighted, Obedience is ignorant generally and blind (1). He is by nature a Commander who is moſt intelligent. Whereas others are ſo either by Succeſſion, Election or Conqueſt, which depend more upon Fortune than Reaſon. Wherefore we ſhall reckon the Sciences among the politick inſtruments of Government: ſo *Juſtinian*; *Imperial Majeſty*, ſays he, *ought to be Armed as well with Laws as*

(1) *Præeſt autem natura, qui valet intelligentia prævidere.* Ariſt. Pol. 1. Cap. 4.

Arms,

Arms, that the time of peace and War may be equally well governed (2). This 'tis you have exhibited in the preſent Emblem under the figure of a Cannon levelled for the better aim, by a quadrant, the Emblem of the Laws and Juſtice; for this ſhould ſo manage Peace and War that what's Juſt be always in View, and Reaſon be the mark at which all things be aimed by the medium of Wiſdom and Prudence. 'Tis related of *Alphonſus* King of *Naples* and *Arragon*, that being ask'd upon this Subject, which he was moſt indebted to, his Arms or Studies? he made anſwer: *That 'twas from his Books he had learnt Arms and the Laws of Arms* (3).

But ſome one may perhaps think theſe Ornaments of Learning are more convenient for the body of a Commonwealth, which the word Majeſty ſeems to import, than the Prince, who being diſtracted with Publick Buſineſs, can't apply himſelf to them; that 'twere ſufficient to make Learning flouriſh, if he entertained and patronized Men of Ingenuity; which the ſame Emperour *Juſtinian* did, who tho' himſelf utterly illiterate, with the Aſſiſtance of Men of the greateſt Learning, whoſe Converſation he had, got the Reputation of an eminent Governour. For my part, tho' I make no difficulty to grant that even men of no literature may ſometimes govern a Commonwealth well, as we have inſtances in K. *Ferdinand* the Catholick, and many others; yet this only holds in thoſe Genius's that Experience has improved, or at leaſt ſuch as are endowed by Nature with ſo acute a Judgment that they can determine any thing without danger of Errour (4). But tho' Prudence may have ſome efforts from Nature, yet 'tis to be perfected by Learning; for to know well how to choſe whats good, and reject the contrary, a

(2) *Imperatoriam Majeſtatem non ſolùm armis decoratam, ſed etiam legibus oportet eſſe armatam, ut utrumq; tempus & belli & pacis recte poſſit gubernari.* Juſt. in proœm. Inſt. (3) *Ex libris ſe arma, & armorum jura diſciciſſe.* Panorm. lib. 4. (4) *Etſi prudentia quoſdam impetus à natura ſumat tamen perficienda doctrinâ eſt.* Quint. lib. 12. C. 11.

general

general knowledge is almoſt neceſſary, and a long obſervation of Examples both paſt and preſent, which is not perfectly to be attained without labour and ſtudy; nothing therefore is ſo neceſſary to a Prince as the Light and Ornament of good Literature; *For for want of the knowledge of theſe things* (ſays K. *Alphonſo*) *a Prince will be oblig'd to take to his aſſiſtance, one who does underſtand them; and he may experience what King* Solomon *ſaid, That he who entruſts his ſecret with another, makes himſelf his ſlave, whereas he who can keep it himſelf, is Maſter of himſelf, which is infinitely requiſite in a Prince.* For the Office of a King requires a great underſtanding and that too illuſtrated with Learning, *for without doubt*, ſays K. *Alphonſo* in the ſame Law, *no man can acquit himſelf of an Office of ſuch importance as this, at leaſt without great underſtanding and wiſdom*, whence he who ſcorns the favours of Knowledge and Education, will be ſcorn'd by God, who is the Author of them. Other Sciences have been divinely infuſed into many; none but *Solomon* was ever inſpired with Politickss. For Tilling ground, Agriculture preſcribes certain Rules; the Art of Taming wild Beaſts has alſo its Methods, but 'tis eaſier to command any Animal than Man, 'tis neceſſary therefore that he be endued with an extraordinary portion of Wiſdom who has Men to govern (5). The different Cuſtoms and Diſpoſitions of Subjects can't without conſiderable Sagacity, Application and Experience be diſcovered: and conſequently no man requires Wiſdom more than a Prince (6). Tis that makes Kingdoms happy, Princes feared and reverenced. Then was *Solomon* ſo, when the World became acquainted with his. Knowledge renders a Prince more formidable than Power (7). *A wiſe King*, ſays the holy Spirit, *is the upholding of the people: But an un-*

(5) *Omni animali facilius imperabis quam homini, ideo ſapientiſſimum eſſe oportet, qui hominibus regere velit.* Xenoph. (6) *Nullus eſt, cui ſapientia magis conveniat, quam Principi, cujus doctrina omnibus debet prodeſſe ſubditis.* Veget. (7) Wiſd. 5. 26.

wiſe

wiſe King deſtroyeth them (8). All which ſhews how barbarous the Opinion of the Emperour *Licinius* was, who cryed out upon the Sciences as a publick Plague, Philoſophers and Orators as Poiſon to a Commonwealth; nor does that of the *Goths* appear leſs abſurd, who found fault with *Athalaricus*'s Mother for inſtructing him in good Letters, as if he was thereby rendred incapable of publick Buſineſs. *Silvius Æneas* had quite other ſentiments of them, when he ſaid they were Silver in the Commonalty, Gold in the Nobility, and in the Prince Jewels. *Alphonſo* of *Naples* upon hearing once a certain King ſay, *That Learning did not become a Prince*; Replyed immediately, *That's ſpoke rather like a Beaſt, than a man* (9). Well therefore ſaid K. *Alphonſo* †, *That a King ought to be aſſiduous in Learning the Sciences, for by them he will learn the Office of a King, and know better how to practiſe it.* Of *Julius Cæſar* 'tis related that he would have the Statuary form him, ſtanding upon a terreſtrial Globe with a Sword in one Hand, in the other a Book with this Motto, *Ex utroq; Cæſar*; thereby intimating that as well his Learning as his Arms was inſtrumental in getting and preſerving to him the Empire. *Lewis* the XIth of *France* did not eſteem Learning at this rate; for he would not permit his Son *Charles* the 8th. to apply himſelf to it, becauſe he found himſelf thereby ſo obſtinate and opinionative as not to admit the Counſel of any, which was the reaſon why *Charles* proved afterwards unfit to govern, and ſuffered himſelf to be led by the Noſe by every one, not without great Diſhonour to himſelf and detriment to his whole Kingdom. Extreams therefore in that as in all other things are to be avoided, ſupine Ignorance breeds Contempt and Deriſion, beſides it is expoſed to a thouſand Errours; on the other ſide exceſſive Application to Studies diſtracts the Mind and diverts it from the Care of Government. The Converſation of

(8) Eccl. 10. 3 (9) *Eam vocem habuit eſſe, non hominis.* Panorm. lib. 4. † lib. 16. c. 5. p. 2.

the

the Muſe is very pleaſant and agreeable, and no one would without Reluctancy exchange it for the Fatigue and Trouble of Audiences and Conſultations. *Alphonſus* the Wiſe knew the Cauſes of Earthquakes, but could not regulate the Commotions of his Kingdoms; the Cœleſtial orbs his Ingenuity penetrated, yet knew not how to defend the Empire offered, and Crown hereditary to him. The Sultan of *Egypt* upon his fame ſent Embaſſadours to him with very conſiderable preſents, in the mean time almoſt all the Cities of *Caſtile* revolted. Thus it uſually happens; Princes too much addicted to the Studies of Wiſdom advance their Reputation among Foreigners, and loſe it with their Subjects. Their Learning is admired by thoſe, to theſe ſometimes prejudicial; for Men of mean parts are generally better Governours than men of ingenuity (10). A Mind too intent upon Speculation is uſually ſlow in Action, and fearful in Reſolution, for of neceſſity many different and contrary Reaſons muſt occur to ſuch a Perſon, which either wholly take away or obſtruct the liberty of his Judgment. If an Eye looks upon Objects by the Sun's Light reflected, it clearly and diſtinctly ſees them as they are; whereas if it be fixed directly againſt the Sun's Rays, 'tis ſo dazled with too much luſtre, that it can't ſo much as diſtinguiſh the Colours and Figures of them. It happens thus to Wits; thoſe who too eagerly apply themſelves to the Studies of Wiſdom and Learning are leſs fit for publick buſineſs. Right Reaſon never judges better than when free and diſengaged from the Diſputations and Subtilties of the Schools; nor without Reaſon did the wiſe K. *Solomon* call that the worſt of Travails which himſelf had tryed (11). For there are ſome of the li-

(10) *Hebetiores quam acutiores ut plurimum melius Rempub. adminiſtrant.* Thucyd. lib. 3. (11) I gave my Heart to ſearch out by Wiſdom, concerning all things that are done under Heaven: This ſore Travail hath God given to the Sons of Men, to be exerciſed with. *Eccleſ.* 1. 13.

beral

beral Sciences, which to have a ſuperficial Knowledge of is commendable, but to make them ones whole Buſineſs, and deſire to attain a Perfection in them, very prejudicial (12). Wherefore 'tis very convenient that prudence moderate a little that deſire of knowledge which is uſually moſt vehement in the beſt Wits; as we read *Agricola*'s Mother did, who cooled the heat of her Sons Mind, when in his youth he ſeem'd to follow the ſtudy of Philoſophy more eagerly than was allowable for a *Roman* and Senatour (13). As in Vices ſo in Learning there is exceſs (14): and this is as hurtful to the mind as thoſe to the Body. It will ſuffice therefore for a Prince to taſt the Arts and Sciences as 'twere *en paſſant*; ſome practical knowledge of them will be more for his advantage, particularly thoſe which relate to the Affairs of Peace and War, taking as much out of them as will ſuffice to illuſtrate his underſtanding and regulate his Judgment, leaving the honour of being excellent in them to his Inferiours; let him paſs only his leiſure hours in this Noble Exerciſe as *Tacitus* ſays *Helvidius Priſcus* uſed to do (15).

This granted, thoſe are not always to be eſteem'd the beſt Tutors for Princes, who are moſt eminent for Learning and Knowledge, for they are generally too great Lovers of Retirement and ſtudious Idleneſs, Strangers to converſation, Men of no Reſolution and very unfit for the management of weighty Affairs. But thoſe rather who are Learned and Experienced Politicians, who beſides the Sciences can teach a Prince the Art of Government.

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(12) *Sunt enim quædam ex liberalibus ſcientiis quos uſque ad aliquid diſcere honeſtius ſit, penitus vero illis tradere atque uſq; ad extremum perſequi velle, valde noxium* Ariſt. lib. 8. Pol. (13) *ſed in prima juventa ſtudium Philoſophiæ acrius quam conceſſum Rom. ac ſenatori hauſiſſe, ni prudentia matris incenſum ac flagrantem animum coercuiſſet.* Tac. in vit. Agr. (14) *Retinuitq; quod difficillimum eſt ex ſapientia modum.* Ibid. (15) *Ingenium illuſtre altioribus ſtudiis juvenis admodum dedit, non ut plerique, ut nomine magnifico otium velaret, ſed quo firmior adverſus fortuita Reipub. capeſſeret.* Tac. lib. 4. Hiſt.

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The firſt thing to be inſtilled into a Prince is the fear of the Lord which is the beginning of wiſedom (16). He who adheres to God is very near the fountain of all Sciences. To know what is human only, is Ignorance, the daughter of Malice, which is the ruine of Princes and Commonwealths.

Another neceſſary qualification in a Prince is Eloquence, that pleaſing Tyrant over the Paſſions, that ſweetly allures Mens Wills to a Submiſſion to its Commands. That great Prophet *Moſes* knew of what Conſequence this was, and therefore when he was ſent into *Egypt* to conduct the Children of *Iſrael* thence, made this excuſe to God that he was ſlow of ſpeech and of a ſlow Tongue (17). And God took this for a reaſon, and accordingly to encourage him, promiſed to aſſiſt his Lips and put into his Mouth the Words he ſhould ſpeak to *Pharaoh* (18). What did not *Solomon* promiſe himſelf from his Eloquence? I *ſhall be admired*, ſays he, *in the ſight of great men. When I hold my Tongue they ſhall bide my Leiſure, and when I ſpeak they ſhall give good Ear unto me: if I talk much they ſhall lay their hands upon their mouth* (19). And certainly if naked eloquence has power ſo ſtrangely to captivate an audience, what can't it do if armed with Regal Power, or cloathed with Purple? a Prince who can't ſpeak his Mind without the aſſiſtance of another (a fault *Nero* was firſt obſerved to be guilty of (20)) is rather a dumb ſtatue, and deſerves not the Name of a Prince. Hiſtory is the Miſtriſs of Political truth (21), than which nothing can better inſtruct a Prince how to rule his Subjects. For in that, as in a clear Mirrour, appears the Experience of

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(16) Pſal. 100. 10. (17) O my Lord, I am not eloquent, neither heretofore, nor ſince thou haſt ſpoken to thy Servant: I am but ſlow of ſpeech, and of a ſlow tongue. *Exod.* 4. 10. (18) I will be in thy mouth, and teach thee what thou ſhalt ſay. *Exod.* 4. 12. (19) *Wiſd.* 8. 12. (20) *Primus ex iis, qui rerum potiti eſſent, Neronem alienæ facundiæ eguiſſe.* Tac. 1. Ann. (21) *Veriſſimam diſciplinam, exercitationemq; ad politicas actiones, Hiſtoriam eſſe.* Polyb. lib. 1.

former

former governments, the prudence of Predeceſſours, and the Souls of many Men collected into one (22). Hiſtory is like a faithful Counſellor, always ready and at hand. Of Law the Prince need only ſtudy that part which relates to Government, turning over ſuch Laws and Conſtitutions of his Kingdom as were by right Reaſon dictated or by Cuſtom approved.

Let him not ſpend much time in the ſtudy of divinity; for how dangerous that knowledge and power in conjunction is, *England* has experienced in K. *James*, 'tis enough for a Prince to perſevere himſelf in the faith and have about him devout and Learned Men able to defend it.

Laſtly Judicial Aſtrology has been the ruine of many Princes; for that deſire of knowing future events is in all Men vehement, eſpecially in Princes, for they promiſing to themſelves great Authority if they can be looked upon as equal to the Gods, or do any thing above the common reach of Mankind, follow theſe ſuperſtitious and odious Arts: nay ſometimes arrive to that degree of madneſs, to aſcribe all things to ſecond cauſes, and utterly deſtroy divine providence by imputing all to chance and divination, whence it happens that while they attribute more to Chance and Fortune than human Prudence or Induſtry, they are too remiſs in their Deſigns and Actions, and oftner adviſe with Aſtrologers than their Counſellours.

(22) *Hominum multorum mens in unum collecta.* Greg. Naz. ad Nicom.

EMBLEM V.

THE Sciences have bitter Roots, though the Fruit be ſweet; for this reaſon our Nature at firſt has an Averſion for them, and no labour appears ſo harſh as what muſt be employed on their firſt Rudiments: What Pains and Anxiety do they coſt Youth? Upon which account, and becauſe Studies require aſſiduous Application, a thing very injurious to Health, and which the Buſineſs and Diverſions of the Court don't permit; the Maſter ſhould be induſtrious in inventing ſeveral means to qualify this troubleſome Inſtitution by diſguiſing it under ſome pleaſant Game, that the Prince's mind may imbibe what he is to learn inſenſibly. For inſtance, to teach him to read he may uſe this contrivance; let there be made four and twenty ſmall Dice, on each of them be engraven a Letter of the Alphabet, then let ſome Children play, and he win who at one Caſt throws

throws moſt Syllables, or an entire Word. Theſe little Victories and Entertainments will take off much of the difficulty of this Task, for 'tis far more hard to play at Cards, which, however Children preſently learn. Now, to teach the Prince to Write in a way as ſhort, I would have the Letters engraven of a thin Plate, this put upon Paper, and him to go over theſe Tracts of Characters, as ſo many little Furrows, with his Hand and Pen; eſpecially exerciſing himſelf in thoſe Letters of which the reſt are framed. Thus, while he Attributes to his own Wit and Induſtry, what is only the effect of this artificial Plate, he will by degrees be more pleaſed with thoſe Labours. Nor is skill in Languages leſs neceſſary for a Prince; for always to uſe an Interpreter, or read only Tranſactions, is a thing too liable to deceit, or at leaſt the truth thereby loſes much of its Force and Energy: Not to mention that it can't but be very hard for a Subject not to be underſtood by him, from whom he is to expect Comfort in his Afflictions, to have his Miſeries relieved, and to be gratified for his Services. This moved the Patriarch *Joſeph*, when he was made Commander over *Egypt*; before all things to apply himſelf to learn the Languages moſt in uſe there, and which he did not underſtand (1). What Love and Eſteem does at this day, the Emperor *Ferdinand* the Third's Skill in Languages procured him, being able to anſwer every one in his own Native Idiom; but a Prince is not to be inſtructed in this by way of Precepts, for they confound the Memory; but rather great Perſons Sons of Foreign Countries ſhould be taken into his Family, by whoſe familiar Converſation he may in a few Months time, and that with a little Pains, and as it were by way of Diverſion, make ſo great a Proficiency, as to be acquainted with the Language of each of them.

That he may alſo know the uſe of *Geography* and *Coſmography*, (without which Policy is in a manner blind)

(1) Pſalm 80. 6.

it were not amiſs to furniſh and hang his Chamber with Tapiſtry ſo artificial wrought, as to repreſent a kind of General Deſcription or Map of the Univerſe, that is, the Four Quarters of the World, and moſt Remarkable Countries, together with the more celebrated Rivers, Mountains, Cities, and other places of Note. By the ſame contrivance may the Lakes be diſpoſed, that he may fancy he ſees in them, as in your Sea-Charts, the Situation of the whole Sea, its Ports and Iſlands. In Globes and Mathematical Spheres, he may ſee the Extent of both Hemiſpheres, the Motion of the Heavens, the Sun's Courſe, its Riſing and Setting, the Viciſſitude of Days and Nights, and all this by way of Diſcourſe and Divertiſement, leaving the Mathematicians ſubtle way of arguing and demonſtrating to the Schools. It will ſuffice in *Geometry*, if he know how to Meaſure diſtances, take Altitudes and Depths with Inſtruments. 'Tis withal neceſſary that he learn Fortification, and accordingly for Inſtructions ſake may raiſe Forts of Clay, or ſome ſuch material, with all ſorts of Trenches, Breaſt-works, Palliſadoes, Baſtions, Half Moons, and other things neceſſary for the Defence of them; then he may Aſſault and play upon them with little Artillery made for that purpoſe. But to fix thoſe Figures of Fortification more firmly in his Memory, 'twould be for his advantage to have the like artificially contrived in Gardens, cut in Myrtle, or any other Greens, as you ſee in the preſent Emblem.

Nor ought a Prince be ignorant how to Marſhal an Army; to that end let him have Soldiers of all ſorts, Foot and Horſe, Caſt in Metal; of theſe he may Compoſe an Army, diſtribute them into Regiments, Troops, Companies, in imitation of ſome Model, which he may have before him for that purpoſe. Plays ought always to be in imitation of things to be afterwards practiſed with more ſerioufneſs (2). By this means he will in-

(2) *Itaque ludi magna ex parte imitationes eſſe debent earum rerum, quæ ſerio poſtea obeundæ.* Ariſt. Pol. 7. c. 17.

ſenſibly

ſenſibly, and without any trouble take to theſe Arts; and when the light of Reaſon is riſen in him, be more capable of a perfect knowledge of them by Converſation of Men of Learning (3), and ſuch particularly as have been converſant with, and exerciſed in Affairs both of Peace and War, who will diſcover to him the Cauſes and Effects of each particular. For the knowledge of thoſe things is at this time more uſeful, eaſier acquired, and fatigues the mind leaſt (4).

Let no one look on theſe Exerciſes to be of no conſequence in Education of Kings and Princes Children; for Experience, the beſt Miſtreſs, teaches us, That Boys learn many things of their own accord, which they had not attained by the Inſtruction of a Maſter without much difficulty. Much leſs ſhould any imagine that the variety of theſe methods rather prejudices than promotes Education. If to tame and maſter an Horſe, ſo many Inſtruments are neceſſary, as the Bit, Bridle, Rains, Barnacle, and thoſe too of different ſorts; if ſo many Precepts are needful as have been written upon this Subject, what Care and Induſtry ſhall we think ſufficient to form a perfect Prince, who is not only to Command the ignorant Vulgar, but even the Maſters of the Sciences? To govern Men is not the Gift of Nature, but rather of Experience and Speculation; it ſeems to be the Art of Arts, the Science of Sciences, of which never any one will attain the Perfection (5). I am not ignorant, Sir, the Perſon your Highneſs has for a Maſter, is for the happineſs of our Monarchy, ſo well furniſhed with theſe Arts and Sciences, that he can't but in a ſhort time bring your Highneſs to a conſiderable Perfection in them: However theſe Advertiſements, I could not omit purſuing my deſign in this Treatiſe to be beneficial as far as poſſible, not only to your Highneſs, but all other Princes now and hereafter.

(3) A wiſe Man will hear, and will increaſe Learning; and a Man of underſtanding ſhall attain unto wiſe Counſel. *Prov.* 1, 5. (4) *Eccl.* 39. 3. (5) *Mihi videtur ars artium & ſcientia ſcientiarum, omnium regere animal tam variam & multiplex.* Greg. Naz in Apolog.

EMBLEM VI.

THE heavenly Bridegroom has made uſe of the Body of this Emblem in the Book of *Canticles* to expreſs the Ornaments of his Brides Virtues (1): and the ſame the Lilies that crowned and perfected the Pillars of *Solomon*'s Temple, ſeem to allude to (2), as do thoſe which beautified the Candleſtick of the Tabernacle (3). This put me upon deſigning in the preſent Emblem, to repreſent by the Wheat, the Sciences; by the Lilies, the Arts and polite Learning which they ought to be graced with. Nor am I without Precedent or Authority, for *Procopius* long ago by Ears of Corn underſtood Diſci-

(1) Thy Belly is like an heap of Wheat, ſet about with Lilies, *Cant.* 7. 2. (2) And upon the tops of the Pillars was Lily work, ſo was the Work of the Pillars finiſhed. 1 *Kings* 7. 22. (3) *Exod.* 25. 31.

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ples (4), as our Bridgroom by Lilies, Eloquence (5). In effect, what is Polite Learning, but a kind of Crown of the Sciences? *Caſſiodorus* calls it the Diadem of Princes (6); and the *Hebrews* uſed to crown ſome parts of it with Garlands: And this I take to be ſignified by the Poets Lawrels. The Hoods, and Girdles, and coloured Silken Tufts, by which the *Hebrew* Doctors were diſtinguiſhed. The Sciences ſhould poſſeſs the Center of the Soul; gentile Learning be inſtead of a circumference; the knowledge of one, without the Ornaments of the other, is a kind of ignorance; for 'tis with the ſeveral parts of Learning, as with the Nine Muſes, who joyning hands, make a Circle in their Dances. How tireſome a thing is Philoſophy if too ſevere, and not qualified, and made agreeable by Polite Literature and Humanity? Theſe are therefore neceſſary for a Prince to temper the harſhneſs of Government with their pleaſantneſs; for 'tis from that they have the name of Humane. A Prince ſhould not be altogether ſingular, but have ſomething common to the reſt of Mankind; he ſhould diſcourſe with them of different ſorts of Studies, and that with a courteous and obliging Carriage; 'tis not Royal Grandeur which confounds us, but extravagant indiſcreet Gravity; as 'tis not the Light, but the extream Drineſs of the Sun that dazles our Eyes; 'tis therefore very proper that Political Science be deckt and embelliſhed with the Liberal Arts, which caſt as great a Luſtre as Rubies in a Crown, or Diamonds in a Ring. Nor do ſuch Arts ſit amiſs upon Majeſty, as require the aſſiſtance of the Hand as well as Mind; nor will it in the leaſt derogate from a Prince's Authority, or obſtruct his Management of Publick Affairs, to allow him ſome intervals of leiſure for his Diverſion (7): Thus *Mark Anthony* took a delight in Painting; *Maxi-*

(4) *Spicæ nomine, at ego quidem ſentio, diſcipulorum cœtum intellexit.* Procop. in c. 17. Iſa. (5) His Lips like Lilies dropping ſweet ſmelling Myrrh. *Cant.* 5. 13. (6) *Diadema eximium imprætiabilis notitia literarum, per quam dum veterum providentia diſcitur, regalis dignitas augetur.* Caſſi. 12. Var. 1. (7) *Nec cuiquam judici grave, aut ex ſtudiis honeſtis & voluptatibus conceſſis impartire.* Tac. 14. Ann.

milian the Second, in Sculpture; *Theobald*, King of *Navarre*, in Poetry and Muſick; with which laſt *Philip* the Fourth, the preſent King of *Spain*, your Royal Highneſs's Father, diverts himſelf as oft as diſingaged from the Cares and Concern the Government of two Worlds oblige him to. In this Exerciſe the *Spartans* too inſtructed their Youth; and in general all of this Nature are recommended by *Plato* and *Ariſtotle*, as very beneficial to a Commonwealth. And though 'tis true, the Mind ſhould not repoſe its whole ſatisfaction in them, Policy however requires a Prince ſometimes to uſe them, the People being ſtrangely pleaſed to ſee their Prince's thoughts thus diverted, and not always intent on the contriving their Slavery; 'twas on this account *Druſus*'s Debaucheries were acceptable to the *Romans* (8). There are only two things to be obſerved in the Uſe and Exerciſe of theſe Arts; one is, that they are to be practiſed not in publick but privately, as the Emperor *Alexander Severus* uſed to do, though excelled by none in Muſick, whether Vocal or Inſtrumental. The reaſon of this is, we are apt to think it a contemptible ſight to ſee the Hand which bears a Scepter, and Rules a Kingdom, filled with a Fiddle-ſtick or a Pencil; which we ſtill look upon to be a greater fault, if the Prince be of an Age, wherein one would think the care of the Publick ought to take him off theſe private Paſtimes: It being out Nature not to accuſe a Prince of loſs of time, if he's idle or does nothing, but rather blame him for ſpending it at theſe Diverſions. The other Caution is, that he lay not out too much time upon them, or be deſirous to excel others (9), leaſt he take more pride in this vain excellency than in well-governing the Commonwealth; a thing *Nero* was guilty of, who aban-

(8) *Nec luxus in juvene adeo diſplicebat: hoc potius intenderet, diem adificationibus, noctem conviviis traheret; quum ſolus & nullis voluptatibus avocatus, mœſtas violentias & malas curas exerceret* Tac. 3. Ann.
(9) *Hæc tria ad diſciplinam ſpectari oportet, at medium teneatur, ut fieri poſſit, ut deceat.*

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doned the Reins of his Empire for thoſe of a Chariot, and valued himſelf more upon acting the part of a Comedian in the Theatre than of an Emperor of the World.

This Abuſe which Princes ſometimes fall into by having a greater Eſteem for theſe Arts, than the Science of good Government. *Virgil* elegantly Cenſures in theſe Verſes:

Let others better Mold the running Maſs
Of Metals, and inform the breathing Braſs,
And ſoften into Fleſh a marble Face.
Plead better at the Bar, deſcribe the Skies,
And when the Stars deſcend, and when they riſe.
But Rome, *'tis thine alone, with awful ſway,*
To rule Mankind, and make the World obey;
Diſpoſing Peace and War thine own Majeſtick way.
To tame the Proud, the fetter'd Slave to free,
Theſe are Imperial Arts, and worthy thee.

Dryden's *Virg.*

As for Poetry, though it be a part of Muſick, Accents and Rhimes having the ſame effect in that, as Notes in in this; though that be the far nobler Exerciſe of the two; for this is of the Hands, that of the Brain. The one deſigned meerly to divert, the other to inſtruct with Diverſion; notwithſtanding it ſeems by no means proper for a Prince; it's ſtrange Sweetneſs being a great obſtacle to Maſculine and Noble Actions; for when the Mind is once captivated with the Charms of its Thoughts and Conceptions, as the Nightingal with the Melody of her Voice, it never leaves of, and grows ſo keen with Poetical Niceties, that its Edge is ſoon turned and blunted againſt the hard and rugged Troubles it muſt neceſſarily meet with in Government (10). Hence it alſo follows, That if a Prince takes not the

(10) *Vile autem exercitium putandum eſt, & Ars, & Diſciplina, quæcunque corpus aut animam, aut mentem liberi hominis ad uſum, & opem virtutis inutilem reddant.* Ariſt. Pol. 8. cap. 2.

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ſame delight in Ruling as Compoſing, he will in all probability leaſt regard this greateſt concern, wholly neglect or abandon it to the care of others; as did *John* II. King of *Arragon*, who ſquandered away his time in the Study of Poetry, and ſent for Perſons eminent for it from the remoteſt Countries, till his Subjects tired with his Negligence, put a ſtop to this uſeleſs Diverſion of his by an open Rebellion. Nevertheleſs, ſince Poetry is ſo much in Vogue at Courts, and does much refine and poliſh the Mind, a Prince will hardly eſcape the Charge of Ignorance, if he have not ſome ſmattering in't. He may therefore be allow'd ſome time for that Study, I mean as much as ſhall be thought fit to quicken his Parts, and improve his Judgment; for how many excellent Poems have by this means come from the Pens of ſuch as have govern'd in Church and State, with general Applauſe and Approbation? There are abundance of Princes given to the practice of Chymiſtry, which is indeed a very noble Diverſion, and diſcovers many wonderful Effects and Secrets of Nature; but for all this, I would adviſe a Prince not to meddle with it (11), for Curioſity will eaſily lead him from thence to Alchymy; or at leaſt, under the pretext of Simple Diſtillation, he will have a fancy to fix Mercury, and make Gold and Silver; things which the moſt precious of our time is thrown away upon to no purpoſe, and certain, waſted for uncertain Treaſures. 'Tis a Phrenzy, that nought but Death can cure, to make one Experiment after another, and not conſider that 'tis impoſſible to find a better Philoſopher's Stone, than a good and prudent Oeconomy. 'Tis of this, and of Commerce, not of Chymiſtry, this Sentence of *Solomon* is to be underſtood, [*That nothing is richer than Wiſdom*] (12). 'Twas by this kind of Traf-

(11) Be not curious in unneceſſary matters; for more things are ſhewed unto thee, than men underſtand. *Eccl* 3. 24. (12) What is richer than wiſdom that worketh all things? And if prudence work; who of all that are is a more cunning workman than ſhee? *Wiſd.* 8. 5.

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ſick with the Inhabitants of *Tarſis* and *Ophir*, the ſame *Solomon* got his vaſt Riches; for which he had never prepared ſo many and great Fleets, expoſed to ſo many and great Hazards at Sea, if he could have ſaved the labour with a Crucible. It is likely, that he who could ſpeak well of all things (13), who was endued by God with a Supernatural Knowledge, ſhould never find out this Secret alſo, or actually have uſed it, had it been feaſible? Beſides, 'tis not credible that God will ever permit it, for thereby in probability an end would be put to all Commerce, which is maintain'd by nothing ſo much, as by a Species of Money common to all the World, and that made of ſome ſcarce and precious Metal.

(13) And he ſpake of Trees, from the Cedar-tree that is in *Lebanon*, even unto the Hyſop, that ſpringeth out of the Wall. 1 *Kings* 4. 33.

EMBLEM VII.

THE Affections are born with us; Reaſon comes not till many Years after, when they are already poſſeſs'd of the Will, and this deluded with a falſe appearance of good ſubmits to them, and owns no other Empire but theirs, till Reaſon recovering ſtrength by Time and Experience, takes upon it the Right of Government it had by Nature, and begins to make Head againſt the Tyranny of our Appetites. This Light uſually riſes later in Princes, becauſe the Delicacies of the Court which they're uſed to, render their Affections more prevailing; beſides, that their Courtiers ſtrive generally to get their Favour, which they know, rather depends upon the Will than Reaſon; hence all uſe the art of Flattery, and make it their buſineſs to engage that, but caſt a Cloud on this. A Prince ought therefore to be well acquainted with theſe Artifices, and

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arm himſelf not againſt his own Paſſions only, but all ſuch Perſons as would abuſe them to govern him. This is a great and general Negligence in thoſe who undertake to form Princes Minds. Uſeleſs and unfruitful Weeds which grow among Corn, we ſpend time in eradicating; yet ſuffer vicious Paſſions and Inclinations, that wage War with Reaſon, to grow. To cure a Prince's Body, many *Galens* are always ready, the Mind often has ſcarce one *Epictetus*; though this is ſubject to no leſs Infirmities than the Body, and thoſe ſo much worſe, as that is more excellent than this. If its countenance were viſible, and we could diſcover in it its ill and diſtempered Affections, we ſhould pity the Condition of many, we at preſent take for happy Men, whom that feveriſh Heat of depraved Appetites ſo miſerably preys upon. If the Hearts of Tyrants could be opened, one might ſee Bruiſes and Wounds (1). Alas! What Tempeſts of Confuſion and Diſtraction is a Mind in that Condition rack'd with? Its Light is all obſcured, his Reaſon ſo diſturbed, that all things appear to him far different from what they really in themſelves are. Hence proceeds that variety of Judgments and Opinions in the World; hence few weigh things aright, but paſs a different eſtimate according to the light by which they ſee them. For 'tis with the Affections, as with Telleſcopes, which at one end magnify, at the other diminiſh Objects. The Cryſtals are the ſame, the Objects nothing alter'd; this only is the difference, that the viſual Rays falling in at one end, are dilated from the Center to the Circumference, and conſequently diffuſe themſelves and multiply more; whereas at the other end they are contracted from the Circumference to the Center, and ſo repreſent Objects conſiderably leſs: Such is the difference between theſe two ways of looking upon things. At the ſame time (tho'

(1) *Si recludantur tyrannorum mentes, poſſe aſpici laniatus, & ictus, quando, ut corpora verberibus, ita ſevitia, libidine, malis conſultis animus dilaceretur.* Tac. 6. Ann.

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in different Kingdoms) the two Infants, *James*, the Son of *James* the Second, King of *Arragon*; and *Alphonſo*, Son of *Dionyſio*, King of *Portugal*, had in view the Succeſſion of their Fathers Crown. But ſee in how different a manner, the firſt againſt his Father's Will refuſed to accept; the other contrary to the Laws of Piety, by force of Arms attempted to ſnatch it from the Head of his. One conſidering the vaſt Cares and Dangers of Government, bid adieu to the World, and preferr'd a Monaſtick Life as the more quiet and happy; the other look'd upon Life without Sovereignty to be burthenſome and unprofitable, and had more reſpect to his Ambition than the Law of Nature. This look'd upon the Circumference of the Crown which border'd with Flowers, was an agreeable ſight; that conſider'd rather the Point and Center of it, whence the Lines of Labour and Care are drawn. All Men propoſe ſomething that has the appearance of good, as the end of their Actions (2); but becauſe we are deceived in the knowledge of this Good, hence proceeds our Error. The greateſt thing imaginable when in our own Power appears little and inconſiderable, in others great and magnificent. Our own Faults we are not ſenſible of, thoſe of others we eaſily diſcover. Other Mens defects ſeem like Giants, ours ſcarce ſo big as Dwarfs. Nay, further, we know how to new name Vices, and give them the Colour of Virtue: Ambition we call greatneſs of Mind; Cruelty, Juſtice; Prodigality, Liberality; Raſhneſs, Valour. In ſhort, few can with Prudence diſtinguiſh Honeſty from its contrary, what's profitable from the prejudicial (3). 'Tis thus, we are deceived when we look on things by that end of the Proſpective, which Paſſions and Inclinations ſtop. I know nothing but Benefits that are to be looked upon through both ends; thoſe we receive, ought to appear great to us; thoſe

(2) *Omnia namque ejus, quod ſpeciem boni præfert, gratiâ omnes agunt.* Ariſt. Pol. 1. Cap. 8. (3) *Pauci prudentia, honeſta à deterioribus, utilia ab noxiis diſcernunt.* Tac. Lib. 4. Ann.

we confer, little. This was King *Henry* the Fourth's Cuſtom; nay, he ſeldom ſo much as remembred Kindneſſes he had done others; on the contrary, thoſe he had received, he never let ſlip out of his Memory, being always careful the firſt opportunity to repay them as a Debt. A Prince ought not to imagine that a Courteſy is, as it were, a Mark of Slavery on the Perſon gratified: I ſhould not call that Generoſity but Tyranny rather, and a kind of Traffick for Mens Affections, which the Prince buys at the price of Favours, as they do Slaves for Money on the Coaſts of *Guinea*. He who does a good Office ſhould not think he lays an Obligation; he who receives it ought to think himſelf obliged. In a word, A Prince ſhould imitate God Almighty, *who giveth to all Men liberally, and upbraideth not* (4). In undertaking and carrying on Wars; in procuring and eſtabliſhing Peace; in Injuries as well offered as received, let him always uſe the ſame Cryſtal of right Reaſon, through which he may ſee every thing equally without diſguiſe or fallacy. That Indifference and Juſtice in giving a due Eſtimate of things, becomes none more than a Prince, who ought to perform the ſame Office in his Kingdom, as the Tongue of a Balance in a pair of Scales, and agreeable thereto paſs a true and ſincere Judgment of all things, that his Government may be juſt, whoſe Balance will never hang even, if the Paſſions have place, or all things be not weighed in the Scale of right Reaſon. Upon this account Maſters ought to come with ſingular Care and Induſtry to inſtruct the Prince's Mind, diſcovering thoſe Errors of the Will, and the Vanity of its Perſwaſions, that free and diſengaged from Paſſion, he may paſs an unprejudiced Judgment on every thing. For, really if we throughly examine the fall of ſo many Empires, ſo many Revolutions in States, ſuch a multitude of Kings and Princes depoſed and murthered, we ſhall find the firſt Origin of theſe misfortunes to have

(4) James 1. 5.

been

been, the Paſſions having ſhaken off their Obedience, and their refuſal to ſubmit to Reaſon, whoſe Subjects they are by the Law of Nature. Nor is any thing more peſtilent to a Commonwealth than thoſe irregular Appetites, or the particular Ends which every one, as he pleaſes, purpoſes to himſelf. I don't hereby contend to have theſe Paſſions wholly razed or extinguiſhed in a Prince, for without them he would be abſolutely incapable of any generous Action; Nature having not furniſhed us with Love, Anger, Hope, Fear, and other the like Affections to no purpoſe; for though theſe are not Virtues, they are however their attendants and means, without which they are neither attainable nor practicable. 'Tis the abuſe only, and inordinacy of them, I diſapprove of; thoſe are to be corrected, that a Prince's Actions be not guided by Paſſion, but his whole Government by Prudence and Policy. Thoſe things which are common to other Men, are not allowable in a Prince (5). *Charles* the Fifth, if at any time he would indulge Anger or Indignation, did it in private and remote from Company, not publickly when he repreſented the Perſon and Majeſty of an Emperor; for in this Capacity, a Prince is rather the Idea of a Governor than a Man, and rather his Peoples than his own Man. Nothing is then to be determined out of Affection, but all things examined by the Rule and Standard of Reaſon; not by his Inclination, but Art. A Prince's Behaviour ſhould be rather Political than Natural; his deſigns proceed rather from the Heart of the Commonwealth than his own. Private Perſons uſually make their own Intereſt and Advantage the Meaſure of their Actions: Princes are to have the Publick Good in view. In a private Man to conceal his Paſſions, is look'd upon to be a ſign of too cloſe and reſerv'd a Temper; in Princes even Policy ſometimes require it. There appeared not the leaſt

(5) *Regum eſt ita vivere, ut non modo homini ſed ne cupiditati quidem ſerviant.* M. Tull. in Orat. Syll.

Symptom

Symptom of Passion in *Tiberius*, when *Piso* presented himself to him, after having, according to his order, dispatched *Germanicus*, which occasioned no small Jealousy in *Piso* (6). He who Commands many, should with many vary his Affections, or if possible appear free from them (7); endeavour in the same Hour as occasions differ, to seem Severe and Courteous, Just and Merciful, Liberal and Frugal (8). *Tiberius* was a great Master (9) of this Art, whose Mind it was not easy to discover; he knew so well how to mingle the Symptoms of his Anger and Satisfaction. A good Prince commands himself, and serves his People; but if he neglect to break, or conceal the natural Tendency of his Mind, his Actions will be always uniform, whence every one will presently see the Scope of his Designs, contrary to one of the principal Maxims of Policy; which for this very reason recommends variety of Methods in Acting, that the Prince's Designs may not be known. Nor is it by any means safe for him to let others discover his Nature and Inclinations. For there's no easier access to his Mind than that, which 'tis necessary he keep free and reserved, if he desire to have his Kingdom well-governed. For as soon as his Ministers have once discovered his Inclination, immediately they flatter him, and encourage the same in themselves. If in any thing the Prince be obstinate and opinionative, they are so too, and now nothing but perverseness governs. But if it shall be at any time the Prince's Interest to court the Peoples Favour and Applause, let him rather so behave himself, that what the People like or dislike, he may seem to have a natural Inclination or Aversion for. *Aristotle* puts Bashfulness in the number of the Passions, denies it to be a Moral Virtue, because a fear of Infamy, and

(6) *Nullus magis exterritus est, quam quod Tiberium sine miseratione, sine ira obstinum, clausamque vidit, ne quis affectu perumperetur.* Tac. 3. Ann. (7) *Hinc est sapere, qui, ubicumque opus sit, animum possis flectere.* Terent. (8) *Tempori aptari decet.* Sen. in Med. (9) *Haud facile qui despexerit, in cognitione mentem Principis; adeo versat, ac miscuit ira & clementiam.* Tac. 3 Ann.

therefore ſeems incompatible with a great Man, whoſe Actions being all ſquar'd by the Rule of right Reaſon, he has nothing to be aſhamed of. According to St. *Ambroſe*, however 'tis a Virtue which regulates our Actions (10); by which I conceive, he means that ingenuous and liberal Shame, or rather Modeſty, which like a Bridle reſtrains us from the Commiſſion of any ignominious or unſeemly Action, and is a token of a good Genius, and no ſmall argument that there remain in that mind ſome Seeds of Virtue, though not yet deeply rooted. I am apt to believe *Ariſtotle* ſpeaks of another vitious and irregular Baſhfulneſs, which is an obſtacle to Virtue; we may ſay of both, as of Dew, which falling moderately nouriſhes and refreſhes Corn; but when thick like ſmall Snow, burns up and kills it. No Virtue can be freely exerciſed, when this Paſſion has once prevailed, nor is any thing more pernicious to Princes, for this reaſon above all, that it has the appearance of Virtue, as if it were in a Prince a ſign of Candor, (and not rather of a mean and abject Spirit) not to be able to deny, contradict, reprehend, or correct without a Bluſh. Such as thee ſtraiten themſelves too much in their Grandeur, are in a manner afraid of Shadows; and what is worſe, make themſelves Slaves to thoſe they ought to govern. Beſides, how unbecoming is it to ſee in their Faces the colour of Shame, which none but Flatterers, Liars, and in general, all profligate Perſons ought to be ſtained with, and for them ſo to forget themſelves as to be governed and cozen'd by others. Whatever is aſked, they voluntarily offer, and give without any reſpect to Merit, vanquiſhed meerly by Petitions. They readily ſubſcribe to others Counſels and Opinions, though they don't approve them, and had rather ſeem Conquer'd

(10) *Pulchra virtus eſt verecundia, & ſuavis gratiaque non ſolum in factis, ſed etiam in ipſis ſpectatur ſermonibus, ne modum egrediaris loquendi, ne quid indecorum ſermo reſonet tuus.* St. Ambro.

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than Victors; which is the foundation of the moſt conſiderable Miſcarriages in a Commonwealth; ſhamefacedneſs by no means becomes Princes, who ſhould always appear with a ſerene and ſteady Aſpect (11). Princes therefore ſhould make it their whole buſineſs to correct this Paſſion, and moderate their natural Baſhfulneſs with Valour and Conſtancy, with a Reſolution not only of Mind, but outward Demeanour to reſiſt Flatteries, Lyes, Frauds, and Malice, that they may correct and amend them, and preſerve a Royal Integrity in their Words as well as Actions. Which the Two Kings, *John* the Second, and *Henry* the Fourth, having neglected to do; what wonder if their Authority and Crowns were brought into ſuch dangers? Farther, in curing this Paſſion, no ſmall Diſcretion is neceſſary; for whereas other Vices, like Thorns, are to be utterly extirpated, this is rather to be pruned, and the ſuperfluity cut off; that part of Shame left which guards Virtues, and regulates Mens Manners and Actions; for without this reſtraint, the Prince's Mind will be quite unruly; and except he now and then reflects upon Infamy and Indecency, he will follow the force of his Paſſions, and precipitate himſelf; eſpecially when there's Power to countenance them. If by good Arts modeſty is ſcarce to be preſerved, what will be the conſequence if we wholly abandon that (12)? 'Twas then *Tiberius* gave himſelf to all manner of Vice and Tyranny, when he had caſt off Shame and Fear, and followed only his own Humour (13). Hence *Plato* ſaid, *That* Jupiter, *if at any time apprehenſive of the Ruin of Mankind, diſpatch'd* Mercury *for the Earth, to diſtribute Juſtice and Modeſty among Men, by which they might prevent their Deſtruction.* Commiſeration and Pity is a Paſſion not leſs dangerous in Princes, than the other;

(11) *Quorundam parum idonea eſt verecundia rebus civilibus, qua firmam frontem deſiderant.* Seneca. (12) *Vix artibus honeſtis retinetur pudor.* Tac. 14. Ann. (13) *Poſtremo in ſcelera ſimul ac dedecora prorupit, poſtquam remoto pudore & metu, ſuo tantum ingenio utebatur.* Tac. 6. Ann.

for when it has once prevailed in the Mind, neither Reaſon nor Juſtice perform their Offices. For out of an extravagant fear of diſobliging any by Reprehenſion or Correction, they neglect to apply Remedies to their Subjects Crimes, and ſuffer many to go unpuniſhed. They are deaf to the Peoples Clamours, nor do Publick Calamities affect them, while at the ſame time they are ſenſibly touch'd with pity for three or four Men who were the Promoters of them. They feel themſelves diſordered at other Mens Crimes; and accordingly for fear of any trouble upon their account, chuſe to connive at, or pardon, rather than puniſh them. This is a weakneſs of Judgment, and defect of Prudence, to be remedied with time; but that with the ſame Moderation as we mentioned of Baſhfulneſs, that part only of Commiſeration is to be retrenched which ſo enfeebles the Mind, that it can't act with Vigour and Conſtancy. Reſerving that compaſſionate Affection peculiar to Princes (14) where right Reaſon, without hazarding the publick Security, perſwades. Both theſe Paſſions, as well that of Baſhfulneſs, as Commiſeration, are corrigible, and to be ſubdued by ſome contrary Actions, which may remove that too great tenderneſs and imbecillity of Mind, and delivering it from thoſe ſervile Fears, render it capable of more maſculine Actions. If a Prince now and then endeavours (though in matters of the leaſt conſequence) to keep his Mind firm and reſolute, and conſiders his Power and Quality, he will eaſily afterwards be able to do the ſame in Affairs of greater moment. All's done, if he can but once acquit himſelf generouſly in it, and make himſelf fear'd and reſpected. There remain two other Paſſions conſiderably prejudicial to Youth; Fear and Obſtinacy. Fear, when a Prince is ſo timorous, and in all things diffident of himſelf, that he dares neither act nor ſpeak. Never approves any Action of his own, Fears to appear in publick, and Love's rather ſolitude

(14) *Principatus enim proprium eſt miſereri.* St. Chryſ.

and

and retirement. This proceeds generally from an effeminate and retired Education; as alſo for want of Experience, the only Remedy for this Diſtemper; that is, the Prince ſhould uſe himſelf to give Audience to his Subjects as well as Foreigners; often appear in Publick that he may learn to know Men, and in general all other things as in themſelves they are, not as his Imagination, or Maſter has painted them. Let there be always free acceſs to his Apartments for thoſe worthy Perſons, that are his Father's Chamberlains, and all other Courtiers that are eminent for Valour, Ingenuity, and Experience. Which Cuſtom was obſerved in *Spain* till the time of *Philip* the Second, who cautious of his Son *Charles*'s underhand-dealings, aboliſhed that Cuſtom of free Acceſs and Communication, and ſo declining one Inconvenience, fell into another equally dangerous to Princes, for ſo is it to be too much abſtracted from Converſation; for this uſually prompts them to rely too much upon ſome particular Favourite.

Laſtly, Obſtinacy ariſes partly from Fear, partly from natural Slothfulneſs, when a Prince won't Act at all, but reſolutely rejects all Inſtructions that are given him. That Coldneſs of Mind is to be cured by the Fire of Glory and Incentives to it, as faults in Horſes are uſually corrected by the Spur. The Prince therefore is to be led gradually into the way, and the Progreſs he makes to be commended; though at firſt thoſe Commendations be above his merit, and only for forms ſake.

EMBLEM VIII.

IN the Unicorn Nature hath ſhewn a piece of admirable Skill and Providence, in placing Anger's Weapon exactly between the Eyes. 'Tis abſolutely neceſſary to have both Eyes intent upon that Paſſion, which ſo imperiouſly tyrannizes over our Actions, and the Motions of the Mind. The ſame Flame that lights it, blinds it, and 'tis differenced only by its ſhort continuance from Fury and Madneſs. A Man in a Paſſion is not the ſame as before, for he is thereby as it were put beſide himſelf (1). Valour has no need of it; for what were more ſilly, than for this to require Aid from Anger, a thing ſtable from one inconſtant, faithful from one falſe, ſound from one diſeaſed (2)?

(1) *Non deſiderat fortitudo advocatam iram.* Cicero. (2) *Quid enim ſtultius eſt, quam hanc ab iracundia petere præſidium, rem ſtabilem ab incertâ, fidelem ab infidâ, ſanam ab ægra?* Senec.

'Tis

'Tis not this fickle pettiſh Paſſion obtains Victories, triumphs over Enemies, nor is that really Courage that is without Reaſon provoked. In a word, no Vice is more unbecoming a Prince, than that; for to be angry, ſuppoſes contempt, or an injury received; nor is any thing ſo diſagreable to his Place and Office, in as much as nothing ſo obſcures the Judgment which ſhould in a Governor be ſerene and clear. A Prince that is exaſperated, and paſſionate upon any ſlight occaſion, gives his Heart into the Hands of the Perſon who provokes him, and is ſubject to his pleaſure. If not a wrinkle in a King's Coat can be diſordered without offence, what will it be if he ſuffer any one to diſturb his Mind? Anger is a kind of Moth which Purple breeds and nouriſhes. Pomp engenders Pride; Pride, Paſſion; and Impatience is as it were a Propriety of Power. The Senſe of Princes is ſomething too delicate a Looking Glaſs which the leaſt breath ſullies, a Heaven that with the leaſt Vapour is clouded and breaks out into Thunder. A Vice that generally ſeizes great and generous Spirits; as the Sea, however vaſt and powerful, is with the leaſt blaſt of Wind raiſed into horrid Diſorders and Tempeſts, with this only difference, that they are of much longer continuance in Princes Minds than in the Sea; eſpecially if their Honour be concerned, which they imagine 'tis impoſſible to retrieve without Revenge. What a trifling piece of incivility was that, *Sancho*, King of *Navarre*, put upon *Alphonſus* the Third, after the Battel of *Arcos*, in returning without taking leave of him? Which however this ſo highly reſented, that he could never forget it, or reſt till he had got him out of his Kingdom. The Anger of Princes is like Gun-powder, which no ſooner takes Fire, but has its effect; the Holy Spirit calls it the Meſſenger of Death (3); and barely on this account 'twere ſufficiently reaſonable to curb and reſtrain it. 'Tis very indecent for one in Authority to ſubmit to this Paſſion. Let Princes re-

(3) The Wrath of Kings is as Meſſengers of Death, *Prov.* 16. 14.

member that nothing is put in their Hands for a Scepter, with which they can hurt. And if sometimes a naked Sword is carried before Kings, 'tis in token of Justice not Revenge; and then 'tis carried in another's hand to intimate that between Anger and Execution there ought to intercede a Command. The publick Safety depends on Princes, which will easily be in danger, if they hearken to so rash a Counsellor, as Anger. Who can escape its hands? For 'tis like a Thunder-bolt when it comes from Supreme Power. *And because*, says King *Alphonso*, *Anger is stronger in a King, and more dangerous than in others; in that he can more readily satisfy it, he ought to be more prepar'd to curb and correct it* †. If Princes in a Passion could look upon themselves, they would find a Countenance unbecoming such Majesty, whose Tranquility and agreeable Harmony, both of Words and Actions, ought to please rather than terrify, to acquire Love rather than Fear. A Prince therefore should quench the Heat and Violence of Anger; if he can't do so, at least to defer the Fury and Execution of it for some time: For as the same King *Alphonso* has said, *A King ought to keep in his Anger till it is over, this will be of advantage to him, for so he will be able to judge and act justly in all things* *. The Emperor *Theodosius* experienced this in himself; and for this reason made a Law, That Capital Punishments should not be executed till thirty Days after Sentence passed. Which *Tiberius* had before him decreed, though for only ten Days, and without giving the Senate power to revoke the Sentence once pronounced (4). Which indeed had been commendable, if his design had been to make room for Pardon, or give time for a second hearing of the Cause. But *Tiberius* was a Man of too much Cruelty and Rigor to give that Indulgence (5.) It was the

† L. 10. tit. p 2. * L. tit. 5 p 2. (4) *Neque vitæ spatium damnatis prorogaretur, sed non senatui libertas ad pœnitendum erat.* Tac. 3. Ann. (5) *Neque Tiberius interjectu temporis mitigabatur.* Tac. 3. Ann.

Counsel

Counſel of *Athenodorus* to *Auguſtus Cæſar*, to determine nothing in a Paſſion till he had repeated the Twenty four Letters of the *Greek* Alphabet.

Since then, Anger is a ſhort Madneſs, directly oppoſite to mature Deliberation; there is no better Antidote againſt it than prudent Reflection; that the Prince be not too haſty in Execution, before he has had Council to examine a matter throughly. King *Ahaſuerus*, when his Queen *Vaſhti* refuſed to come at his Command, though he had reaſon to think himſelf contemned, and highly reſented the Affront, yet would not be revenged till he had firſt called a Council, and taken the Advice of his Noblemen (6). To talk of an Injury received, inflames Anger more; hence that of *Pythagoras*, *Stir not Fire with a Sword*, for Motion increaſes the Flame; nor is there any more effectual Remedy for Anger than Silence and Solitude. By its ſelf it inſenſibly conſumes and wears off; whereas the moſt ſoftning Diſcourſe is often like the Water Smiths uſe to make their Fire burn fiercer. Farther, Anger has its ſeat in the Ears, or at leaſt keeps watch there; theſe therefore a Prince is to ſecure, that they be not too ready to hear ill Reports, that may enrage him (7.) This I imagine was the reaſon the Statue of *Jupiter Cretenſis* had no Ears, becauſe they do more miſchief to Governors than good. However, I think them neceſſary for Princes, provided they be cautious and ruled by Prudence, and let not themſelves be moved at the firſt hearing of every trifling Story. Anger is to be commended when kindled by Reaſon, and moderated by Diſcretion; without ſuch as that, there can be no Juſtice (8). Too much Indulgence gives licenſe to offend, and makes Obedience bold. To endure all things with content, is ignorance, or ſhews a ſervile Temper of one who has a mean Opinion of himſelf. To continue in Anger when

(6) Eſth. 1. 2. (7) Let every man be ſwift to hear, ſlow to ſpeak, ſlow to wrath. *James* 1. 19. (8) *Nunc ſtuſci contenti, juſtitia cauſa.* Stob. Serm. 20.

'tis to punish Offences, or make Examples of such as affront Regal Authority is no Vice, but a Virtue, and by no means derogates from Mildness and Clemency. Was any one more meek than *David* (9), *a Man after God's own Heart* (10)? So mild in Vengeance, in Anger so moderate; that when he had *Saul*, his greatest Enemy, in his power, was satisfied with cutting off the Skirt of his Robe, and even that afterward repented of (11). Nevertheless with severity did he revenge the Injury King *Hanun* did to his Ambassadors. *David* had sent them to comfort the King for the Death of his Father, but he groundlesly suspecting they came rather to spy out the State of his Kingdom, sent them away with the one half of their Beards shaved off, and their Garments obscenely cut off in the middle. *David*, a Man otherwise very peaceable, could not brook this Affront, but made War against him, and all the Cities of his Kingdom which he took, he utterly demolished; and the People that were therein, (to use the Scripture words) he *brought forth and put them under Saws and under Harrows of Iron, and under Axes of Iron, and made them pass through the Brick-kiln* (12). This may seem to be Cruelty, and an Excess of Anger, to any one that knows not that the Wounds injuries make, are sometimes to be so cured, as not so much as Scars should be left. *Artaxerxes* threatned Fire and Sword to some Cities, if they obey'd not an Edict he had published, resolving, if they refused, to make so severe an Example of their Contempt and Disobedience, as should extend to Brutes as well as Men (13). The most Just God taught us this piece of Policy, when with the utmost Rigour, yet without prejudice to his Infinite Mercy, he punished the *Syrians* Army for blasphemously

(9) Lord remember *David* and all his Afflictions, *Lat. Vers. Mansuetudinis ejus.* Psal. 131. 1. (10) I have found *David*, the Son of *Jesse*, a Man after mine own heart. *Act.* 13. 22. (11) And it came to pass afterwards that *David's* heart smote him, because he had cut off *Saul's* Skirt. 1 *Sam.* 24. 5. (12) 2 *Sam.* 12. 31. (13) *Esth.* 16. 24.

calling

calling him the God of the Hills (14). The Supreme Authority and Power of Princes makes a part of a Commonwealth, ſo that they can't put up Affronts and Injuries at all times.

That Anger too is praiſe-worthy in Princes, and profitable to a State, which kindled by Incentives of Glory, elevates the Mind to difficult and noble Enterprizes, for without it nothing extraordinary, nothing great, can be undertaken, much leſs perfected and accompliſhed. That, that is it which nouriſhes the Heart of generous Spirits, and raiſes it above its ſelf to deſpiſe Difficulties. The Academicks called it the Whetſtone, *Plutarch* the Companion of Virtue. But particularly, in the beginning of his Reign, the Prince ought to lay aſide Anger, and forget paſt Injuries; as *Sancho*, Sirnamed the Brave, did when the Succeſſion of the Crown of *Caſtile* fell to him. With Government, a Prince changes as 'twere his Nature, why ſhould he not alſo his Affections and Paſſions? 'Twere an Abuſe of Government to take Revenge of one who already acknowledges himſelf your Subject. Let the Perſon offended think he has Satisfaction in having got Authority over him, who before injured him. Fortune could not give him a nobler kind of Revenge. So *Lewis* XII. King of *France*, thought, and therefore when ſome perſwaded him to revenge the Injuries he had received, while Duke of *Orleans*, he made anſwer, *That it did not become the King of* France *to revenge the Quarrels of the Duke of* Orleans.

Particular Injuries done to his Perſon, not Dignity, a Prince ought not to vindicate with his utmoſt Power; for though they ſeem inſeparable, yet 'tis convenient to make ſome Diſtinction between them, leaſt Majeſty become odious and too formidable. To this tended

(14) Becauſe the *Syrians* have ſaid, the Lord is the God of the Hills, but he is not God of the Vallies; therefore will I deliver this great multitude into thine hand, and ye ſhall know that I am the Lord, 1 *Kings* 20. 28.

that

that of *Tiberius*, when he said, That if *Piso* had committed no other Crime, but the rejoycing at *Germanicus*'s Death, and his grief for it, he would revenge those Injuries done him as a private Person, not as a Prince, and in a publick Capacity (15). On the other side, those done to his Dignity or Publick Station, he ought not to vindicate as a private Person, so as in a transport of Passion to think his Honour and Reputation lost, except he have immediate Satisfaction, especially when it were fitter to be deferred; for Anger should not be a Motion of the Mind, but of the Publick Good and Advantage. King *Ferdinand*, the Catholick, undoubtedly had this before him, when the King of *Granada* refused to pay him Tribute, as his Ancestors had done; and withal, insolently sent him word, that they were long since dead; that in his Mints they laboured not to Coin Silver or Gold, but Forge Swords and Launces †. *Ferdinand* concealed his Resentment of this Liberty and Arrogance for a time, and made a Truce with him, deferring Revenge till his Affairs were more quiet and settled; in which he consulted more the Publick Good, than his own Particular Affections (16). Nor is it less prudent to dissemble Anger, when one has reason to presume, that a time will come when it will be for our disadvantage to have shown it. For that reason, King *Ferdinand*, the Catholick, though highly affronted by the Grandees of his Kingdom; yet, when he abdicated that of *Castile*, and retreated into *Arragon*, very discreetly concealed that Indignation of Mind, took no notice of the Injuries he had received, but shewed himself friendly and affectionate to all, as if he then foresaw he should be

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(15) *Nam si legatus officii terminos, obsequium erga Imperatorem exuit, ejusdemque morte, & luctu meo lætatus est, odero: seponamque à domo meâ & privatas inimicitias, non Principis, ulciscar.* Tac. 3. Ann.
† Marian. Hist. Hisp. lib. 24. cap. 16. (16) A Fool's wrath is presently known; but a prudent Man covereth shame. *Lat. Vers. Injuriam dissimulat. Prov.* 12. 16.

sometime

sometime restored to his Kingdom, as indeed it afterwards happened. A generous Mind hides its Resentments of Injuries, and strives not by the impetuousness of Anger, but rather by noble Actions to smother them; the best certainly, and a truly heroical kind of Revenge. When King *Ferdinand*, the Holy, besieged *Sevil*, a certain Nobleman reproached *Garcias Perez de Vargas* for wearing a waved Shield, which was not allowed his Family; he then pretended to take no notice of the Affront, till the Siege of *Triana*, where he fought with so much Valour, that he brought his Shield back stuck with Darts, then returning to his Rival, who was then in a secure Post, and shewing him the Shield, *You have reason*, says he, *to think much that I wear this Shield, that expose it to so many Dangers; without doubt no one deserves it beyond your self, who would take so much care to preserve it.* Those ordinarily bear Affronts most patiently, who are the least subject to give them; nor is it a less Virtue to Conquer this Passion, than an Enemy. To kindle a Prince's Anger is no less dangerous than to set Fire to a Mine or Petard; and though it be done in our own behalf, 'tis prudence to moderate it, especially if against Persons in Power: for such Angers generally fall on the Author's own Head. This was the reason the Moors of *Toledo* took so much pains to pacify King *Alphonso* the Sixth's Wrath, against the Archbishop of that place, and the Queen, who had taken without his Order, their Mosque from them. From which I draw two Precepts: One is, that Ministers ought, when the Duty of their place requires them, to tell the Prince of any thing that may create Distast or Anger, to represent them in the most softening terms imaginable (17); for it often happens that an incensed Mind vents its Fury upon the Person who gave the first Information of

(17) *Cuncta tamen ad Imperatorem in mollius relata.* Tac. 4. Ann.

the

the thing, however Innocent he may be, however good his Design was in doing it. The other is, That they endeavour not only to moderate Princes Anger, but cover and conceal it handsomely. Those Seraphims (Ministers of Love) which stood above God in *Isaiah*'s Vision, *with two Wings covered his Face, and with two covered his Feet* (18). Least his angry Countenance should strike such as were guilty of any fault with such Terror and Despair, that they would wish the Mountains to fall on them, rather than see the Face of an avenging God (19). The heat of Anger is no sooner cooled, but Princes are sorry and vexed to have had any Witnesses of it, or Spectators of its Effect, for both are equally disagreeable to the Dignity of a King. And God himself for this reason turned *Lot*'s Wife into a Pillar of Salt (20).

(18) Isaiah 6. 1. (19) Revel. 6. 16. (20) Gen. 19. 26.

EM-

EMBLEM IX.

'TIS to its own damage that Envy oppoſes the Trophies and Glory of *Hercules*. To what end does it attempt to bite his ſharp pointed Club, but to make its Jaws bloody? In ſhort, 'tis its own avenger. It ſeems to me like a Sword which from the ſame Blood it ſpills gathers Ruſt, and by that is afterwards eat up. All other Vices take their riſe from ſome appearance of Good, or from Pleaſure; on the contrary this proceeds from an inward Grief and Diſſatisfaction at the good of another. Other Vices their Puniſhment follows, this it even preceeds. Envy ſooner exerts its Fury upon its own Bowels (1), than on the Honour of its Neighbour. 'Tis the ſhadow of Virtue; he that would avoid that, muſt fly the light of this. The Owl's Sight being by

(1) Envy is the rottenneſs of the Bones, *Prov.* 14. 30.

Nature

Nature ſtrong enough to bear the Sun's Rays, is probably the reaſon other Birds hate and envy her: Whereas would ſhe be confined to her private Places, and conceal her ſelf in the darkneſs of Night, ſhe need not fear their Perſecutions. Between Equals there's ſeldom Emulation; when one's Fortune, the other's Envy encreaſes. Men are naturally apt to look with an ill Eye on upſtart Happineſs, and deſire to reduce the Fortunes of none more than thoſe whom they have once ſeen upon the Level with themſelves (2). Envy is like the Tare which never ſeizes Corn till it be conſiderably grown, and its Fruit begins to ripen (3). He muſt therefore fly Fame, Dignities, and honourable Employments, that would not be expoſed to Envy's Darts. A mean Fortune is leaſt dangerous (4). *Regulus* in the midſt of *Nero*'s Cruelty lived ſecure, becauſe, ſays *Tacitus*, his Gentility was of a ſmall ſtanding, and his Eſtate inconſiderable (5); but this fear would be unworthy a generous Beaſt. Others envying us, ſhews we excel them, but to be abſolutely free from Envy is a very ill ſign. 'Tis aſſuredly better to endure it, than be looked upon by all with indifferency. Envy is the Sting of Virtue; as the Thorn preſerves the Roſe, ſo does that Virtue. This would eaſily be neglected, were there none malicious and detracting. Many has Emulation advanced, many Envy made happy. That Emulation of *Carthage* raiſed the *Roman* Glory, as that of *Francis*, King of *France*, did the Fame of the Emperor *Charles* the Fifth. 'Twas Envy gave the *Roman*, nay, the Univerſal Church to *Sixtus Quintus*, thence came all his fortune. There's nothing better in this Caſe than Scorn, and being always endeavouring to mount

(2) *Inſita mortalibus natura, recentem aliorum fœlicitatem aegrè oculis introſpicere, nedumque fortunæ à nullis magis exigere, quam quos in æquo videre.* Tac. 2. Ann. (3) But when the Blade was ſprung up, and brought forth Fruit, then appeared the Tares alſo, *Matth.* 13. 26. (4) *Ex mediocritate fortunæ pauciora pericula ſunt.* Tac. 14. Ann. (5) *Quia nova generis claritudine, neque invitioſis opibus erat.* Tac. 14. Ann.

higher

higher till the envious Man's Eyes fail him, and he loſe ſight of you. The Shadow of the Earth reaches the Moon, that loweſt of the Cœleſtial Orbs, ſo near the Elements, and overcaſts its Splendor; the higher Planets it does not in the leaſt injure: The force of the Sun, when at height, ſcatters and diſpels Clouds. Where's great Inequality, there's no room for Envy, and conſequently this is the only remedy againſt it. The more expeditiouſly a Man advances himſelf, the leſs will he be expoſed to Envy. No Smoak comes from a Fire ſoon lighted. Whereas, while Merits wreſtle, as it were, with one another, Envy grows and takes up Arms againſt the Perſon preferr'd. Pride and Supercilioufneſs are things which in good Succeſs provoke Envy, and ſtir up hatred. On the other ſide, Modeſty quells it; for no one envies him as happy, who looks not upon himſelf as ſuch. For this reaſon, *Saul* immediately after his being anointed King, betook himſelf to his Houſe; and to ſhew he was not exalted with Royal Dignity laid aſide the Scepter for a time, and ſet his Hand to the Plough (6). There's yet another Remedy, which is not to enlarge one's Fortune at Home, but in a Foreign Country; for 'tis very obvious for one, who before knew another to be of a mean Extraction, but now ſees him in a high degree of Dignity, to envy him this happineſs; this Evil inſinuates itſelf more by the Eyes than Ears (7). Many eminent Men have declined Honours to avoid being envied. The Conſul *Tarquinius* voluntarily choſe Exile to eſcape the ſight of this Fury. *Valerius Publius* ſet his own Houſes on Fire, becauſe their Magnificence procured him Envy. *Fabius* abdicated the Conſulſhip, ſaying, *Now I hope Envy will ceaſe to trouble the* Fabii (8). They were however in my opinion in the wrong, for

(6) 1 Sam. 10. 11. (7) *Ut effugiamus nomen invidiæ, quod verbum dictum eſt, à nimis intuendo fortunam alterius.* Cic. in Tuſ. (8) *Non enim poterimus ullâ eſſe invidiâ ſpoliati opibus, & illa ſenatoria poteſtate.* Cic. ad Att.

this is rather to put the Sword in the Enemies hands and give further occasion to Envy; which when it has once undertaken to persecute any one, never leaves him, till it has driven him to the extremity of Misery. The Sun casts no Shadows so long as 'tis in the Zenith; but as it declines and comes nearer us, they proportionably increase and grow longer. In the same manner Envy pursues him with the greater force, who is near ruin, or begins to fall; and as it generally lodges only in mean spirited Persons, is always afraid he should raise himself upon his Legs again. Even after *Daniel* was thrown among the Lions, *Darius* thought him not yet secure enough from those who envied him the King's Favour; and so fearing more Mens Envy than the Wild Beasts Cruelty, he sealed the Stone which was laid upon the Lions Den with his own Signet, and with the Signet of his Lords, that no mischief might be done him (9). Sometimes to avoid Envy, and its Inconveniences, 'twere advisable to embark those in the same Fortune, whose Emulation may be feared. Thus the *Remora*, which sticking to the outside of the Ship stops its Course, loses its strength when taken in (10).

Envy does not always gnaw lofty Cedars; sometimes she tires her Teeth, and bloodies her Lips with the lowest Thorns, which Nature her self seems to have in a manner hated. Insomuch as not to look on even the Miseries and Calamities of others without Spite and Indignation; whether it be, that her Malice is wholly mad and unreasonable, or because she cannot endure the Sufferer's strength of Mind and Constancy, or the Fame Fortune's Injuries usually beget. There are to be found in the Person of the present Author, many things to make his Case deservedly deplorable; none,

(9) That the purpose might not be chang'd concerning *Daniel*. *Lat. Vers. Ne quid fieret contra Danielem.* Dan. 6. 17. (10) *Peculiariter miratum, quo modo adhærens remisisset, nec idem posset in navigium recepius.* Plin. lib. 32, c. 1.

or

or very few, to render him envied; nevertheleſs there are ſome who envy him theſe continual Cares and Fatigues, though little acknowledged or requited. There ſeems to be ſomething of fatality in this Emulation againſt him; it produc'd it ſelf without any reaſon, and often aſperſes him with things, he had by hear-ſay from others, before he could have ſo much as imagined. Notwithſtanding his mind ſo full of Candor, and mindful of his Duty, is ſo far from being diſturbed at theſe things, that he rather loves that Envy and Indignation, perceiving it to awaken his Courage, and daily excite it to make a further Progreſs.

Princes therefore, who are ſo far in Degree and Dignity ſuperior to others, ought chiefly to endeavour to deſpiſe Envy. He that has not Spirit enough for that, how will he have enough to be a Prince? To go to ſubdue it by kindneſs or rigour were plain Imprudence. All other Monſters *Hercules* tamed; againſt this neither Force nor Obligations were to any purpoſe. Nothing can ſilence the Peoples Clamours; for whatever Favours you confer, they take for Debts; nay, always promiſe themſelves greater than they receive. Obloquy and Detraction ought not to quench in a Prince the deſire of Glory, nor deter him from executing his Enterprizes: Dogs bark at the Moon, but ſhe eaſily deſpiſes them, and proceeds in her Courſe. The principal Art of Government is to be able to endure Envy. Envy is not very prejudicial to Monarchies, but rather generally enflames Virtue, and makes it more illuſtrious; eſpecially, if the Prince be Juſt and Conſtant, and don't too eaſily give credit to Calumnies. But in Republicks, where each Man goes for a part, and can execute the Deſires of his Paſſions with the help of Friends and Relations; 'tis very dangerous raiſing Diſcord and Clandeſtine Conſpiracies, whence afterwards ariſe Civil Wars, which are the Cauſes of all Revolutions in States. 'Twas that in former times ruined *Hannibal*, and many other great Men; and in this our Age has called in queſtion the unparallel'd Fi-

delity of *Angelo Baduero*, that famous *Venetian*, whom you may deſervedly call the Glory and Ornament of that Commonwealth: A Man ſo deſirous of, and paſſionate for the Publick Good, that even while under baniſhment, and unjuſtly oppreſſed, and perſecuted by envious Men, he was in all things ſtrangely ſollicitous for the Preſervation and Welfare of his Country.

The moſt Sovereign Remedy againſt Envy in Republicks, is an Equality of all the Members of them, ſo as that all Pomp and Oſtentation be prohibited; for nothing ſo excites Emulation as the Splendor and Plenty of Riches. This made the *Romans* take ſo much care to regulate and reduce the ſuperfluous Expences of Feaſts, and to divide their Lands and Poſſeſſions, that their Citizens might be all equal in Strength and Eſtate.

Envy in Princes is very unbecoming their Eminency and Grandeur, as well for its being the Vice of an Inferior towards his Superiors, as becauſe it muſt be but a very inconſiderable Glory which can't ſhine without obſcuring others. The Pyramids of *Egypt* were reckoned among the Seven Wonders of the World for receiving Light on all ſides of them, without caſting the leaſt Shade on any Bodies near (11). 'Tis a ſign of weakneſs to want that which we envy in others. But nothing is more unworthy a Prince, than to envy the Excellence and Prudence of his Miniſters, for they are in a manner Parts and Members of him; the Head envies not the Feet for being ſo ſtrong as to ſupport the Body, or the Arms, becauſe they can labour; it glories rather in being furniſhed with ſuch Inſtruments. However, ſelf-love ſometimes is the reaſon, that as Princes are Superior to others in Power, ſo alſo they are deſirous to ſurpaſs them in the Gifts of Mind and Body. Even the fame of *Lucan*'s Verſes was a diſturbance to

(11) *Pyramides in Egypto, quarum in ſuo ſtatu ſe umbræ conſumunt, ultra conſtructionis ſpatia nulla parte reſpicitur.* Caſſiodor. l. 6. Var. Epiſt. 16.

Nero

Nero in the midſt of all his Grandeur (12): Wherefore thoſe who have to do with Princes, ought to be very cautious, not to ſeem to enter into a Diſpute with them for Knowledge or Ingenuity; or if at any time they are by ſome accident obliged to it, ſubmit rather, and voluntarily yield them the Victory; this being not only Prudence, but Reſpect due to Princes. The Cherubims (thoſe Spirits of Knowledge and Wiſdom) which ſtood before the Throne of God in *Ezekiel*'s Viſion, with ſingular Modeſty covered their Hands with their Wings (13). This I wiſh indeed, that the Prince would be jealous of that Veneration, which ſome to get the greater Intereſt in him too ambitiouſly demand, and accordingly moderate a little the exceſs of thoſe his Favours. Yet, by what Charm I know not, this love and kindneſs inchants a Prince's Mind, and blinds Envy. *Saul* could not but look upon *David* with an ill Eye, when he ſaw his great Exploits, though done for his Service, more applauded than his own (14). Whereas *Abaſuerus* could eaſily ſuffer *Haman*, that great Favourite of his, to be worſhipped and honoured by all as a King (15). No Envy has more danger in it than that between Noblemen; care ſhould therefore be taken that Honours and Great Places ſeem not to be Hereditary to particular Families, but be tranſferr'd from one to another; yet, ſo as that the wealthieſt of the Nobility be employed in Places that require Pomp and Expence; the poorer ſort in thoſe by which they may raiſe their Fortune, and maintain the Splendor of their Birth. There is ſome Emulation that is glorious, I mean ſuch as envies the Virtue and Merit of another, but

(11) *Lucanum propria cauſa accendebant, quod famam carminum ejus premebat Nero.* Tac. lib. 15. Ann. (13) And there appear'd in the Cherubims, the form of a Man's hand under their Wings, *Ezek.* 10. 8. (14) And *Saul* eyed *David* from that day, and forward. 1 *Sam.* 18. 9. (15) And all the King's Servants that were in the Gate, bow'd and reverenced *Haman*, for the King had ſo commanded concerning him. *Eſth.* 3. 2.

grieves to want them it ſelf, and endeavours by all the Efforts both of Valour and Wit to acquire them; this, I ſay, is commendable; nor is it to be reputed a Vice, but a kind of ſpark of Virtue proceeding from a noble and generous Mind. The Honour *Miltiades* got by his Victory over the *Perſians*, kindled ſuch Flames in *Themiſtocles*'s Breaſt, as immediately conſumed all his Vices; he like another Man ran about *Athens*, crying, *The Trophies of* Miltiades *would not let him Sleep.* As long as *Vitellius* had Competitors, he abſtained from Vices; but as ſoon as he was without them, both he and his Army abandon'd themſelves to Cruelty, Luſt, Rapine, and Licentiouſneſs (16). This is the Emulation Commonwealths ſhould encourage, by propoſing Rewards, erecting Trophies or Statues; for that is the Soul and Spirit by which they are preſerved, and grow daily more flouriſhing. And this I take to be the Reaſon the Republick of *Switzerland* takes ſo little pains to extend its Limits, and why it produces ſo few famous Men; though otherwiſe Nature has been by no means niggardly of Valour, and Strength of Mind to its Inhabitants; for their principal Deſign is to eſtabliſh a general Equality, which puts a ſtop to all Emulation; and conſequently all noble and Military Virtues are buried like burning Coals in Aſhes. But though this Emulation among Miniſters may ſeem uſeful, yet 'tis not wholly without Danger, in that the People who ſuffer no Man to be without a Rival are variouſly affected (17); hence, while theſe favour one, thoſe applaud another, there ariſes a Contention between both Parties, and theſe Factions breed Tumults and Seditions. Beſides that, the heat of Ambition, and deſire of advancing themſelves above others, uſually puts them upon unlawful Tricks and Artifices; and that which at firſt was honourable

(16) *Tam ipſe, exercituſque, ſaeviia, libidine, rapti in extremos mores properarunt.* Tac. 2. Hiſt. (17) *Scientia militiæ & rumore populi, qui neminem ſine æmuli finit.* Tac. 14. Ann.

Emulation

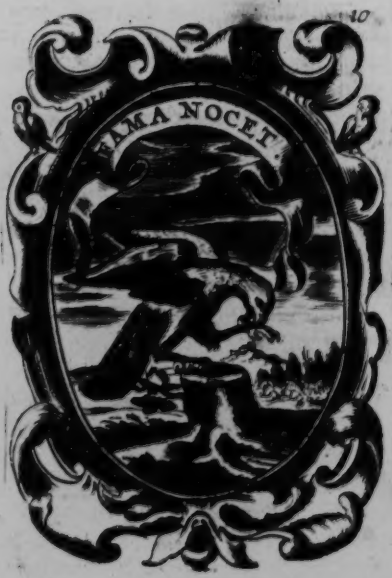
Emulation, degenerates at length into Hatred and Envy. *Metellus* offended that *Pompey* was nominated to be his Succeſſor in *Farther Spain*, and envying the Glory of this Great Commander, disbanded the Soldiers, weakned the Army, and careleſly neglected all Proviſions. *Pompey* did afterwards the ſame, when he underſtood *Marcus Pompilius* was to ſucceed him in the Conſulſhip, and for fear, poſſibly, the Honour of Conquering the *Numantines* might redound to him, made a Peace with them very diſhonourable to the *Roman* Name. In our own times, *Grol* was loſt upon no other account but a Diſpute that aroſe among the Officers, that were ſent to relieve it, about Preheminence. In ſhort, nothing is ſo pernicious to Princes, nothing more needs a Remedy. Nor is here connivance to be admitted, but both are to be puniſhed, as well he that ſeems to be Innocent, as the Perſon in Fault. This forgiving the occaſion; that becauſe he renounced not his Right, and let ſlip an opportunity of managing Affairs to advantage. Which Rigour, if it ſeems to any one exceſſive, will be excuſed, by conſidering the Emolument of the Publick Good, and of the Example it will leave to Poſterity. There's no great Reſolution without ſome mixture of Injury. A Subject ought to look upon the Duty he owes his Prince, before his own Honour; let him demand Satisfaction for the Injury received afterwards, and think he has acquitted himſelf of his Duty to his Prince, in having a little while put it up. Patience in ſuch a Caſe, ſhews extraordinary Courage; for a generous Mind ought to prefer the Service of the King before its own Paſſions; and lay aſide private Feuds when the Publick Intereſt is concerned (18). *Ariſtides* and *Themiſtocles* were bitter Enemies, yet being both ſent on an Embaſſy together, when they came to the City-gate, *Ariſtides* ſaid, *Let us here*, Themiſtocles, *leave for a little time our private Grudges, and at our return reſume them again.*

(18) *Privata odia publicis utilitatibus remittere*, Tac. 1. Ann.

The ſame did *Henry Guzman*, Duke of *Medina*, who though otherwiſe an Enemy to *Rodrigo Pontre*, Marquiſs of *Cadiz*, yet out of Love of the Publick Good, went to his Aſſiſtance at the Siege of *Alhama*. But becauſe 'tis much eaſier to prevent theſe Dangers than remedy them afterwards; the Prince muſt take care not to put two Miniſters of equal Authority in the ſame Office, for 'tis very difficult to make Power and Agreement ſubſiſt in the ſame place (19). *Tiberius* being to ſend another Miniſter into *Aſia* of equal Quality with the then Governor of that Province, thought that might be of dangerous conſequence; and therefore choſe *M. Aletus*, a Prætor, leaſt their equality might breed Emulation, and that occaſion ſome Impediment (20).

(19) *Arduum eodem loco potentiam, & concordiam eſſe.* Tac. 4. Ann.
(20) *Delectus eſt M. Aletus è prætoriis, ne Conſulari obtinente Aſiam, æmulatio inter pares, & ex eo impedimentum oriretur.* Tac. 2. Ann.

EMBLEM X.



THE Faulcon's no ſooner let fly, but he ſtrives with his Beak to get off the little Bells that are hung at his Feet, knowing them to prejudice his Liberty; for their tingling ſhrill ſound is like a Voice, which with the leaſt motion raiſed, preſently calls the Faulconer, and ſo is the occaſion that the poor Bird is brought again to Confinement, how far ſoever it hid it ſelf in the thickeſt Woods. Alas! how many Men has the noiſe of their Virtues, and brave Exploits, been miſchievous to? How many has Fame brought into Envy and inſupportable Slavery? Nor is great or good Fame leſs dangerous than bad (1). *Miltiades* had never ended

(1) *Nec minus periculum ex magna fama quam ex mala.* Tac. in Vit. Agr.

his

his Days ſo unhappily in Priſon, had his Valour been conceal'd and unknown, or moderating his high Spirit, he had been content with a fortune equal to that of other *Athenian* Citizens. But the Reputation of his Victories increaſing, and the Eyes of Envy being not able to bear Fame's ſo bright Rays, this Republick began to miſtruſt what merited Eſteem and Recompence; they feared, forſooth, their own Necks might at length be obliged to bear the Yoke he had put on that of their Enemies; and dreaded more the future and uncertain Danger of *Miltiades*'s Infidelity, than that preſent, and far greater one which threatned them from thoſe, who openly deſigned the Ruin and Deſtruction of their City. Suſpicion never admits Reaſon into its Council, nor does ſuch fear ſtand to weigh the Importance of things, or ſuffer Gratitude to get the better of it. That Commonwealth choſe to let one, though the moſt deſerving, of its Citizens lie in Priſon and Infamy, rather than all the reſt ſhould live in continual Jealouſies. The *Carthaginians* took the Government of *Spain* from *Sappho*, under pretence, indeed, of adminiſtring the Commonwealth at home; but the true Reaſon was, that they could no longer ſuffer his Power and Authority. Thus they baniſhed his Succeſſor, *Hanno*, who was ſo eminent for his Navigations, only becauſe he had more Ingenuity and Induſtry than they thought ſafe for a free People. He was the firſt Man they ever ſaw ſtroke a Lion, and make it tame, and began to apprehend he would at laſt ſubdue them, who had vanquiſhed the Savage Beaſts. Thus Commonwealths are uſed to recompence Services and great Actions. No one of the Citizens takes himſelf in particular to be honoured, or obliged by any good Office is done to the Community; as to Offences and Suſpicion, every one thinks himſelf concerned. If any one's to be rewarded, very few give him their Votes; on the contrary, to find a Man guilty all are zealous. He that is more excellent than others, is thereby in danger; for his Zeal for the Publick Good accuſes their negligence;

his

his Prudence their Ignorance. Hence 'tis ſo dangerous to be ſerviceable and obſequious to Princes; hence Virtue and Induſtry become like Vices, odious. *Salluſt*, who had a Capacity fit for the moſt important buſineſs, to avoid Envy, feigned himſelf to be idle and drowſy (2). But the worſt of all is, that ſometimes a Prince is diſpleaſed at being awakened by a vigilant Miniſter, whom he would rather have as careleſs as himſelf. To remedy this, as there is an Hypocriſy which counterfeits Virtues, and diſſembles Vices; there is need of another to conceal Valour and Excellency of Mind, and to ſtop the mouth of Fame. 'Twas undoubtedly nothing but the fear of Envy made *Agricola* ſo careful to hide his, that they who ſaw in him ſo much Humility and Modeſty, unleſs they had otherwiſe heard of his Fame, could never gueſs at his Renown by his Perſon (3). Time made *Germanicus* ſenſible of this inconveniency, but he choſe to bear rather than amend it, when after the Conqueſt of ſo many Nations, he erected indeed a Trophy, but for fear of Fame put not his Name to it (4). St. *John* concealed his, in the relation of the ſignal Favour our Saviour ſhew'd him at his laſt Supper (5), which if 'twas not humane Policy, was at leaſt prudent Modeſty. Even meer Dreams about ones own Promotion breeds Envy amongſt Brothers. *Joſeph* almoſt hazarded his Life, when with more Ingenuity than Diſcretion, he told his the Dream he had of the Sheafs of Corn that made obeiſance to his that ſtood upright among the reſt; for the very Shadow of Eminence, nay, the bare poſſibility of excelling makes Envy ſolicitous. Glory is dangerous, as

(2) *Cui vigor animi ingentibus negotiis par ſuberat, eò magis, ut invidiam amoliretur, ſomnum & inertiam oſtentabat.* Tac. 5. Ann. (3) *Viſo aſpectoque Agricola quærerent famam, pauci interpretarentur.* Tac. in Vit. Agr. (4) *Debellatis inter Rhenum, Albimque nationibus exercitum Tiberii Cæſaris ea Monumenta Marti, & Jovi, & Auguſto ſacraviſſe, de ſe nihil addidit, meru invidiæ, an ratus conſcientiam facti eſſe ſatis.* Tac. 1. Ann. (5) Now there was leaning on Jeſus's boſom, one of his Diſciples whom Jeſus loved. *John* 13. 23.

well

well becauſe of our own Virtues, as other Mens Vices (6). Vice is not ſo feared in Men becauſe it makes them Slaves, as Virtue that makes them Maſters; for Dominion is by nature her ſelf given to it, and this Republicks won't ſuffer to be lodged in the Perſon of one, but would have equally divided among all. Virtue is a kind of voluntary tyranny over Minds, has no leſs influence on them, than Violence it ſelf, or Compulſion; and indeed, to excite Republicks to Imitation, 'tis the ſame thing abſolutely whether the People be induced by Reaſon or by Force, conſtrained to obey one only; for the firſt Tyranny, the juſter 'tis, the more dangerous and irreſiſtible. This very thing gave riſe to the Oſtraciſm, or Ten Years Baniſhment, to which *Ariſtides*, among others, was condemned; whoſe only Crime, was his having the Reputation of a good and juſt Man. The Peoples Favour is a very dangerous Friend to Virtue; for their Applauſe and Approbation is puniſhed as a fault, as you may ſee in the Perſon of *Galerian* (7). So *Germanicus* learned by experience, that the *Roman* Peoples love was fickle and unfortunate (8). Neither Princes nor Commonwealths much deſire Miniſters of extraordinary Excellency, but ſuch as have a competent Skill to manage Affairs, and this reaſon *Tacitus* gives why *Poppæus Sabinus* was continued Four and twenty Years in the Government of the moſt conſiderable Provinces (9). 'Tis therefore a piece of great Prudence to know how to conceal ones Fame, and conſequently to beware of all Oſtentation of Wit, Valour, or Excellency, and cover all ſublime Thoughts, as they ſay, with Aſhes; though I confeſs, 'tis difficult for a noble Mind to confine to the narrow compaſs of its own Breaſt, a Flame that breaks out on

(6) *Agricola ſimul ſuis virtutibus, ſimul vitiis aliorum in ipſam gloriam præceps agebatur.* Tac. in Vit. Agr. (7) *Nihil auſus, ſed nomen inſigne, & decora ipſi juventa, rumore vulgi celebrabantur.* Tac. 4. Hiſt. (8) *Breves & infauſtos populi Romani amores.* Tac. 2. Ann. (9) *Nullam ob eximiam artem, ſed quod par negotiis, neque ſupra erat.* Tac. 6. Ann.

all

all ſides, and daily requires new Fuel to increaſe it, and make it ſhine with the greater Luſtre. But this we may be perſwaded to by the Examples of theſe Illuſtrious Heroes, who heretofore from the Dictatorſhip returned to the Plough; and of thoſe that after a Triumphant Entry into the City of *Rome* by Breaches, becauſe the Gates were not large enough; that after the Conqueſt of whole Nations, have retreated to poor deſpicable Cottages, whither afterwards the Commonwealth has come to find them out. Nor had that ever brought them ſo ſoon into play again had it not ſeen they were not ambitious of Honour; for that like a Shadow flies him that purſues it, follows him that flies it. His Fame and Reputation is greateſt, who ſtrives to conceal it. *Rubellius Plautus* was thought to deſerve the Empire becauſe he lived retired (10); but 'tis not ſo in Monarchies, where one aſcends higher by having begun to aſcend. A Prince has Men of Courage and Bravery in great eſteem, Republicks fear them rather; that animates them by Rewards and Preſents, theſe diſcourage them by Ingratitude: Nor is fear of their Liberty always the reaſon of it, but 'tis alſo a pretence to Cloak their Envy and Emulation under. If any one be the Object of all Mens favour and applauſe, he is uſually ſuſpected and envied; which rarely happens in Princes, who don't eaſily envy their Subjects Glory; but if they do any thing commendable, they attribute it to themſelves, as being the Execution of their Orders. This has been obſervable in the Emperor *Otho* (11). Prudent Miniſters ought therefore to attribute to the Prince the happy Succeſs of things; taking warning by the Example of *Silius*, who incurred *Tiberius*'s Diſpleaſure by boaſting that he alone kept the Legions to their Duty; and uſing to ſay often, that *Tiberius* was

(10) *Omnium ore Rubellius Plautus celebratur, cui nobilitas per matrem ex Juliâ familiâ, ipſe placita majorum colebat, habitu ſevero, caſtâ & ſecretâ domo, quantoque metu occultior, tanto plus famæ adeptus.* Tac. 14. Ann. (11) *Gloriam in ſe trahente, tanquam, & ipſe fœlix bello, & ſuis ducibus, & ſuis exercitibus Kemp. exiſſet.* Tac. 1. Hiſt.

indebted

indebted to him only for his Empire: For *Cæſar* thought at this rate his Fortune would be deſtroyed, and that he was unable to make return to ſo great Merit (12). Nor was *Veſpaſian* diſpleaſed with *Antonius Primus* for any thing, but too frequently mentioning his own Merits (13). *Agricola* was far more prudent, who never magnified his Exploits for his own Fame, but attributed all his Succeſs to his Superiors (14). *Joab* has left an Illuſtrious Example of this to all Generals; who, when he had forced any City to Surrender, ſent word before to King *David* to bring up new Forces, that the Surrender might be aſcribed to his Conduct (15). The Ancient *Germans* were above others commended for this, who lay under a ſtrict Obligation, not only to defend and preſerve their Prince, but alſo to attribute the Glory of their own brave Actions to him (16). For theſe reaſons a Perſon is much ſecurer of a Recompence for the Services he does a Prince, than thoſe done a Commonwealth; and will with more eaſe get the Favour of the one than the other (17). Beſides, that there's leſs danger in offending that than this; for the Multitude knows not what Connivance, Mercy, or Danger are; it is equally raſh in its Reſolutions, whether the thing to be attempted be dangerous or unjuſt; for either the Fear or Blame is divided among many, and each Man perſwades himſelf the danger is not like to fall on his Pate, that the Infamy belongs not

(12) *Deſtrui per hæc fortunam ſuam, Cæſar, imparemque tanto merito rebatur.* Tac. 4. Ann. (13) *Nimius commemorandis quæ meruiſſet.* Tac. 4. Hiſt. (14) *Nec Agricola unquam ſuam famam geſtis exultavit, ad auctorem & ducem, ut Miniſter, fortunam referebat. Ita virtute in obſequendo, verecundia in prædicando extra invidiam, nec extra gloriam erat.* Tac. in Vit. Agr. (15) Now therefore gather the People together, and encamp againſt the City, and take it, leaſt I take the City, and it be called after my name. *Lat. Verſ. Et nomini meo aſcribatur victoria.* 2 Sam. 12. 28. (16) *Principem ſuum defendere, tueri, ſua quoque fortia facta gloriæ ejus aſſignare, præcipuum Sacramentum erat.* Tac. lib. de Germ. (17) *Tarda ſunt quæ in commune expoſtulantur, privatam gratiam ſtatim mereare, ſtatim recipias.* Tac. 1. Ann.

to

to him (18). A Community has no Forehead to bluſh, as a Prince has, who is with great reaſon ſolicitous for his own Perſon chiefly, as well as for his Reputation, and that of his Poſterity. All Men flatter a Prince, ſetting before him the things that lead to Glory, in Republicks few are concerned for the Publick Honour; almoſt all for Security (19). A Prince has his Subjects to content, in a Community that care and trouble ceaſes; for what it undertakes or does, is by the Common Counſel of all, and ſo every one is thought to be concerned in it. And hence I imagine it comes to paſs, that Commonwealths (I mean not ſuch as are in a manner Kingly) are ſo unconſtant and falſe in the Obſervation of Treaties; for that only is juſt with them, which ſeems to be for the Intereſt of their Preſervation, Grandeur, and the Liberty they ſo much advance; in which they are extreamly Superſtitious. They imagine they worſhip true Liberty, and with a ſervile Submiſſion adore infinite tyrannical Idols. Every one thinks he Commands, and all Obey; they are all provided with an Antidote againſt the Poyſon of Monarchy, and the Sovereignty of many they greedily and ſecurely ſwallow; they fear nothing more than the Tyranny of Foreigners, take no notice of that at home. Liberty is talkt of every where, found no where. All are poſſeſſed of it in Imagination, none in Reality. Let the *United Provinces* now make a Compariſon between the Liberty they formerly had, and that they enjoy at preſent, and diligently examine which of the two has the Advantage; whether they ever underwent the ſame Slavery then, ſuffered thoſe Loſes and Taxes they at this day ſenſibly experiment. Let the Subjects of ſome Commonwealths, nay the Magiſtrates themſelves, in whoſe Hands the Government is, think whether it were poſſible for any Tyrant to enſlave them more than thoſe very Perſons

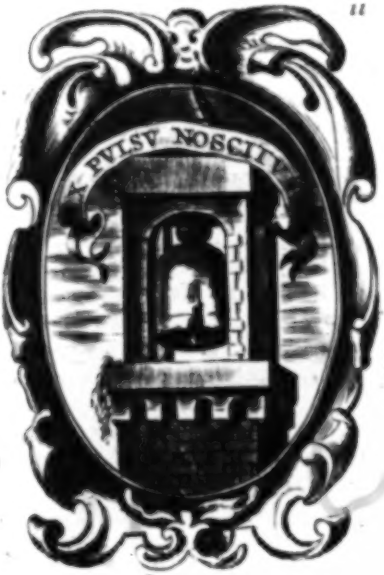
(18) *Ita trepidi, & utrinque anxii coeunt; nemo privatim, expedita conſilia, inter multos, ſocietate culpæ tutior.* Tac. 2. Hiſt. (19) *Plures decus publicum curæ, plures tuta diſſerunt.* Tac. 12 Ann.

they

they have ſet up to Aſſert their Liberty, when there is not one that really enjoys it in his Actions. They are all miſerable Slaves to their own Jealouſies; the Magiſtracy is its own Tyrant; and it may be truly ſaid of both, that they live without a Maſter, but not with Liberty (20); for the more they ſtrive to diſengage themſelves from the Bonds of Slavery, the faſter they are bound with them (21).

(20) *Magis ſine Domino, quam in libertate.* Tac. 2. Ann. (21) *Sed dum veritati conſulitur, libertas corrumpebatur.* Tac. 1. Ann.

EMBLEM XI.



THE Tongue is an Inſtrument, by the help of which the Mind diſcovers its Sentiments, for it expreſſes it ſelf either by that, or by the Pen, which like

like a ſilent Tongue ſometimes ſupplies its place, drawing on Paper the Words which ſhould have been uttered by the Voice. From both the one, and the other, one may draw a probable conjecture of a Man's Parts and Capacity. *For by Speech, Wiſdom ſhall be known, and Learning by the Word of the Tongue* (1). Hence King *Alphonſo*, the Wiſe, ſpeaking in his Laws how a Prince ought to carry himſelf in his Converſation, what Moderation he ſhould uſe in ſpeaking; among other things ſays, Multiloquy makes their Words unregarded, and if a King be not a Man of good Senſe, his Tongue ſoon diſcovers the defect; for as an Earthen Pot is tried by the Sound, ſo is a Man's Senſe by his Words †. A Compariſon which he ſeems to have borrowed from this Paſſage of *Perſius*:

——— *Sonat vitium percuſſa maligne,*
Reſpondet viridi non cocta fidelia limo.

Speech is the minds Countenance; by that is diſcovered whether it be ſound or not (2). To repreſent this, I have made uſe of another nobler Emblem, and more accommodated to the Subject; 'tis a Bell, the true Emblem of a Prince; for as that is hung up in the moſt eminent place of the City, it times, and regulates all the Citizens Actions; and if the Metal be not good, or it has any other fault in't, 'tis by its Sound preſently diſcerned (3). So a Prince is a kind of general Clock to all his Subjects, who in a great meaſure depend, as I may ſay, upon the Motion of his Words, and by them he either gets or loſes a Reputation, every one giving himſelf to gueſs at his Genius, Wit, and Inclinations, by his Diſcourſe. Not a Word eſcapes his Hearers, each one makes a deep Impreſſion on their

(1) Eccleſ. cap. 4. 29. † l. 5. tit. 4. p. 2. (2) *Oratio vultus animi eſt, ſi circumtorſa eſt ſe ſaccata, & mutila, ſplendit illum non eſſe ſincerum, & habere aliquid mali.* Sen. Epiſt. 115. (3) *Vas pitile ita & ſono, bene ſerene ſudans.* Menſ. Serm 38. Tom. 5. Bibl.

Memory, they are repeated to others, and exposed to the Censure of all, who usually put various Constructions upon them, as they think fit. Nay, even, what comes from him in private and unawares, passes for profound and mysterious, and not for casual and accidental. It were therefore very proper for them not to be extemporary but premeditated (4), not spoken without a previous Consideration of all the Circumstances of Time, Place, and Persons. For—— *Nescit vox missa reverti,* ——as *Horace* says, seconded by King *Alphonso*, *For this reason all Men, especially a King, ought to take great care of his Words before he utters them, for when they are once out of the Mouth, there is no Man can recal them* †. Whence may arise very great Inconveniences, for the Words of Kings are the principal Instruments of Government (5). Death and Life are in the Power of the Tongue (6); as also the Honour and Ignominy, the Prosperity and Ruin of Subjects. This made *Aristotle*, when he sent *Callisthenes* to *Alexander* the Great, advise him to talk little with him, and only upon agreeable Subjects; for that 'twas a dangerous thing to Treat with one who carried the Power of Life and Death at his Tongues end. There's not a Word comes from a Prince's Mouth without a peculiar Emphasis: Is it about Business, they are Commands; if of Crimes, they are Sentences; if of Promises, Obligations; by his Words he is either obeyed or disobeyed. Let Princes therefore take care how they use this Tongue of theirs, which Nature has not meerly by chance fenced and inclosed with, as it were, a Wall of Teeth; nor is there less need of a Bridle for the Tongue, than for a Horse (7). 'Tis, it is true, one of the least Members of the Body, but 'tis like the Rudder of a Ship, on whose Motion the loss or safety of the whole Vessel de-

(5) A Fool travaileth with a Word, as a Woman in labour of a Child. *Eccles.* 19. 11. † L. 1. tit. 4. part. 2. (5) Where the Word of a King is, there is power. *Eccl.* 8. 4. (6) Death and Life are in the Power of the Tongue. *Prov.* 18. 21. (7) *Eccl.* 28. 29.

pends.

pends. The Tongue is placed in a wet place, and ſo eaſily ſlips, unleſs ſtai'd by Prudence. Hence that Prayer of *David*; *Set a Watch, O Lord, before my Mouth, keep the Door of my Lips* (8).

For a Prince to condeſcend to a familiar Converſation with any one, leſſens his Character, proſtitutes his Authority, and brings many other Inconveniences upon him, unleſs he do it for Information; for every Man deſires to have a wiſe Prince, and one that underſtands his Affairs very well; which is next to an impoſſibility, for a Prince can't know all things (9); and if he anſwer in the leaſt from the purpoſe, he ſhall be preſently condemned for Inſufficiency or Negligence. Beſides, that Princes Talents and Endowments very rarely anſwer the generally received Opinion of them; therefore to avoid the danger of this, the *Roman* Emperors choſe to Treat with their Subjects by Notes, and give them Anſwers in Writing, as well to get time for Deliberation, as becauſe the Pen is leſs ſubject to miſtake than the Tongue; for this can't handſomely defer an Anſwer, that can. *Sejanus*, however great a Favourite of *Tiberius*'s, conferr'd only with him by way of Memorial (10). There are, however, ſome Affairs which may be better treated of by Word of Mouth; particularly, when there's ſomething of danger in leaving ones Sentiments in anothers hands, which are a kind of perpetual Evidence, and more liable to be wreſted to different meanings than Words, which as they quickly paſs, and ſtick not deep in the Memory, are not ſo eaſily actionable. But whether a Prince gives his Anſwers this or the other way, he ſhould always remember, that brevity is the moſt prudent, and moſt becoming a Princes Majeſty (11). Hence *Tacitus* gives that Epithet Imperial to Brevity (12).

(8) Pſalm 140. 3. (9) *Neque ipſe rerum omnium ſcientia cuncta complexi.* Tac. 3. Ann. (10) *Tamquam ad Cæſarem cognitor: mos quippe tum erat quamquam præſentem ſcripta adire.* Tac. 2. Ann. (11) *Sibi tum brevi ſermone ineſt prudentia Sapiendi.* (12) *Imperatoria brevitate.* Tac. 1. Hiſt.

You ſhould uſe the Tongue as your Sword, that is, not lay your ſelf too open to your Adverſary; he that diſcloſes his whole Mind, expoſes himſelf to Danger. Conciſe Diſcourſes have the greateſt Efficacy, and leave moſt room for Reflection. Nothing's ſo like a King, as to talk little, and hear much. Nor is it leſs requiſite for him to know how to be ſilent, than how to ſpeak. In this, Men are our Maſters. In that, God himſelf, who always injoyns Silence in his Myſteries. He reſembles the Divinity moſt, who has learnt to hold his Peace. *Even a fool when he holdeth his peace is counted wiſe, and he that ſhutteth his Lips is eſteemed a Man of underſtanding* (13). *The heart of fools is in their mouth, but the mouth of the wiſe is in their heart* (14). This is Prudence to avoid both Extreams, for each has its danger:

All to Talk, or none,
Are diſtant, and yet neighbouring Faults. Auſon.

'Tis then only convenient to ſpeak, when Silence prejudices either the Prince or Truth. Majeſty by a Nod only ſufficiently explains its ſelf. Silence well-timed, is in Princes great Eloquence; and a grave and modeſt Carriage are uſually more ſignificantly expreſſive of one's Thoughts than Words themſelves. But if one's obliged to uſe theſe at any time, they ought to be ſincere, and with liberty in thinking becoming a King.

Your free Conceptions dreſs in plain Words. Taſſ.

For by too many Aſſeverations, Oaths, and unneceſſary Proofs, they either quite loſe their Credit, or at leaſt are rendred ſuſpicious; they ought then to be Grave without Moroſeneſs; Graceful without Affectation; of Force without Roughneſs; laſtly, Common

(13) Prov. cap. 17. (14) Eccleſ 21. 29.

not

not Vulgar. Even with God, Words well ordered, ſeem to have moſt weight and influence (15).

But the Tongue and Pen require no where more prudent Moderation than in Promiſes, in which Princes either out of a natural Generoſity, or to obtain their Ends with more eaſe, or to avoid a Danger, are uſually extravagant; which when they can't perform, they loſe their Credit, and procure themſelves Enemies, ſo that it had been better not to have been ſo laviſh of them. There have been more Wars occaſioned by the Breach of Promiſes than by Injuries. For Intereſt is ſeldom in theſe ſo much concerned as in them. And Princes are generally moved more by their own Advantage than by Injuries received. To make large Promiſes, and not keep them, is interpreted by a Superior, an Affront; by an Equal, Injuſtice; by an Inferior, Tyranny (16). The Tongue therefore ſhould not be too forward to promiſe, without aſſurance that the Promiſe can be performed (17).

In Threats alſo, the Tongue eaſily goes beyond its Limits; for the Heat of Anger ſoon puts it in Motion, and when Revenge can't equal the Paſſion, of neceſſity Prudence; nay, and Supream Power muſt loſe not a little of their Credit. 'Tis therefore much more adviſeable to diſſemble Injuries, that the Effects of Satisfaction may be conſidered before the Prince threatens it. He that uſes Menaces before his Hands, deſigns either to make them the only Inſtruments of his Revenge, or to give his Enemy warning. There's no more terrible threatning than Silence. If mine's already let off, no one is afraid; thoſe are always more formidable that lie ſtill conceal'd under-ground; for the Effects of the Imagination are uſually greater than thoſe of the Senſes.

(15) Job 41. 3. (16) Better is it that thou ſhouldeſt not vow, than that thou ſhouldeſt vow and not pay. *Eccleſ.* 5. 5. (17) Be not haſty in thy Tongue, and in thy Deeds ſlack and remiſs, *Eccl.* 4. 29.

Detraction has in it a great mixture of Envy and Oſtentation; it is always almoſt of an Inferior towards his Superior, and conſequently much below a Prince, by whoſe Lips no Man's Honour ought to be brought in queſtion. If he ſees Vices, he ſhould puniſh them; if other ſmall Defects, correct or connive at them.

The praiſe of brave Actions and Services is a part of their Reward; excites the Perſon commended to, as it were an Emulation of himſelf, and is a Spur to others. However, to commend all Subjects indifferently, is not without danger. For the Judgment they paſs on them being various and uncertain, and that Praiſe, a kind of definitive Sentence, time may diſcover to have been raſhly given; in the mean time, the Prince's Honour will oblige him not to retract eaſily what he has once approved. As well therefore for this reaſon, as not to give occaſion to Envy, great Circumſpection is required in praiſing Perſons, which is alſo [illegible] of the Holy Spirit's Oracles, *Judge no one bleſſed before his Death* (18). It was a principal Maxim among the *Stoicks*, to commend no one raſhly, becauſe ſcarce any thing can be affirmed with certainty, and we are often deceived in things that appear to us moſt praiſeworthy.

(18) Vid. Lat. Verſ. *Ante mortem ne laudes hominem quenquam.* Eccleſ. 11. 30.

EMBLEM XII.

THE Heart of Man, Nature, that skilful Architect, has hid in the moſt retired part of the Breaſt; however, leaſt probably, ſeeing it ſelf thus concealed, and without Witneſſes, it ſhould do any thing againſt the Law of Reaſon, ſhe has withal given Man that native Colour or Fire of Blood, for Modeſty to inflame his Countenance withal, and accuſe his Heart, if it deviate from Honour in any thing, or think otherwiſe than the Tongue ſpeaks, both which ought always to have the ſame Motion, and a mutual Agreement in all things. But Malice by degrees effaces that Mark which is uſed in Children to ſhew its ſelf. Hence the *Romans* well-knowing the importance of Truth for the eſtabliſhment of Society, and maintaining Commerce in the Commonwealth; and deſiring nothing more

than to preſerve the ſhame of deſerting it among Men, hung about their Childrens Neck a Golden Heart, (which they called *Bulla*) an Hieroglyphick, ſays *Auſonius*, invented by *Pythagoras*, to ſignify the Ingenuity Men ought to profeſs in Converſation, and the Sincerity they ſhould obſerve in Truth, wearing at their Breaſt, a Heart uncovered, as it were, and open, the Genuine Emblem of that Truth. And this we commonly mean, when ſpeaking of a Man of Veracity, we ſay he carries his Heart in his Hands, or that he is open-hearted. The ſame the *Egyptian* Prieſts ſignified by the Sapphire they put upon their Princes Breaſts, to repreſent emblematically the ſame Truth; as their Miniſters of Juſtice alſo uſed to wear about them ſome Figure of it. Nor ſhou'd any one imagine, that for the Prince to be [illegible], and profeſſed a Lover of Truth, would per[illegible] but give an occaſion to Deceit and Cozenage; for on the contrary, nothing is more effectual in preventing theſe Cheats, and driving away Lyes, which never dare look Truth in the face. The ſame Obſervation I take that advice of *Pythagoras* to allude to, never to ſpeak with one's Back towards the Sun; thereby intimating that nothing ought to be uttered repugnant to Truth; for a Liar can't bear the bright Rays of Truth, ſignified by the Sun upon a double account, both becauſe of the Sun's Unity; as for that it diſperſes Darkneſs, and drives away Shades, reſtoring to all things their true Light and proper Colours, as the preſent Emblem ſhews; where as ſoon as that Luminary is got above the Horizon, the Obſcurity of Night immediately flies, and the Nocturnal Birds retire to the Woods dark Coverts, which in that's abſence, and favoured by the Silence of Night, uſe while others ſleep, to ſeek their Prey. What Confuſion is the Owl in, if by chance ſhe comes into the Sun's preſence? In that glittering Light ſhe Staggers to and fro, and is confounded, that Splendor quite blinds her, and fruſtrates all her Tricks. Can any one have ſo much Subtilty and Craft, but they will preſently fail him when he comes before

before an ingenuous Prince, and one that is a particular Friend to Sincerity and Truth (1)?

There's no force able to penetrate into the Deſigns of a candid Mind, if that Candor want not ſome Retirements for Prudence. Is there any thing more open and evident to the Eyes of the World, any thing more reſplendent, more oppoſed to Shadows and Darkneſs than the Sun? Nevertheleſs, if any one will look ſtedfaſt upon its Rays, he will diſcover I know not what Abuſes, as 'twere, and Obſcurities of Light, which ſo darken the Eyes, that what they ſaw, they can't tell. Thus Knavery is blinded with the Light of Truth, and its Foundations overturned, nor can it find any more a way to delude with its Artifices. 'Tis a Victory truly worthy a Prince, to conquer Frauds and Cheats with Ingenuity, Lyes with Truth. To lye is a ſlaviſh Vice, and conſequently very unbecoming the generous Mind of Princes, who above all Men ſhould endeavour to render themſelves like God, who is Truth it ſelf (2). *Whence Kings*, (ſays King *Alphonſo*) *who keep its place upon Earth, and to whom it particularly belongs to guard it, ought to take ſpecial care not to contradict it by falſity; if a King ſhould once give himſelf to Lying, he will not be believed, even when he ſpeaks truth, and will farther give incouragement to others to follow his Example.* This inconveniency *Tiberius* experimented, who often pretending to reſtore Liberty and the Conſular Government to the Commonwealth, and to remit the Management of Affairs to others, cauſed the People to miſtruſt him when he meant really and honeſtly (3).

The greater Monarchs are, they are the more expoſed to Vanity and Lyes (4). The Rays of a plentiful Fortune eaſily contract the Clouds of Detraction.

(1) *Magni præſentia veri.* Virgil. (2) Excellent Speech becometh not a Fool; much leſs do lying Lips a Prince. Prov. 17. 7. (3) *Ad vana & toties irriſa revolutus de reddenda Repub. atque conſules, ſeu quis alius, regimen ſuſciperet, acro quoque & honeſto fidem demſit.* Tac. 4 Ann. (4) *Conſilia magnis impetus objecti ſolitus.* Tac. 4. Ann.

In

In great Empires all things have the worſt Conſtruction put upon them, and are obnoxious to Reproaches. What open Force can't do, Calumny by ſecret Mines attempts, in which thing he that hath the Rule over others, has need of great Courage, not to change his Courſe, or ſuffer himſelf to be ſtopt by the Clamours of Cavillers. This conſtancy and firmneſs of Mind has always eminently appeared in the Kings of *Spain*, to whom it has been, in a manner, natural to deſpiſe Envy and Calumny; by which means alone, many Clouds of that Nature have been diſpelled, which as Majeſty raiſes, ſo it alſo by the force of Truth diſſipates, as the Sun's Heat does Vapours. What infamous Libels, what manifeſt Falſities, what forg'd Stories, what Calumnies have malicious Men often ſpread againſt the *Spaniſh* Monarchy? Nor for all this, could that Envy be able to caſt the leaſt Blemiſh upon its ſo juſt Adminiſtration of the Kingdoms 'tis poſſeſſed of in *Europe*, becauſe that is open to the World, and viſible to all. Among other things, by new contriv'd Devices, and ſtudied Lyes to render its Government odious, and ſo make the Rebellious Princes leſs deſirous of a Reconciliation: I know not what Author, under the Name of the Biſhop of *Chapa*, has publiſhed a Book, wherein he gives a large Account of the Inhumane and Barbarous Uſage the *Indians* received from the *Spaniards*; and that thoſe Lyes might have a more eaſy Credit; the Book was firſt ſpread about in *Spain*, as Printed at *Sevil*, afterwards Tranſlated into other Languages. An ingenious Invention indeed, and accute piece of Malice, and of more conſequence than perhaps can be believed, for upon ſome eaſy Minds it had very ill Effect, though moſt of the more prudent ſoon diſcovered the Cheat; in as much as all thoſe things are abundantly confuted by the extraordinary Zeal for Religion and Juſtice, the *Spaniſh* Nation always with great Conſtancy exerciſes and maintains all over the World, nor is it unlike its ſelf in the *Indies* only. I won't however deny, but at the firſt Invaſion of

America,

America, ſome things happened not altogether to be approved, but this was only by their fault, who thinking this Known World too little for their vaſt Minds, had the boldneſs by the Permiſſion, rather than Command, or Choice of their King to try their Fortune in other Parts, and diſcover New Countries hitherto unknown, where they found a barbarous People, Idolatrous to Superſtition, more Savage than Beaſts, who brutally lived on Man's Fleſh, whoſe Inhumanity was incorrigible but by force and utmoſt rigour. But it was not long before their Catholick Majeſties provoided a Remedy againſt theſe Diſorders, for they ſent to thoſe Coaſts Commiſſaries to puniſh thoſe ſeverely they found had been guilty; and to maintain entire Juſtice among the *Indians*, they gave afterwards many Paternal Orders for their Preſervation, of which it was none of the leaſt to exempt them from thoſe ſevere Labours they daily underwent in the Mines, and in other things before the Diſcovery of thoſe Countries. They ſent beſides, Divines with great Zeal to teach them the Myſteries of the Chriſtian Faith; founded Biſhopricks at their own Expences, and thoſe of the Crown, and maintained Religious Convents for the benefit of that new planted Church, without ſuffering them from the time thoſe vaſt Countries fell into the *Spaniards* hands, even in the abſence of their new Maſters, to want any any thing which 'tis a King's Duty to ſupply his Subjects withal. In which the Government of this State, and the Vigilance of its Miniſters, may in a manner ſeem to ſurpaſs that of the Sun it's ſelf, of the Moon and Stars, and the Influence they have over things below; for but a few hours, in which the Sun's preſence lightens one Hemiſphere; the other is in Confuſion, while Malice cloaths and covers its ſelf with the Darkneſs of Night, and under the Mask as it were, of that Obſcurity commits Murders, Robberies, Adulteries, and every thing that's ill, the Sun's providence not being able to prevent them, though, indeed, even in the Night he ſpreads ſome Twilight above the Horizon, or

in

in the interim leaves the performance of his Office to the Moon as his Vicegerent, and the Stars as his Miniſters, and communicates to them the Authority of his Rays. From this our World, the Kings of *Spain* govern that other in Juſtice, Peace, and Religion, with the ſame Political Happineſs the Kingdoms of *Caſtile* enjoy to their ſatisfaction. But leaſt the Envious and Enemies of the *Spaniſh* Monarchy ſhould triumph with theſe their Artifices, and that all the Calumnies of that Book may be entirely overthrown, let us ſuppoſe all thoſe Evils, which Malice has feigned the *Indians* to have ſuffered, to be true; and compare them to what have been really undergone in our own time in ſeveral Wars, as well againſt *Genoa*, as in *Germany*, *Burgundy*, and *Lorrain*, and 'twill appear clearer than light, that that lye comes far ſhort of the truth of theſe. What cruel Torments have Tyrants ever invented againſt Innocence, which in theſe our times we have not ſeen put in practice, not againſt inhumane and barbarous People, but civilized Nations; and thoſe not always Enemies, but even their own Members, without reſpect to Propinquity of Blood, or Piety towards their Country? How often have we ſeen Auxiliary Forces turn their Weapons upon them that ſent them? Defence been more bloody than open Offence? Protection become immediate Deſtruction; Friendſhip, Hoſtility? Not a ſtately Edifice, not a Sacred Place, has been ſpared by Fire and Sword: In a little time we have ſeen an infinite number of Towns, Forts, and Cities, buried in their own Aſhes; and Countries very populous changed into moſt Solitary Deſerts. Nor yet, could that Thirſt of Humane Blood be quench'd or ſatisfied. 'Twas no new thing then to try Piſtols and Swords upon Mens Breaſts, as Bodies of Trees, and that not only in the heat of Battel, but in cool Blood, 'twas then a very agreeable Spectacle to ſee the deformed Looks, and trimbling Limbs of Men exſpiring. How often have Mens Bellies ript open ſerved for Mangers? Sometimes in thoſe of Women ('tis dreadful to mention it) their tender Embryo's were

were mixt with Straw and Oats, and made Provender for Horſes. At the Expence of Life, 'twas try'd, how much Water a Man's Body would hold, or how long one could live without Suſtenance. Nuns were violated, Daughters of good Families diſhonoured, Wives raviſhed in the very ſight of their Parents and Husbands. Women, as all other Spoil or Plunder, were either ſold or exchanged for Cows or Horſes, and Labourers were put to Chariots, and compell'd to draw them as Horſes; and to make them diſcover where their Riches lay, hung by the Feet and Members, and thus let down into hot Furnaces. There Children were barbarouſly murdered before their Eyes, that Paternal Affection might in the Grief of theſe their deareſt Pledges effect what ſelf-love could not oblige them to. In Woods and Foreſts where Wild Beaſts find refuge, Men could not; for the Blood hounds chaſed them thence, and brought them to the Stake. The deepeſt Lakes were not ſecure from ſo Ingenious Covetouſneſs and Rapine; the Effects of theſe wretched People were rak'd thence with Hooks and Nets. Not ſo much as dead Mens Bones were ſuffered to reſt, Tombs and Grave-ſtones were thrown down to ſearch under them for Treaſures. There's no magical, no deviliſh Art which they put not in practice to diſcover their Money. Many thouſand Men periſhed by Cruelty and Covetouſneſs, not by their own Baſeneſs, as the *Indians*, whoſe Extirpation Divine Juſtice permitted, for having been ſo many Ages Rebels to their Creator. I mention not theſe things to accuſe any Nation in particular; for I am aſſured moſt, if not all, have acted their Parts in this Barbarous and Inhumane Tragedy; but only to vindicate that of the *Spaniards* from Calumny. The ſweeteſt and beſt fram'd Mind is ſometimes in danger of tranſgreſſing its Limits. 'Tis the weakneſs of our frail Nature, to be ſubject to commit the moſt brutiſh Action, if it want the Bridle of Religion and Juſtice.

EMBLEM XIII.

THE Moon ſupplies the Sun's abſence, in preſiding over Night; upon the various Motions, upon the Increaſe and Decreaſe of that, depend the Vigor and Conſervation of things here below; and although that is as much more beautiful as theſe be obſcure, and of themſelves weak, as receiving their Being from its Light; yet there's no one, either upon that account, or for its other innumerable Benefits, takes much notice of it, even, at the height of its Splendor. But if it be at any time by the Interpoſition of the Earth Eclipſed, and diſcover the defects of its Body, not as before illuminated by the Sun, but dark and opacous, immediately all Mens Eyes are upon it, all obſerve it; nay, this Accident Curioſity long before anticipates, and meaſures its Steps every moment. What are Princes,

but

but a kind of Terreſtrial Planets and Moons, on which that Divine Sun of Juſtice diffuſes its Rays for the Government of the Earth? For if thoſe Stars have Power over things, theſe have over minds. This I imagine made the *Perſian* Kings endeavour by a ſort of falſe Rays to imitate the Form of the Sun and Moon, to make themſelves eſteemed equal to thoſe Planets. *Sapor*, one of them in a Letter to the Emperor *Conſtantius*, called himſelf Brother to the Sun and Moon (1). Princes, their Dignity makes conſpicuous among other Men, as placed in the higheſt Orbs of Power and Empire, and ſo expoſed to all Mens Cenſures. They are *Coloſſi*, or vaſt Statues, whoſe Parts can't bear the leaſt Diſproportion one to another, but others Eyes will preſently be upon it. They ought therefore to be very circumſpect in their Actions, ſince they are the Objects of the whole World's Attention; and tho' their good ones paſs ſometimes without Remark, their Faults will never eſcape Obſervation. Curioſity employs a hundred Eyes, and far more Ears, to penetrate Princes moſt Secret Thoughts. They ſeem like that Stone in *Zachariah*, upon which were Seven Eyes (2). For which reaſon, in the higheſt Grandeur there is leaſt Liberty (3).

The Prince's Hand keeps time in that Muſical Conſort, which good and prudent Government makes; if this time be not regular and even, there ariſes a Confuſion of Voices, and the Harmony is diſordered in others, in that all follow the Motion of that. Hence 'tis, that States generally reſemble their Princes, and ſooner the ill than the good; for as Subjects uſe ſo carefully to obſerve their Vices, they make an Impreſſion on their Minds, and are eaſily afterwards imitated out of Flattery. For Vicious Princes not only commit

(1) *Rex Regum Sapor, particeps ſiderum, & frater ſolis, & Lunæ, Conſtantio fratri meo ſalut.* Ammian. Marcel. lib 4. (2) Zach. 3. 9. (3) *Qui magno imperio præſunt in excelſo ætatem agunt, eorumque factа cunctis mortalibus narrare, ea maximè fortunæ minima licentia eſt.* Saluſt.

Vices

Vices themſelves, but infuſe them into their People, and are more blameable for the Example than the Fault; and experience tells us, that bad Habits commonly do more miſchief than the very beſt do good; for ſuch is the perverſe Inclination of our Nature, that it rather ſtudies to imitate Vices than Virtues. How Great, how Excellent, were thoſe of *Alexander* the Great? Yet, the Emperor *Caracalla* ſtrove to reſemble him in nothing but that Habit he had of leaning his Head on his Left Shoulder. Though, indeed, ſome of a Prince's Vices prejudice himſelf only; others affect alſo the Commonwealth, as *Tacitus* has obſerved in *Vitellius* and *Otho* (4). Yet they are all extreamly prejudicial to Subjects by the Example they give. Our eaſy Tempers are biaſs'd by Princes (5); we follow their Example, whether they be Good or Evil, like thoſe Wheels in *Ezekiel*'s Viſion, which in all things exactly followed the Motion of the Cherubims (6). Each Action of Princes ſeems to be a Command to be obeyed by Imitation (7). Subjects imagine they do their Prince an agreeable piece of Service in imitating his Vices, and ſeeing theſe are Maſters of the Will; Flattery eaſily perſwades her ſelf this muſt be the way to gain it. Thus *Tigellinus* grew daily more Bold and Confident, thinking his ill Practices would be leſs unacceptable, if he could engage his Prince *(Nero)* to be his Aſſociate in them (8). By this means 'tis the Commonwealth is diſordered, and Virtue confounded. Princes ſhould therefore lead ſuch a Life, ſo form their Manners, that all may learn by them to be Virtuous and Honeſt; which advice they have given them by King *Alphonſo*, in the Sixth of his Law.

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(4) *Vitellius ventre, & gula ſibi ipſi hoſtis: Otho luxu, ſevitia, audacia Reipub. exitioſus ducebatur.* Tac. 2. Hiſt. (5) *Flexibiles in quamcunque partem ducimur à principibus, atque, ut ita dicam, ſequentes ſumus.* Plin. in Paneg. (6) Ezek. 10. 16. (7) *Ea conditio principum, ut quicquid faciant, præcipere videantur.* Quintil. (8) *Validiſque indies Tigellinus, & malas artes quibus pollebat, gratiores ratus, ſi principem ſocietate ſceleris obſtringeret.* Tac. 14. Ann.

For

For if Vices extinguiſh the Lamp of Virtue in a Prince, who ought like a Beacon to give Light to all, and ſhew them the ſecureſt Courſe to Sail in, he cannot avoid daſhing againſt Rocks the Veſſel of the Commonwealth; it being impoſſible for that Government to be well ordered, where the Prince has abandoned himſelf to Vice: *For*, ſays King *Alphonſo*, *the Nature of Vice is ſuch, that the more a Man uſes it, the more he loves it.*

The People eaſily ſlight and contemn Laws, if they ſee him that is the very Soul of them not obſerve them. Thus, as the Moon's Eclipſes prejudice the Earth, ſo the Prince's Faults are the Deſtruction of his Kingdom: For the Puniſhment due to them, God Almighty generally inflicts upon the Subjects too, and that deſervedly, for that in following his Example, they make themſelves Acceſſary to the ſame Crimes; as 'tis related in Scripture of the People of *Iſrael* under *Jeroboam* (9).

The bare Shadow of an ill Action, which obſcured King *Roderigo*'s Fame, kept the Liberty of all *Spain* in Darkneſs for many Years; wherefore that barbarous Cuſtom of the *Mexicans* is in ſome meaſure excuſable; who at the Inauguration of a New King, obliged him to take an Oath he would Adminiſter Juſtice, not oppreſs his Subjects; that he would be in War ſtrenuous and valiant: In a word, that he would † take care the Sun continued his Courſe, and preſerved his Splendor; that the Clouds ſhould give Rain, and the Rivers Water, and that the Earth ſhould produce its Fruit plentifully. For the Sun himſelf obeys a Holy Prince, as *Joſhua* experienced for a Reward of his Virtue, and the Earth is more than ordinary Fertile out of Gratitude, in a manner to the Juſtice of Kings towards their People. This is what *Homer* would ſignify by theſe Verſes:

(9) And the Lord ſhall give *Iſrael* up, becauſe of the Sins of Jeroboam, who did ſin, and made *Iſrael* to ſin. 1 *Kings* 14. 16.
† Lop. Gamar.

The King, who takes Religion for his Guide;
Who does for's Subjects wholeſome Laws provide;
For him the willing Earth ſhews all its Stock,
Corn, Wine, and Fruit; for him the teeming Flock
Brings double Births; the Sea opens all its Cells:
Where Juſtice reigns, their Peace and Plenty dwells.

The goodneſs of a Year is not to be judged of ſo much by good Fruit, as the Juſtice of the Prince (10). And 'tis very much the Opinion of the Vulgar, that thoſe who Govern them, are the only Cauſe of their Happineſs or Miſery; nay, they often impute to the Prince, even Caſualities, as the *Roman* People did to *Tiberius* (11).

Let not a Prince perſwade himſelf that his Vices will be leſs cenſured, for ſuffering them to go unpuniſhed in others, or having them in common with the People, as 'tis related *Witiza* did: For though Subjects love Libertiniſm, they hate the Author of it; which was the reaſon it coſt him afterwards his Life, being by all Men hated for his ſcandalous way of living. What we uſually Cenſure in others as highly Baſe and Infamous, in our ſelves we ſcarce allow to be Infirmities of Nature. The greateſt Defect in our ſelves we eaſily connive at, but in a Looking-Glaſs can't ſuffer the leaſt Spot. Such a one is a Prince, in whoſe Perſon his Subjects have a view of themſelves, nor is any thing more unpleaſant to them, than to ſee him ſullied with Vice. *Nero* was not at all leſs infamous for having many Companions in his Debaucheries; however he thought thereby to avoid Scandal (12).

Nor ſhould Princes imagine themſelves ſecure from a ſelf-conſciouſneſs of their good Actions; for when

(10) *Annum bonum non tam de bonis fructibus, quam de juſtis reque ribus exiſtimandum.* Boetius. (11) *Qui mos vulgo fortuita ad eos trahentes.* Tac. 4. Ann. (12) *Ratuſque dedecus emoliri, ſi plures fe duſſet.* Tac. 14. Ann.

ever the People can't inform themſelves of their Actions, they begin nicely to examine them, and always put the worſt Interpretation upon them; wherefore 'tis not enough for them to do well, but neceſſary, alſo, that the means they uſe have no appearance of Evil. And how will that Man have any thing ſecret, who can't be without his own Grandeur, and a Retinue of Courtiers, nor do any thing alone; whoſe Liberty draws with it ſo many Fetters and Golden Chains, whoſe noiſe every one hears? This was ſignified in the Perſon of the High-Prieſt, by thoſe little Bells that hung round the bottom of his Garment, leaſt he ſhould forget that his Steps were expoſed to all Mens Ears (13). All the Guards both within and without a Prince's Palace, all the Courtiers that attend him in his Chamber or Cloſet, are ſo many Spies of his Words and Actions; nay, and very Thoughts, attentively obſerving all his Geſtures, and the Motions of his Countenance, that diſcoverer of the Heart. Thus, according to the *Pſalmiſt*'s Expreſſion, *Their Eyes look unto his Hands* (14). But if they obſerve any failing in a Prince, though they pretend to conceal it, yet they love to diſcover it, either to get the Reputation of Perſons diſcreet, and well acquainted with the Government, or that of Zealots. Here they look on one another, and no one daring to open his Mouth, they ſpeak moſt by their Silence. The Secret boils and bubbles within them, agitated by the fervent deſire they have of revealing it, till at laſt it overflows (15). Tongues run to Ears. This Man diſcloſes it to that, having firſt obliged him by Oath to Secrecy; that in the ſame manner to another; ſo that while no body knows, 'tis known to all. Thus, as 'twere in a moment Calumny paſſes from the Cloſet

(13) And he compaſſed him with Pomegranates, and with golden Bells round about, that there might be a ſound, and a noiſe made, that might be heard in the Temple. *Eccl.* 45. 9. (14) Pſal. 122. 2. (15) His word was in mine heart as a burning fire ſhut up in my bones, and I was weary with forbearing, and I could not ſtay, *Jer.* 20. 9.

to the Offices, thence to the Streets and Publick Places. But what wonder is it, if this happens among Domeſticks, when Princes are not aſſured, even, of their own faithfulneſs, however deſirous they are to conceal their Vices and Tyrannies; for their own Conſcience accuſes them; as it happened to *Tiberius*, who could not forbear diſcloſing to the Senate the Miſeries which he ſuffered from his Crimes (16). However, Princes ought not to be diſcouraged, if by their Induſtry and Diligence they ſeem not to ſatisfy every one; for that is a thing impoſſible, nor will ever Paſſion, Envy, and the ſo different Judgment of the Mob concur to commend him, much leſs can this our frail Nature in all things act without Fault and Error. Is any one more careful and ſollicitous in giving Light to this World, any more perfect than that Eye of it, that Prince of Light, the Sun, who gives Being, Colour, and Beauty to all things? Yet notwithſtanding the Splendor of his Rays, Curioſity diſcovers therein I know not what Spots and Obſcurities. This care of the Prince to regulate his own Life and Actions, ought to be extended to thoſe alſo of his Miniſters, the Repreſentatives of him, in as much as both God and Men hold him to be no leſs obliged to do the one than the other. Tis not the Moon's defect, what it ſuffers in an Eclipſe, but that of the Earth, which interpoſes its Shadow betwixt it and the Sun; nevertheleſs every one imputes it to the Moon; and this Shadow only is ſufficient to darken its Rays, and create ſo much prejudice to things here below. Prince's Vices we only attribute to his depraved Will; but to let Crimes in his Miniſters go unpuniſhed, is eſteemed baſeneſs of Mind. The vehemence of the Paſſions and Affections is ſome excuſe for our particular faults, but to indulge them in others, is wholly inexcuſable. A Vicious Prince may have Virtuous Miniſters; but if he begin to connive with them, both he and they

(16) *Quippe Tiberium non fortuna, non ſolitudines protegebant, quo tuta pectoris, ſuaſque ipſe penas fateretur.* Tac. 1. Ann.

will

will be bad. Hence it ſometimes happens, that an ill Prince's Government may be good, provided he take care others follow not his Example: For that Rigour ſuffers not any Action to be mimick'd out of Flattery, nor lets that natural Inclination of the Will prevail, by which every one loves to reſemble Princes by imitating their Actions. Grant ſuch a Prince bad for himſelf, he will be good for the State. To give abſolute Liberty to Miniſters, is wholly to abandon the Reins of Government. Wicked Princes are as difficult to be cured as tainted Lungs; in that Remedies can't be applied to them. For theſe conſiſt in hearing and ſeeing, both which they are equally averſe to; nay, love not that others ſhould hear or ſee; at leaſt their Domeſticks and Miniſters, who rather applaud Princes Vices, don't ſuffer it; but as the Ancients were uſed to make a great noiſe with Braſs and Cymbals, while the Moon was in Eclipſe (17); ſo they make it their buſineſs with Muſick, and other Diverti ſements, to amuze the Prince's Mind, chiefly to keep his Ears continually employed, leaſt the Peoples Clamours, or the Voice of Truth, which diſcovers Cheats, ſhould reach them: And laſtly, that the Prince being plunged in the ſame Vices with themſelves, there may be none to Reprove and Correct them.

(17) *Igitur æris ſono, tubarum, cornuumque concentu ſtrepere, prout lenidior, obſcuriorve latari aut mœrere.* Tac. 6. Ann.

EMBLEM XIV.

THERE's ſcarce any one Inſtrument can by its ſelf make a Work of Art entirely perfect. What the Hammer can't, the File finiſhes. Yea, faults of the Loom the Shears (the Body of the preſent Emblem) correct, and give an additional neatneſs and beauty to Cloath. The Cenſure of others rectifies our Manners; they would be full of Knots, did not the Tongue clip them off. Thoſe whom the Law its ſelf can't Curb or Reform, oftentimes fear of Blame only reſtrain, that being the Spur of Virtue, and Bridle to keep it in the right way. Reproofs upon the obedient Ears of a prudent Prince, are (as *Solomon* ſays) *like Ear-rings of Gold and glittering Pearls* (1), wonderfully Ornamental and great

(1) Prov. 25. 12.

Accom-

Accompliſhments to him. There's no more mortal Enemy to Vice than Cenſure, it has far more Efficacy than Exhortation and Inſtruction; for Exhortation propoſes at a diſtance future Fame and Glory; Cenſure immediately accuſes what is Baſe and Diſhonourable, and inflicts preſent Puniſhment, by divulging the Infamy. That incites us to do well; this not to do ill, and the Mind more eaſily abſtains from what is Ignominious, than it enterprizes a thing Difficult and Honourable. In effect, 'tis with reaſon Honour is reputed to conſiſt in the Opinion of others, that we may dread that Opinion, and ſeeing our Actions depend upon each Man's Judgment, make it our buſineſs to ſatisfy all. Thus, although Murmur be bad in its ſelf, 'tis however good for the State; in that there's nothing has more Power and Influence over Magiſtrates and Princes. What would not Power dare, did not Blame reſiſt it? What Crimes would not that fall into, were there no ſuch thing as this? There's no better Counſellors in the World than Murmurs, for they proceed from experience of Evils. Could Princes hear them, undoubtedly things would ſucceed better. Satyrs and Libels I dare not altogether approve, for they generally either exceed the bounds of Truth, or give riſe to Scandals, Tumults, and Seditions; however poſſibly ſome allowance ought to be made therein, in conſideration of the good Effects they have. Obtrectation is a ſign of Liberty in a Commonwealth, for in that which Tyranny oppreſſes, 'tis by no means tolerated. 'Tis a happy time when you have liberty to think what you pleaſe, and ſpeak what you think (2). 'Twould be unjuſt in him that governs to deſire to put a Door upon his Subjects Lips, and forbid them to complain under the Yoke of their Slavery. Let them Murmur, let them Revile, while they let us Reign, ſaid Pope *Sixtus* V. to thoſe who told him how ill *Rome* ſpoke of him. Indeed, not

(1) *Rara temporum felicitate, ubi ſentire quæ velis, & quæ ſentias dicere licet.* Tac. 1. Hiſt.

to be concerned or moved at all by Detraction, were to have caſt off all Sentiments of Honour; than which nothing is worſe in a Prince, for he then makes a Pleaſure of Infamy; he ought therefore ſo to reſent them, as thence to learn ſomething, not with a deſign of Revenge. How will one be able to put up greater things, who can't connive at ſuch inconſiderable Trifles (3)? 'Twas no leſs Virtue in the Great Captain † to ſuffer the Complaints and Clamours of his Army at the River *Garigliano*, than undauntedly to withſtand ſo eminent a Danger. 'Tis impoſſible to repreſs this Licenſe and Liberty of the People. Thoſe Princes are miſtaken, who think by their preſent Power to extinguiſh the Memory of the following Age, or imagine their Majeſty is able to gild bad Actions (4). Not all *Nero*'s Liberality, nor feigned Piety could waſh away his Infamy, for having ſet the City on Fire (5). Flattery, 'tis true, can take care that Slanders come not to the Prince's Ears, but can't help but there will be Slanderers. A Prince, who forbids his Actions to be ſpoke of, renders them ſuſpected; and as the Commonalty are apt to preſume the worſt, they are publiſhed for bad. Thoſe things are leaſt aggravated, which are not much valued. *Vitellius* forbad any one to mention his bad Actions; hence many, who, if they had been at liberty, would have ſaid otherwiſe, meerly becauſe of the Prohibition, ſpoke more to his diſadvantage (6). A Prince ought to paſs over Commendations and Invectives, ſo as not to be tickled with them, nor by theſe dejected. If Praiſes pleaſe him, and he give ear to them, every one will try to make himſelf Maſter of

(3) *Magnarum rerum curas non diſſimulaturos, qui animum etiam leviſſimis adverterent.* Tac. 13. Ann. † Gonſalvo of *Cordova*. (4) *Qui magis ſocordiam eorum irridere libet, qui præſenti potentiâ, credunt extingui poſſe etiam ſequentis ævi memoriam.* Tac. 4. Ann. (5) *Non ope humana, non largitionibus, aut Deûm placamentis decedebat infamia, quin juſſum incendium crederetur.* Tac. 13. Ann. (6) *Prohibiti per civitatem ſermones, eoque plures, ac ſi liceret, vera narraturi, quia vetabantur, atrociora vulgaverunt.* Tac. 3. Hiſt.

his

his Mind by Flattery; if Murmurers be a diſturbance to him, he will decline difficult and glorious Enterpriſes, and become ſluggiſh in his Government. To be vainly puft up at ones Praiſes, is a ſign of a ſlender Judgment; to be offended at every thing, is for private Men. To connive at many things is the part of Princes; to pardon nothing, that of Tyrants. This, thoſe Great Emperors, *Theodoſius*, *Arcadius*, and *Honorius*, very well knew when they commanded *Ruffinus*, their Captain of the Guards, not preſently to puniſh the Peoples Clamours againſt them; for, ſaid they, if they proceed from Inconſtancy, they are to be deſpiſed; if from Madneſs or Folly, to be pitied; if from Malice, and a deſign to injure us, to be pardoned (7). Once, while the Emperor *Charles* the V. was at *Barcelona*, an Accuſation was brought him in Writing againſt ſome, who had traduced his Actions, in order to conſult with him about the Sentence to be paſſed upon them; but he inraged at the Perſon who preſented it, threw the Paper immediately into the Fire, by which he then accidentally ſtood and burnt it. It belongs, I know, to a Prince to inform himſelf of all things, but nicely to examine each Word, is unworthy a generous Breaſt (8). In the *Roman* Republick, Actions only were puniſhed, not Words (9). There's a wide diſtance between inconſiderately ſpeaking and maliciouſly acting (10). The Crown would be too Thorny, did the leaſt thing prick it thus. That Injury, which the Perſon againſt whom it was deſigned, don't look upon as ſuch, is very little, if at all offenſive. 'Tis too much eaſineſs in the Prince, and a ſign he has a mean Opinion of himſelf, to be moved at every trifling Report; and 'tis an ill Conſcience that incites Men to puniſh Detracters; a Mind pure and undefiled deſpiſes things of that Nature.

(7) *Quoniam ſi id ex levitate proceſſerit contemnendum eſt; ſi ex inſania, miſeratione dignißimum, ſi ab injuria, remittendum.* L. unica C. ſi quis imperat. Maledic. (8) *Omnia ſcire non omnia exequi.* Tac. in Vit. Agr. (9) *Facta arguebantur, dicta impunè erant.* Tac. 1. Ann. (10) *Vana à ſceleſtis, dicta à malefciis differunt.* Tac. 3. Ann.

If

If the Aſperſion be true, the Prince's Amendment muſt wipe it off; if falſe, it will of its ſelf diſappear. For Contempt makes ſuch things wear off; Reſentment is a ſeeming acknowledgment of them (11). The *Roman* Senate commanded *Cremutius*'s Annals to be burnt; which made the People more eager and deſirous to read them. 'Twas the ſame with the Scurrilous Pamphlets of *Vejentus*, which were eagerly ſearch'd for, and frequently read, while not to be had without danger, but by being licenſed, ſoon forgot (12). Curioſity ſubmits to no Judges, fears no Puniſhment. What is moſt forbid, it chiefly engages. The very Prohibition inhances the Value of Satyrical Pieces; and when Men of Wit are puniſhed, their Authority increaſes (13). Nor have thoſe Kings, who have uſed ſuch Rigour, procured themſelves any thing but Diſgrace, but to the Author's Honour and Eſteem (14). Now, as 'tis much for a Prince's advantage to know what Ill others ſpeak of him, ſo it is not a little prejudicial to be too ready to hear Defamers: For as we eaſily believe what is accuſed in others to be true; 'tis very obvious for the Prince, either to be deceived, make ſome unjuſt Reſolution, or err in giving Judgment. This is a thing very dangerous, eſpecially in Courts, where Envy, and the gaping after Preferment, and the Favour of Princes, are Whet-ſtones to Defamation; and Courtiers are uſually like thoſe Locuſts in the Revelations, having Mens Faces, but Lions Teeth, with which they gnaw and feed on Honour as Ears of Corn (15). The Holy Spirit compares their Tongues to a ſharp Sword (16); as alſo to Arrows that privily ſtrike the Innocent (17). *David* deſtroyed them as Enemies (18). No Court,

(11) *Namque ſpreta exoleſcunt, ſi retineare agnita videntur.* Tac. 4. Ann. (12) *Conquiſitos lectitatoſque donec cum periculo parabantur, mox licentia habendi oblivionem attulit.* Tac. 4. Ann. (13) *Punitis ingeniis gliſcit Authoritas.* Tac. 4. Ann. (14) *Neque aliud externi Reges, aut qui eadem ſævitia uſi ſunt, niſi dedecus ſibi, atque illis gloriam peperere.* Tac. 4. Ann. (15) Rev. 9. 5. (16) Pſal. 56. 5. (17) Pſal. 10. 2. (18) Pſal. 100. 6.

where

where they are tolerated, can be at reſt; and their Whiſpers will give the Prince no leſs trouble than Publick Affairs. The Remedy is, not to hear them, ſetting two Porters at the Ears, Reaſon and Judgment, that they be not opened without conſiderable occaſion. A Guard is no leſs neceſſary at the Ears, than the Palace-Gates; and yet Princes are mighty ſollicitous about theſe, take little or no care about them. He that gives ear too eaſily to Detracters, makes them audacious. No one traduces others, but before one who loves to hear it. It would do well alſo to bring theſe Bablers, and the Perſon accuſed, face to face, telling him what they ſay, that for the future they may be aſhamed to be the Authors of Diſcord. This, if I miſtake not, is meant by the Holy Spirit in theſe Words, *Hedge thy Ears about with Thorns* (19): That he that ſhould put his Mouth to them, to tell malicious Stories, might there find his Puniſhment. The Prince has reaſon to be jealous of one, who dares not publickly ſpeak what he is not afraid to whiſper (20); and although this care may conceal abundance of Truths from the Prince, which, indeed, 'tis for his advantage, there being many Domeſtick things, 'twere better for him to be ignorant of than to know, and the beſt way to baniſh all Defamation in general; yet, when Accuſations proceed not from Malice, but a kind of Zeal to ſerve the Prince, 'tis by all means requiſite to hear, and well examine them, looking on them as Informations abſolutely neceſſary, not only for good Government, but his own Security alſo. Hence the Emperor *Conſtantine*, in a Law for that purpoſe, aſſigns a Reward to thoſe who would accuſe his Miniſters and Domeſticks of any real Crime (21).

(19) Eccl. 27. 23. Lat. Verſ. (20) *Et hanc veſtin generalem tibi conſtituas regulam, ut omnem qui palam veretur dicere, ſuſpectum habeas.* S. Bern. l. 4. de Conſ. ad Eug. c. 6. (21) *Si quis eſt cujuſcunque loci ordinis, dignitatis, qui ſe in quemcunque Judicum, Comitum, Amicorum, & Palatinorum meorum aliquid veraciter & manifeſte probare poſſe confidit, quod non integre, atque juſte geſſiſſe videatur, intrepidus, atque ſecurus audiat, interpellet me, ipſe audiam omnia, ipſe cognoſcam, & ſi fuerit comprobatum, ipſe me vindicabo.* L. 4. C. de Accuſ.

This

This is abſolutely neceſſary, that the Prince may know all that paſſes in his Palace, at his Council-Board, and in the Courts of Judicature, where Fear ſtops the Mouth, and the Favours of the Prince conferred by his Miniſters make the Perſons gratified dumb, and not dare to diſcover their Faults, as if, forſooth, this were to acknowledge the good Office, and to ſhew their Gratitude, which is rather to be eſteemed Diſloyalty and Treaſon: For that Obligation they lie under to undeceive their Prince, and if they obſerve his Miniſters to be faulty to inform him, is a natural Obligation of Fidelity, and more binding than any other. 'Tis an infinite prejudice for a Prince to diſtribute his Favours by the Hands of his Favourites; for theſe buy, as it were, others at the price of them, who are aſſiſting to the neglect of their Duty, at leaſt approve and defend it; and thus deluding the Prince, are the reaſon he continues his Affection to them. The Ancient Republicks very ſenſible how conducive Satyrs were to reſtrain Vice by the fear of Infamy, allowed them upon Publick Theatres; but theſe from a general Cenſure of Mens Morals inſenſibly degenerated into particular Reflections, not without conſiderable Injury to the Honour of ſome; hence proceeded Factions, and from them popular Inſurrections: For as the Holy Spirit ſays, a backbiting Tongue diſturbs the Peace, and is the Ruin of whole Families and Cities (22). So, leaſt the Correction of Manners ſhould depend on the Malice of the Tongue or Pen, there were inſtituted Cenſors, who by Publick Authority took cognizance of every one's Behaviour, and corrected their Vices. That Office was in thoſe times of great uſe, and continued long in Vogue, becauſe its Juriſdiction was upheld by Modeſty; however in ours 'tis impoſſible to be executed: For Pride and Libertiniſm would preſently make all the Oppoſition to it imaginable, as they now reſiſt the Magiſtracy, however armed

(22) Curſe the whiſperer, and double tongued; for ſuch have deſtroyed many that were at Peace, *Eccleſ.* 28. 13.

with

with the beſt Laws in the World and Publick Authority, and conſequently Cenſors would be ridiculous, not without great danger to the State; there being nothing more hurtful, nothing that makes Vice more arrogant and inſulting, than for ſuch Remedies to be applied to it, as Delinquents turn into Contempt and Ridicule. But as the Office of Cenſor was introduced for the Reformation of Manners, ſo was it alſo to Regiſter the Goods and Eſtates of every Citizen, and to take the number of them; and although that Cuſtom prevailed a long time, both among the *Greeks* and *Latins*, with great Advantage to the Commonwealth, yet at this day 'twould be very odious and ſubject to vaſt Inconveniencies; for to know ſo accurately the Number and Effects of Subjects, is of no uſe, but to burthen them with more Taxes and Impoſitions. That numbring of the People of *Iſrael* under King *David*, God puniſhed as a moſt heinous Crime (23): For what is ſo hard and inhuman, as by publiſhing and proclaiming every ones Eſtate at once, to diſcover the advantages of Poverty, and expoſe Riches to Envy, Avarice, and Rapine. But if in thoſe States, the Office of Cenſor, could heretofore be executed without theſe Inconveniencies; 'twas becauſe its being newly inſtituted made it generally received and approved, or elſe becauſe People were then leſs proud and aſſuming, leſs Rebels to Reaſon, than in theſe our Times (24).

(23) 2 Sam. 24. 10. (24) *Quid enim tam dirum, tamque inhumanum eſt quam publicatione pompâque rerum familiarium, & paupertatis detegi utilitatem, & invidiæ exponere avitias.* L. 2. C. quan. & quin. quam. pars.

EMBLEM XV.

HOW I wiſh I could read on all Princes Breaſts, the Symbol of the preſent Emblem, and that as Balls of Fire flying in the Air imitate the Splendor of the Stars, and ſhine immediately from their being thrown out of the Hand, till they turn to Aſhes; ſo in them alſo (for the Holy Spirit compares them to a bright Fire (1)) would continually burn the deſire of Fame (2); nor ſhould they much care, for that Flame's wanting Matter to feed on, or that what burns moſt fiercely, is withal ſooneſt conſumed. For though length of Life be the common deſire of Man and Beaſt, yet have theſe no other end than meer living, but Man of living uprightly. 'Tis no happineſs to live but

(1) Eccleſ. 50. 9. (2) *Fax mentis honeſtæ gloria.*

to

to know how to live, nor does he live moſt, who lives longeſt, but who lives beſt; for Life is not meaſured by time, but the uſe that's made on't. He, whoſe Life like a Star in the midſt of a Cloud, or like the Full Moon, ſhines upon others with Rays of Bounty and Munificence in its Seaſon, does undoubtedly live long (3): As on the contrary, he who lives only to himſelf, though he lives to a great Age, lives but little. The Benefits and Improvements which flow from a Prince upon the State, number the Days of his Life (4), thoſe who live without them, Oblivion deducts from the Sum (5). *Titus Veſpaſian*, the Emperor, calling to mind once at Supper, that he had done nothing for any one that Day, pronounced that remarkable and juſtly admired Sentence, *Friend, I have loſt a Day.* And 'tis reported of *Peter*, King of *Portugal*, that he was wont to ſay, *That he deſerves not to be a King, who does not each day beſtow ſome Favour or Benefit upon the State.* No Man's Life's ſo ſhort, but it affords time enough to execute ſome glorious Exploit. A brave Spirit in one Moment reſolves, and in few more executes its Reſolutions. What matter's it if he falls in the attempt, if the Memory he left behind raiſes him to Life Eternal. It only can be called Life which is bounded by Fame, not that which conſiſts in Body and Vital Warmth, which no ſooner begins, but begins to die too. Death is naturally equal to all, but is diſtinguiſhed by the Glory or Oblivion we leave to Poſterity. Who dying makes Renown a Subſtitute for Life, lives ſtill. Strange force of Virtue, which even againſt Nature, makes that which is of its ſelf fading and periſhable, Immortally glorious. *Tacitus* did not think *Agricola*'s Life ſhort, though he was ſnatch'd away in the prime of his Years: for his Glory prolong'd his Life (6). Let no

(3) He was as the Morning Star in the midſt of a Cloud, and as the Moon at the Full. *Eccleſ.* 50. 6. (4) Eccleſ. 41. 16. (5) The number of years is hidden to oppreſſors. *Job* 15. 20. (6) *Quantum mod o in ſpatio integræ ætatis erepſus, quantum ad gloriam longiſſimum ævum peregit.* Tac. in Vit. Agric.

one

one deſpiſe or ſlight Poſthumous Fame, for in as much as the Mind covets it, 'tis an acknowledgement that one time or other 'tis to be enjoyed; but they are in the wrong, who think it ſufficient, if they leave it behind them in Statues, or in Poſterity; for in one 'tis fading, in t'other 'tis none of theirs. That only is their own which ſprings from Actions, which if not extraordinary Merit no Praiſe; for Fame is the Daughter of Admiration. To be Born, only to make One in the World, is for the Vulgar Rout; 'tis for Princes to appear perſpicuouſly eminent among others. Others ſtudy what they think their own Intereſt, but the utmoſt and only aim of Princes ſhould be Glory (7). Avarice, and deſire of Riches, fill their Breaſts; but a Prince ſhould be inflamed by an Ambition of Fame (8).

A heavenly Heat inſpires our Prince's Veins. Virg.

A generous Spirit knows no mean; 'twill be either *Cæſar*, or no body; either a ſhining Star, or a dark Cinder; nor will this, if honourably extinguiſhed, ſhine leſs glorioufly on Obelisks, than t'other. Nor, indeed, is that Soul truly great, which, like the beſt Gunpowder fired, does not immediately burſt the Body that includes it. The Breaſt is too narrow to contain a brisk and active Soul. *Garci Sancho*, King of *Navarre*, going to ingage the Enemy, trembled all over, yet in the Fight behaved himſelf bravely and couragiouſly. His Body dreaded that great Multitude of Enemies, into which his Courage prepared to carry it. Let it therefore be the whole Aim of a Prince to live glorioufly, that he may be a Light in this

(7) *Cæteris mortalibus, in eo ſtare conſilia, quid ſibi conducere putent. Principum diverſam eſſe ſortem, quibus præcipua rerum ad famam dirigenda.* Tac. 4. Ann. (8) *Argentum quidem, & pecunia eſt communi omnium poſſeſſio, at honeſtum, & ex eo laus, & gloria Deorum eſt & eorum, qui à diis proximi cenſentur.* Polybius.

World

World (9). All other things will come with eaſe, but Fame not without Aſſiduity and Application (10). But if in the beginning of his Reign he loſes his Reputation, he will very difficultly recover it; for what the People once conceive of him, they will never afterwards forget. He, who ſets too great a value upon Life, avoids Toils and Dangers, without which two, Honour can never be attained. This *Tacitus* obſerved in King *Marabodo*, who quitting his Kingdom, lazily and ſhamefully ſpent his Days in *Italy*, loſing much of his Reputation through a too fond deſire of Life (11). Let a Prince ſo ſtere his Courſe, be the Sea Calm or Tempeſtuous, as ſtill to keep his Eye upon that ſhining Beacon of Glory; ever and anon calling to mind (that he may admit, or think of nothing unworthy himſelf) that Hiſtory will publiſh his Fame, his Exploits and Glorious Atchievements to all Ages, and to all Nations. Princes have no other Superior than God, and Fame; they alone by the fear of Puniſhment and Infamy oblige them to Act honourably; for which reaſon they often fear Hiſtorians more than their Enemies, and are more aw'd by the Pen than the Sword. King *Balthaſar*, though he ſaw only the Hand and Pen, as yet not knowing what they would write, was ſo diſorder'd, *That he quaked all over, and the Joints of his Back were looſened* (12). But if they neither regard God nor Glory, nothing Glorious or Honourable can be expected. For who e're ſlights Honour, deſpiſes Virtue. A generous deſire of Glory avoids the bleniſh of Vice or Injuſtice. Nor is there a more Savage Brute than that Prince, who is neither moved by remorſe of Conſcience, or deſire of Glory. Nor is there, nevertheleſs, no danger in Glory; for its brightneſs often dazles Princes, and leads them headlong into

(9) Let your Light ſo ſhine before Men, that they may ſee your good Works, *Matth.* 5. 12. (10) *Cætera Principibus ſtatim adeſſe: famam inſatiabiliter parandam, proſperam ſui memoriam.* Tac. 4. Ann. (11) *Conſenuitque, multum immutatâ claritate, ob ſuam vivendi cupidinem.* Tac. 2. Ann. (12) Dan. 5. 6.

Raſhneſs and Temerity. That which ſeems Honourable and Glorious to them, is Vanity or Folly, ſometimes Pride or Envy, and oftentimes Ambition and mere Tyranny. They propoſe great matters, egg'd on by the Flatteries of their Miniſters, who ſet before them many things under the appearance of Glory, concealing in the mean time the unjuſt and inconvenient Means by which they are to be attained; by which being ſeduced, they oftentimes find themſelves deluded and ruined.

That Glory is ſafe which ſprings from a generous Spirit, and keeps within the Bounds of Reaſon and Poſſibility. Since therefore Honour and Infamy are the ſtrongeſt Excitements to good Actions, and that both are by Hiſtory delivered down to Poſterity; 'twould be convenient by Rewards propoſed to excite Hiſtorians to write, and to countenance Typography, the true Treaſury of Glory, where the Rewards of great Actions are depoſited to future Ages.

EMBLEM XVI.

'TIS an old saying, *Purple is to be judged by Purple*; by which the Ancients signified, that things were then best distinguished, when one was compared with the other, especially if they were such as could not easily be distinguish'd by themselves. Thus Merchants do, who compare Colour to Colour, that they may shew each other, and that a surer Judgment may be given of both. In the Temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus*, there was a Cloak (a Present of some King from *Persia*) of such an excellent Grain, that the Robes of the *Roman* Ladies, nay, even of the Emperor *Aurelian* himself, compared with it, look'd as faint as Ashes. If your Royal Highness, when raised to the Crown, would examine, and know the true worth of the Royal Purple, expose it not to the false Light of Flatterers and fawning

Knaves, for that will never ſhew you its true Colour: Nor rely too much upon ſelf-love, for that is like an Eye, that ſees all things but its ſelf. 'Twill be therefore neceſſary, that as Eyes are known by their own Species, like Forms repreſented in a Glaſs; ſo your Highneſs would compare the Luſtre of your Diadem to that of your Glorious Predeceſſors, ſeriouſly reflecting if any Virtues ſhine more bright in theirs than yours, by viewing your ſelf in them as in a Glaſs (1). Let your Highneſs, I ſay, compare your own Actions to thoſe of your Anceſtors, and you will eaſily ſee the difference between yours and theirs, that you may either give a true Colour to their Actions, or rejoyce in the Worth of your own, if in any thing you happen to have out-done your Predeceſſors. Let your Royal Highneſs therefore pleaſe to conſider, whether you Equal your Father in Courage, your Grandfather in Piety; *Philip* the Second, in Prudence; *Charles* the Fifth, in Greatneſs of Spirit; *Philip* the Firſt, in Affability; *Ferdinand* the Catholick, in Policy; in Liberality, that *Alphonſo*, who was Nick-named from his broken Hands; in Juſtice, King *Alphonſo* the Eleventh; and laſtly, King *Ferdinand* the Holy, in Religion: And that moreover, your Highneſs would be ſtir'd up by a generous Emulation, to a glorious Deſire of imitating theſe Great Men. *Quintus Maximus* and *Publius Scipio*, were uſed to ſay, that when e're they beheld the Images of their Anceſtors, their Souls were fired and excited on to Virtue: Not that they were moved by the meer Wax or Stone, but that comparing their own Actions to thoſe of others, they could not reſt till they equall'd them in Glory and Renown. Elogies inſcribed on Tombs, ſpeak not to the Dead, but to the Living: They are certain Summaries, which for Memory's ſake, the Virtue of the Predeceſſor leaves to the Succeſſor. *Mattathias* ſaid, That by calling to mind the Actions

(1) *Tanquam in ſpeculo ornare, & comparare vitam tuam ad alienas virtutes.* Plutarch.

of

of their Ancestors, his Sons should acquire present Glory and eternal Renown (2). For which Cause also, the High Priests, who were Princes of the People, wore upon their Breasts the Virtues of the Twelve Patriarchs, their Predecessors, engraven upon as many Stones (3). In effect, it becomes a Prince to vie with his Ancestors in Glory, not with his Inferiors, for 'tis no praise to excel them, and to be out-done by them, the greatest Scandal. The Emperor *Tiberius* observed as Law, all the Sayings and Exploits of *Augustus* (4). Moreover, let your Highness compare the Purple you wear at present, to that you wore formerly; for we are oftentimes desirous to forget what we have been, for fear of upbraiding our selves with what we are. Let your Highness consider, whether you are grown better or worse, for we find it often happens, that at the beginning of their Reigns, Princes minds are gloriously bent upon the Execution of their Office, in which afterwards they grow more remiss. Almost all begin their Reigns with Great and Glorious Spirits; but at last by degrees, either they sink under the Weight of Affairs, or grow Effeminate by Luxury and Ease, with which they easily suffer themselves to be taken, forgetting they are obliged to keep and preserve their once gotten Glory. This very thing *Tacitus* remarks in the Emperor *Tiberius*, that at last, after a long Experience in Affairs, he was altered and ruined by the mere force of Government (5). A long Reign creates Pride, and Pride the hatred of the People; as the same Author observes in King *Vannius* (6). Many begin

(2) Call to remembrance what Acts our Fathers did in their time, so shall ye receive great Honour, and an everlasting Name, 1 *Macc.* 2. 52. (3) And in the four Rows of Stones, was the Glory of the Fathers graven, *Wisd.* 8. 24. (4) *Qui omnia facta dictaque ejus vice legis observem.* Tac. 4. Ann. (5) *An cum Tiberius post tantum rerum experientiam vi dominationis convulsus, & mutatus sit.* Tac. 6. Ann. (6) *Prima Imperii ætate clarus acceptusque popularibus; mox diuturnitatem, in superbiam mutans, & odio accolarum simul domesticis discordiis circumventis.* Tac 12. Ann.

their Reigns with extraordinary Modesty and Justice, but few continue so; because their Ministers are Flatterers, by whom they are taught to Act boldly and unjustly. As it happened to *Vespasian*, who in the beginning of his Reign was not so much bent upon Injustice; until by the Indulgence of Fortune and Advice of Evil Counsellors, he learnt it (7).

Let your Highness compare not only your own Virtues and Actions, but those of your Ancestors with one another, by confronting the Purple of some stain'd with Vices, to that of others glossy and shining with great and noble Actions: For Examples never move us more than when they are confronted one with another. Let your Highness compare the Royal Robe of King † *Hermenigildus*, with that of *Peter* the Second, King of *Arragon*; one glittering with Stars, and died with Blood, which he had gloriously spilt in the War against *Leuvigildus*, his Father, who was infected with the *Arrian* Heresy; the other trampled under the Feet of Horses in a Battle at *Girone*, when he brought Succours to the *Albigenſians* in *France*.

Let your Highness cast your Eyes back upon past Ages, and you will find *Spain* ruined by the licentious Lives of the Kings, *Witiza* and *Roderick*, but recovered again by the Piety and Courage of *Pelagius*. You'll see *Peter* deposed, and killed for his Cruelty; and his Brother, *Henry* the Second, advanced to the Crown for his singular Mildness. You'll see the Glorious Infant, *Ferdinand*, blessed by Heaven with many Kingdoms, for that he would not accept of that of his Grandson, King *John* the Second, although there were those who freely offered it him: On t'other side, the Infant *Sancho* accused by his own Father of Disobedience and Ingratude, before Pope *Martin* the Fourth, for that he would have usurped the Throne in his life-time. This

(7) *Ipso Vespasiano, inter initia Imperii ad obtinendas iniquitates haud perinde obstinato; donec, indulgentia fortunæ, & pravis Magistris, didicit, aususque est.* Tac. 2. Hist. † Marian. Hist. Hisp.

Comparison

Compariſon your Highneſs may follow as a ſure Guide in the Management of your Affairs; for, though by Diſcourſe and Converſation you may know the Luſtre and Brightneſs of Heroick Exploits, as alſo the Baſeneſs and Infamy of Ill Actions; yet all theſe move us not ſo much, conſidered in themſelves, as in thoſe Perſons, whom they have made Glorious in the World, or Deſpicable.

EMBLEM XVII.

A Tree bedeck'd with Trophies, is ſtill a Trunk as afore; thoſe which were an Honour to others, are but a burthen to it. So truly, the glorious Exploits of Anceſtors are but a Shame and Diſgrace to the Succeſſor, unleſs he imitates the ſame. Nor does he inhe-

rit their Glory, but their Actions only, by an Imitation of which he will obtain the other. juſt as light is reflected from a Diamond, becauſe it finds ſubſtance, but quickly pierces Glaſs which is thin and tranſparent; ſo if the Succeſſor be Stout and Brave, the Glory of his Predeceſſors adds yet a greater Luſtre and Brightneſs to him; but if like thin and paultry Glaſs, he can't withſtand the Luſtre, it ſerves only to diſcover his vile and abject Soul. The Actions of Anceſtors, which are only Examples to others, are Laws to the Succeſſor, for the whole Eſteem and Prerogative of Nobility is grounded upon this Suppoſition, that the Deſcendants will imitate the Actions of their Forefathers. He, who vainly boaſts of theſe without imitating them, only ſhews the difference between himſelf and them. No one is to be blamed for not equalizing the Actions of them to whom he bears no relation. For this Reaſon, the Nobility of *Rome* were wont to place before their Doors the Statues of the Illuſtrious Men of their Families, that they might ſhew to Poſterity what Obligation they lie under. *Bodiſlaus* the Fourth, King of *Poland*, always wore his Father's Picture in Gold about his Neck; and whenever any Affair of great conſequence was to be determined, he put it to his Mouth, and kiſſing on't, with Veneration us'd to ſay, *God grant I may never do any thing unworthy your Royal Name.* How many ſuch Medals of your Heroick Anceſtors might your Highneſs find? Which would never permit you to act any thing beneath their Royal Blood; nay, would rather encourage and excite you to out-do them in glorious Exploits? Now, if this Emulation of Anceſtors enflame the Minds of the Nobility, they certainly deſerve the principal Employments in the State. For as 'tis likely thoſe ſhould be beſt who proceed from the beſt (1); as alſo Preſumption and Experience teach, for Eagles hatch Eagles, and Lions beget Lions. And oft-times ſelf-worth and fear of Infamy ſtirs up noble

(1) *Par eſt meliores eſſe eos qui ex melioribus*, Ariſt.

Thoughts

Thoughts in the mind. Yet, I grant that this Rule holds not always good, either becauſe Nature can't do what ſhe would (2), or becauſe of ill Education and Effeminacy; or becauſe Mens Souls themſelves are not equally noble and generous, but act differently according to the Affection of the Body, in which they are as 'twere drowned. There are ſome too, who ſeem only to inherit the Trophies and Glory of their Anceſtors, without their Virtues, and are in all things wholly different from them. Of this we have an Example in the Eagles themſelves, who altho' they commonly breed Eagles; yet there are ſome, who think that Oſtriches are a certain Species of them, tho' wholly degenerate, having neither the generoſity, ſtrength, nor ſwiftneſs of an Eagle; this fine Bird being transformed into a loathſome dull Animal. 'Tis ſcarce credible how prejudicial 'tis to the Publick Good, without any diſcretion or regard to Merit, to elect only the Nobility into Publick Offices, as though the Experience and Virtue of Anceſtors ran in the Blood to Poſterity. Induſtry will languiſh, Virtue will grow ſluggiſh and lazy, if only grounded upon Nobility, which will look upon Rewards as its juſt due; nor will the hopes of obtaining, or the fear of loſing them, be a means to make them act honourably: Which very Argument *Tiberius* uſed to the Senate to perſwade them not to aſſiſt the Family of *M. Hortalus*, which tho' very Ancient, was fallen to Poverty (3). In time of Peace, indeed, Men of Great and Noble Families may be well preferred to Places of the greateſt Authority, in which the Splendor and Reputation of the Family is of great advantage. In Military Offices the caſe is alter'd, for theſe require activity and ſtrength both of Mind and Body: But if theſe are found in the Nobility, though not in altogether ſo

(2) *Nam ut ex homine hominem, ex belluis belluam, ſic ex bonis bonum generari putant; at hoc quidem natura ſæpè efficere vult, non tamen poteſt.* Ariſt. 1. Pol. c. 4. (3) *Langueſcet alioqui induſtria, intendetur ſocordia, ſi nullas ex ſe metus, aut ſpes, & ſecuri omnes aliena fabricia expectabunt, ſibi ignavi, nobis graves.* Tac. 2. Ann.

great

great Perfection as in others, the Merits of their Anceſtors, or the common Eſteem and Reſpect of Men will eaſily compenſate for the reſt, yet can they by no means ſupply an intire defect. For this reaſon *Tacitus* deſervedly ridiculed the Election of *Vitellius*, when he was ſent to Command the Legions of *Lower Germany*; not conſidering his Incapacity for ſuch an Office, it ſeem'd enough that he was the Son of *Vitellius*, who had been for three times Conſul (4). *Tiberius* acted not ſo in the beginning of his Reign, he conferr'd Honours reſpecting both the Nobility of the Family, the Excellency of the Perſon in the Art of War; as alſo his worth in time of Peace, that it might appear he did not without Reaſon prefer one before another (5). I grant that the Eſteem and Authority of Nobility may do much in War; but 'tis not that, but Bravery and Induſtry that routs the Enemy. The *Germans* formerly choſe their Kings for their Nobility, but their Generals for their Valour (6). Then Arms flouriſh when Valour and Virtue are in eſteem, and in poſſeſſion of the greateſt Poſts in the Army; in which they may either acquire Nobility, or enlarge and illuſtrate that which they have already. The hope of this furniſht paſt Ages with brave Heroick Generals; but where this is wanting, Art Military is neglected and ſlighted; for nothing but the Honour of Preferment in the Army can recompence the Inconveniences and Perils of War. Nor is it true as ſome ſuppoſe, that the greateſt Reſpect and Obedience is paid to thoſe of the nobleſt Families; for if they are not qualified with theſe two great Qualities, Conduct and Valour, all the deference paid to their Blood will be only meer Ceremony, not real Reſpect. The Heart values and admires only ſuch a Virtue and Greatneſs of Soul, as is the Maker of its own Fortune.

(4) *Cenſoris Vitellii ac ter Conſulis filius, id ſatis videbatur.* Tac. 1. Hiſt. (5) *Mandabatque honores, nobilitatem majorum, claritudinem militiæ, illuſtres domi artes, ſpectando, ut ſatis conſtaret, non alios potiores fuiſſe.* Tac. 4. Ann. (6) *Reges ex nobilitate, Duces ex virtute ſumunt.* Tac. de mor. Germ.

Columbu

Columbus gave Laws to the Ocean, and *Herman Cortez* to the New World; theſe, though they did not ſpring from Illuſtrious Families, yet did they procure a Nobility for their Poſterity, equal to thoſe of the greateſt Rank. The moſt noted Rivers take their riſe and beginning from the ſmalleſt Rivolets, and a little after take their Name and Glory from the Channel. In War, where Courage and Bravery are moſt eſteem'd, 'twill be expedient to promote thoſe to the higheſt Honours who have merited it by noble Exploits, though they are perhaps but of mean Extraction; yet, in time of Peace, 'twill be very dangerous for a Prince to commit the Government to mean and worthleſs Perſons; 'twill immediately incenſe the Noble and Brave againſt him for ſlighting and miſtruſting their Integrity (7). Which then chiefly happens, when the Subject is not endowed with good Natural Parts, not when he is cried up and admired by all, the obſcurity of Birth being ſufficiently brightned by the excellent Endowments of Mind. We ſee many, who ſeem to be born of themſelves, as *Tiberius* uſed to ſay of *Curtius Rufus* (8). To ſuch as theſe *Claudian*'s Praiſe of a good choice of Miniſters is well adapted.

Mirit, not Birth, he does prefer †;
Nor cares he whence, but what they are.

But if the Nobility be corrupted by Eaſe and Luxury, 'twere adviſeable to reform it by Rewards and Exerciſe, rather than to inſtitute an entire new ſet. Silver and Gold are eaſily purified and clean'd, but to make Gold out of Silver, is a vaſt labour beyond the Art of Chymiſtry to perform. *Henry* the Fourth, was therefore very ill adviſed by ſome to ruin all the Grandees of his Kingdom, and to promote thoſe of mean Fortune.

(7) *Si Reip. gravis, & non magni premii ſum nibus committas, ſtatim & nobilium ac ſtrenuorum iram in te provocabis ob contemptam eorum juſtam, & maximis in rebus damna patiens.* Dion. Caſſius. (8) *Videntur in de ex ſe nati.* Tac. 11. Ann. † Claud.

Though

Though the Licentiouſneſs and Diſobedience of the Nobility may ſometimes require that it be a little humbled; for too much Greatneſs begets Pride, and an Averſion to Subjection and Obedience (9). The weakeſt always ſeek Juſtice and Equity, but the ſtronger trouble not themſelves with it (10); and the People are generally more quiet, when there are no Great Ones to protect them, and to foment their Innovations (11). For this reaſon, the Laws of *Caſtile* don't allow two Great and Noble Families to incorporate, that ſo the Eſtate might be more divided, and that it might not create Jealouſy and Envy among others (12). There are ways under the pretext of Honour and Favour to remedy excels of Riches, in giving opportunity of employing it to the Service of the Prince and People. But Prodigality and Luxury are now grown to that height, that there is no occaſion for ſuch means; for all the Nobility are ſo much ſtraitned by Debts, and neceſſary Expences, that they want means to execute ſuch Thoughts, or to attempt Innovation. While they would be great beyond what they can, they become even leſs than what they are. 'Tis certain, that the nobleſt and moſt renowned Families are ruined by a deſire of Grandure and Magnificence (13). But as too much Riches are dangerous, ſo alſo is extream Poverty. For when any of theſe Great Ones have ſquandred away their Eſtates, they preſently ſet up for Innovation (14).

(9) *Et revocante Nobilitate, cui in pace durius ſervitium eſt.* Tac. 11. Ann. (10) *Nam Imbecilliores ſemper equum, & juſtum quærunt, potentioribus autem id nihil curæ.* Ariſt. Pol. 6. C. 2. (11) *Nihil auſuram plebem principibus amotis.* Tac. 1. Ann. (12) *Commodum eſt etiam, ut hæreditates non donatione, ſed jure agnationis tradantur, utque ad eundem una, non plures hæreditates perveniant.* Ariſt. Pol. 5. c. 8. (13) *Dites olim familiæ nobilium, aut claritudine inſignes, ſtudio Magnificentiæ prolabebantur.* Tac. 3. Ann. (14) *Sed cum ex Primariis aliqui bona diſſipaverunt, hi res novas moliuntur.* Ariſt. Pol. 6. c. 12.

EMBLEM XVIII.

VIRTUE has given Empire to many, Vice to few. In theſe the Scepter was a violent and dangerous Uſurpation, in thoſe a juſt Title and laſting Succeſſion. Virtue by a certain occult and ſecret Force, does as 'twere compel Men to love and admire it. The Elements obey the Heavens for the Perfection and Excellency of them; ſo Men too think none worthy the Sovereign Power, but thoſe of Sovereign Juſtice and Virtue. For which cauſe, *Cyrus* thought no one was fit to govern, but he who was better than thoſe he governed (1). Subjects pay more Reverence to a Prince, in whom they diſcern more than ordinary En-

(1) *Non cenſebat convenire cuiquam Imperium qui non melior eſſet iis quibus imperaret.* Xenoph. lib. 8.

dowments

dowments of Mind; the greater they are, the greater is their Reſpect and Eſteem, for all believe that to ſuch a Prince, God is more propitious and ready to aſſiſt him in all things, and to direct his Government. 'Tis this alone made *Joſhua*'s Name celebrated all the World over (2). All the Actions and Counſels of a good Prince the People receive with Joy, and through a certain zealous Confidence promiſe themſelves Succeſs from them; but if it fall out otherwiſe, they perſuade themſelves that for ſome ſupernatural and unknown Reaſons 'tis convenient it ſhould be ſo. For the ſame cauſe among ſome Nations, the High Prieſts were Kings (3), that the People receiving Holy Ceremonies and Divine Worſhip from them, might acknowledge in them a certain more ſublime Nature, more allied and familiar to God himſelf, which as a Mediatrix they might make uſe of in their Prayers, and againſt which they durſt not attempt any thing (4). The Crown upon *Aaron*'s Mitre attracted the Eyes and Deſires of all (5).

Jacob worſhipped *Joſeph*'s Scepter, on the top of which was a Stork, the Emblem of Piety and Religion (6).

Let none imagine that the time is loſt, which a Prince employs in the Exerciſe of Goodneſs and Virtue; nay, God does then chiefly diſpoſe and direct the Events of things. *Ferdinand Antoline* was at his Devotions, while Count *Garcias Fernandez* fought the Moors at the River *Duero*, and an Angel in his likeneſs ſupplied his place in the Fight, by which he not only eſcaped the

(2) So the Lord was with *Joſhua*, and his fame was noiſed throughout all the Country, *Joſh.* 6. 27. (3) *Rex enim Dux erat in bello, & Judex, & in iis quæ ad cultum Deorum pertinerent, ſummam poteſtatem habebat.* Ariſt. Pol. 3. 13. (4) *Minuſque inſidiantur iis, qui Deos auxiliares habent.* Ariſt. Polit. (5) He ſet a Crown of Gold upon the Mitre, wherein was engraved Holineſs, an ornament of Honour, a ſafety-work, the deſires of the Eyes goodly and beautiful. *Eccl.* 45. 12. (6) And he worſhipped leaning upon the top of his Staff. Vid. Lat. Verſ. *Et adoravit faſtigium virgæ ejus.* Heb. 11. 21.

diſcredit

diſcredit of not being at the Battel, but alſo gained the chiefeſt Praiſe of Honour of the Victory. Something like this is related of that Renowned General, Count *Tilly*, that true Chriſtian *Joſhua*, not leſs Holy and Religious, than Warlike and Brave, that while he was at Prayers, the Army was drawn up by another in his ſhape. The Emperor, *Ferdinand* the Second, had more Standards and Trophies preſented to him in the time of Divine Service, than many of his Anceſtors had gained from the Enemy (7). The *Iſraelites* ſtood ſtill, and God wrought Wonders for them (8). That Crown, which like *Ariadne*'s ſhines with refulgent Stars of Virtue, ſhall laſt to Eternity (9). The Emperor *Septimus* told his Sons as he was dying, *That he left them a firm and laſting Empire if they were good; if wicked, but of ſhort continuance.* King *Ferdinand*, who from his great Virtues, was ſirnamed the Great, did by theſe wonderfully increaſe the Glory of his Kingdom, and eſtabliſht it to Poſterity. His Piety was ſo great, that when the Body of St. *Iſidore* was carried by *Sevil*, he and his Sons, barefoot, carried theſe Holy Relicks from the River *Durio*, quite to St. *John*'s Church in the City. For 'tis God by whom Kings Reign, and upon whom all their Power and Felicity depends; they could never err, if they would make him their only Object. The Rays of the Sun never forſake the Moon; ſhe, as if ſhe knew ſhe received all her Light from the Sun, looks on him continually, that ſhe may be enlightned by him; which Princes muſt ſo imitate, that they may always have their Eyes fixt upon that Eternal Light, which affords Light and Motion to the World, and from which Empires take their encreaſe and decreaſe, as is intimated in the preſent Emblem by the Scepter,

(7) Fear ye not, ſtand ſtill, and ſee the Salvation of the Lord, which he will ſhew you to day, *Exod.* 14. 13. (8) And the Lord God of *Iſrael* fought for *Iſrael*, *Joſh.* 10. 42. (9) And that turn not aſide from the Commandment, to the right, or to the left; to the end that he may prolong his days in his Kingdom, he and his Children in the midſt of *Iſrael*, *Deut.* 17, 20.

on

on the top of which is the Moon looking towards the Sun, the true Emblem of God, as well becauſe no other thing comes nearer his Omnipotency; as alſo, becauſe that alone gives Light and Being to all.

Which 'cauſe it ſolely all Surveys,
Is properly call'd Sol. Boet.

For *there is no Power but from God* (10). Kings are crowned in his Eternal Mind before they are here on Earth. He, who gave the Orbs Cœleſtial firſt motion, gives it alſo to Empires and Republicks. He, who has appointed a King over Bees, has not left meerly to Chance or Humane Choice, theſe Second Cauſes of Princes, who are his Vice-Roys upon Earth, and as like him as may be (11), being repreſented in the Revelations by thoſe Seven Planets, which God held in his Hand (12); upon them he darts his Divine Rays, the Reflection of which gives them the utmoſt Power and Authority over their Subjects. Without that Splendor, all Power, how great ſoever, is in a manner dark; the Prince who ſlighting this Light, ſhall follow another, an appearance may be of ſome good, which his own convenience, not right reaſon offers, will ſoon ſee the Orb of his Power eclips'd and darken'd. What e'er avoids the Sun, muſt neceſſarily be in darkneſs. The Moon, although it finds its ſelf oft'times quite dark, does not therefore turn away from the Sun, but looks on't with ſo much the more eagerneſs, till at laſt 'tis again enlightned by it. Let a Prince hold his Scepter fixt and ſteady, having always a regard to Virtue, as well in Proſperity as Adverſity: For the ſame Divine Sun, which either for Puniſhment or Exerciſe of his Virtues, permitted his decreaſe, as a recompence of his Conſtancy will again promote and encreaſe his great-

(10) Rom. 13. 1. (11) *Principes quidem inſtar deorum eſſe.* Tac. 3. Ann. (12) And he had in his right hand ſeven Stars, *Revel.* 1. 16.

neſs.

neſs. Thus 'twas with the Emperor, *Ferdinand* the II. who was often reduced to that extremity of Fortune, that his Empire and Life too ſeem'd deſperate. Yet he was reſolved never wholly to deſpair, nor to turn his Eyes from that Eternal Sun, the Maker and Governor of all things, whoſe Divine Providence freed him from all Perils, and advanced him far above all his Enemies. *Moſes*'s Rod, which was the Emblem of a Scepter, did Wonders whilſt he held it in his Hand upright t'wards Heaven; but as ſoon as he caſt it upon the Ground, 'twas turn'd into a venomous Serpent, dreadful even to *Moſes* himſelf (13). Whilſt the Scepter, like *Jacob*'s Ladder, touches Heaven, God himſelf ſupports it, and Angels deſcend to its aſſiſtance (14). This the *Egyptians* knew, who on the top of their Scepters were uſed to engrave the Head of a Stork, a Religious Bird, and Pious t'wards its Parents; but on the bottom, the Foot of a Sea-Horſe, an impious and ungrateful Animal, which Plots to kill his Father, that he may the more freely enjoy his Mother. By which Hieroglyphick they meant nothing, but that Princes ought always to prefer Piety to Impiety. *Machiavel* would have his Prince to learn this Hieroglyphick, but in quite another Sence, for he would have Piety and Impiety placed at each end, that he might turn it as he pleaſed, and hold that upwards which tended moſt to his Preſervation and Advantage. For which reaſon, he thinks 'tis not neceſſary for a Prince to be Virtuous, 'tis enough if he pretends to be ſo; for to be really ſo, and to act according to the Dictates of Virtue, would, he ſays, be pernicious; but that 'tis moſt advantageous to be thought ſo; for by this means he will be ſo diſpoſed, as to know how to ſhift upon occaſion, and ſo to act in all things as advantage or opportunity ſhall require: And

(13) And he caſt it on the ground, and it became a Serpent, and *Moſes* fled from before it, *Exod.* 4. 3. (14) And he dreamed, and behold, a Ladder ſet upon the Earth, and the top of it reached to Heaven; and behold, the Angels of God aſcending and deſcending on it. *Gen.* 28. 12.

this, he ſays, is principally neceſſary for Princes newly come to the Crown, who ought to be quick and ready to ſpread their Sails to every breath of Fortune, and as neceſſity requires. Impious and fooliſh Counſel, that would inſinuate that Virtues need not be real and genuine, but only counterfeit and imaginary, for how can the Shadow be as effective as the Subſtance? What Art or Pains can bring Chryſtal to that perfection, as it ſhall equal the Diamond in luſtre and brightneſs? Won't any one at firſt ſight diſcover and laugh at the Cheat. A true Glory takes root and flouriſhes, that which is not, fails like Bloſſoms; nor can any thing be laſting that is counterfeit (15). There's no Art or Cunning ſo great, as to make a vicious Inclination appear truly good and virtuous. For if we ſo eaſily fail in real Virtues ſo agreeable to our Nature and Inclination, what ſhall we do in falſe and imaginary ones? How will the Subjects, when they diſcover the Cheat, be able to endure the Stench of this Sepulchre of abominable Vices, without any ornament of Goodneſs? How can they turn their Eyes from that inward Wound, when the Patch under which it lurk'd being drawn off, 'tis openly expoſed to the ſight of all (16)? Whence a Prince will be contemptible and ridiculous to his own People at home, and ſuſpected by Foreigners abroad. He will be ſurely odious to both, for neither can live ſecurely under him. Nothing renders Tyranny more grievous than when the Prince diſſembles Virtue. For from thence oft-times greater Vices ſpring, for this Reaſon many were afraid of *Otho*, when he ſtood Candidate for the Empire (17). When a Prince is known to be wicked and vicious, 'tis eaſy to beware

(15) *Vera gloria radices agit, atque etiam propagatur; ficta omnia celeriter tanquam flosculi decidunt, neque ſimulatum quidquam poteſt diuturnum.* Cic. lib. 2. de Off. cap. 32. (16) And all our righteouſneſſes are as filthy rags, *Iſaiah* 64. 6. (17) *Otho interim, contra ſpem omnium, non deliciis, neque deſidia torpeſcere, dilatæ voluptates, diſſimulata luxuria, & cuncta ad decorem imperii compoſita, eoque plus formidinis offerebantur falſæ virtutes, & vitia reditura.* Tac. 1. Hiſt.

of him, but not ſo when he diſſembles. Open Vice may be imputed to frailty of Nature; but pretended Virtue is only Cheat and Deſign; not accidental, but premeditated Injuſtice; ſo that 'tis more pernicious than open Vice. As *Tacitus* remarks in *Sejanus* (18), there is no greater Villainy, than under pretence of Virtue to exerciſe Vice (19). 'Tis a certain weakneſs to be openly wicked, but to counterfeit Virtue is true Villainy. Men more eaſily diſpence with other Vices, but all loath Hypocriſy; for by them we only deceive our ſelves, but by this, others too. Nay, good Actions are deſpiſed if artificial, and not the Product of Virtue. *Vitellius* did many things to curry favour with the People, but thoſe things which would have been really acceptable, had they proceeded from a Principle of Virtue, were (by the memory of his former Courſe of Life, and becauſe every one ſaw that they were feigned and forced) look'd upon as baſe and vile (20). And, pray, who would diſſemble Virtue, if it coſt the ſame pains to do ſo, as to be really virtuous? If Virtues themſelves, by reaſon of the wickedneſs of Manners, have ſcarce ſtrength and power to ſubſiſt, how then ſhould the falſe and counterfeit? Who e'er puts more confidence in theſe Tricks than in Divine Providence, denies that he receives his Crown and Preſervation from God, and that he is the Diſpoſer of Rewards and Puniſhments. If a Prince's Vices proceed from Weakneſs, and not from Affection, 'tis beſt to conceal them, that they may not give ill Examples; for to conceal them on that account, ought not to be accounted Hypocriſy, or a deſign to Cheat others, but rather Prudence, and an Eſteem and Reſpect due to Virtue. There's no curb or reſtraint to that Power which does not veil its Tyrannies with ſome pretence or other. The Senators

(18) *Haud minus noxiæ, quoties, parando regno finguntur.* Tac. 4. Ann.
(19) *Extrema eſt perverſitas, cum proſſus juſtitia vaces, ad id niti, ut vir bonus eſſe videaris.* Plut. (20) *Quæ grata ſane & popularia, ſi à virtutibus proficiſcerentur; memoria vitæ prioris, indecora, & vilia accipiebantur.* Tac. 2. Hiſt.

never feared *Tiberius*, more than when they saw him without Diſſimulation (21). Yet *Tacitus* writes of *Piſo*, that he was cried up by the People for Virtues, or ſomething reſembling them (22). I don't mean by this, that Virtues are the ſame in a Prince, whether feigned or real; but that the People are ſometimes deceived, and take Hypocriſy for Virtue. Therefore how much more firm and laſting would *Piſo*'s Fame have been, had it been ſupported by real and ſolid Virtues. The ſame inconveniences ariſe if a Prince is poſſeſt of real Virtues, but ſuch as he will eaſily change for his conveniency; for that cannot be Virtue, which is not a firm and conſtant habit of the Mind, nor will it inhabit ſuch a Breaſt with fears, not upon any proſpect of advantage to turn it into Vice, and joyn with Villainy. And how can this ever be convenient for a Prince?

And what Caſe or Circumſtance can require it, eſpecially in theſe our times, when Rule and Empire are eſtabliſhed upon ſure Laws; not depending as in the *Roman*'s time, upon the Election and Inſolence of the Soldiers. No danger can be ſo great, that a Prince by prudent Virtue may not avoid without having recourſe to Vice. If at any time a Prince renown'd for Virtues be vanquiſhed, 'tis not becauſe he was good, but becauſe he knew not enough how to be good. A Juſt Prince is not obliged haſtily and raſhly to confront and oppoſe Vice, where there is no proſpect of Advantage, but certain and manifeſt Danger from this over-diligence; nay, 'tis a piece of great prudence to permit and ſuffer that quietly, which by Oppoſition can't be prevented (23). Let him diſſemble the knowledge of their Vices, till he finds a convenient time to remedy

(21) *Penetrabat Pavor, & admiratio, callidum olim, & tegendis ſceleribus obſcurum, huc confidentiæ veniſſe, ut tanquam dimotis parietibus oſtenderet Neptem ſub verbere Centurionis, inter ſervorum illius, extrema vitæ alimenta fruſtra orantem.* Tac. 6. Ann. (22) *Claro apud vulgum rumore erat per virtutem, aut ſpecies virtutibus ſimiles.* Tac. 15. Ann. (23) *Permittimus, quod nolentes indulgemus, quia pravam hominum voluntatem ad plenum cohibere non poſſumus.* S. Chryſoſt.

them;

them; and in the mean time reward the Good, and punish the Bad, and use such other means as prudence shall suggest; but if these are not sufficient, let him leave it to his Successor, as *Tiberius* did, when he saw he could not reform the Manners of his time (24). For if through fear, a Prince should by doing ill conform himself to the Life and Manners of ill Men, he would not only not bring them into the way of Virtue, but would at the same time mislead the Good, so that both would grow worse; Virtue in a Prince is never dangerous, but rash Zeal and Severity often is. Villains don't hate a Prince for being good, but, because, for his too strict Severity they can't be wicked and lewd. There's no body but desires a Just Prince; the worst have need of such a one, that Justice may flourish, by which they may live not only secure from others, but from one another too. This *Seneca* meant, when, that he might perswade *Nero* from incestuous Conversation with his Mother, he threatned him that the Incest was divulg'd by his Mother, who gloried in't, and the Soldiers would not endure so vicious a Prince (25). Nay, so necessary are Virtues to a Prince, that without some Vices themselves can't subsist. Nor did *Sejanus* endear himself to *Tiberius* by other means, than by mingling Virtues with Vices (26). Such a mixture of Virtues and Vices one might see in *Lucinius Mucianus*; in *Vespasian* also, there were many notable Vices as well as Virtues (27). This is certain, *Sejanus*'s favour with *Tiberius* had been much more secure; and *Vespasian* and *Mucian*, had been much more accomplished Princes, if subtracting their Vices, their Virtues only had re-

(24) *Non id tempus censuræ, nec si quid in moribus laboret desaturum corrigendi authorem.* Tac. 2. Ann. (25) *Pervulgatum esse incestum, gloriante matre, nec toleraturos milites profani Principis imperium.* Tac. 14. Ann. (26) *Corpus ilii laborum tolerans, animus audax, sui obtegens, in alios criminator, juxta adulatio, & superbia, palam compositus pudor, intus summa adipiscendi libido, ejusque causa, modò largitio, & luxus, sæpius industria, & vigilantia.* Tac. 4. Ann. (27) *Ambigua de Vespasiano fama.* Tac. 1. Hist.

mained (28). If it be convenient for a Prince to be vicious, that he may diſtinguiſh the good from the bad, 'twill be ſufficient only to know how to be ſo, without being practically ſo. Let him therefore be virtuous, but let him be ſo circumſpect and prudent, that no Cheat or Knavery may ſcape him, no Villany but which he may ſee through; ſo by throughly obſerving each Man's Manners, and way of Life, he may Govern them the better. And in this Senſe may their Opinions be taken, who think that Princes are ſo much the more ſecure, by how much they are more wicked than their Subjects (29). This ſort of Vice relating to the knowledge of wickedneſs, is very expedient to know how to chaſtiſe, and alſo to bear with humane Frailties: Without that knowledge, ſevere Virtue is too rigid and dangerous for Government. Whence 'tis, that in a Prince manly Virtues are moſt requiſite, ſuch as are appropriated to Empire, not thoſe monaſtick Melancholy ones, which make him timorous, ſlow, and unſteady in his Reſolutions, averſe to Humane Converſation, and more intent upon his own private Perfections than the Government of the Publick. The greateſt Perfection in a Prince, is to anſwer the Obligations laid upon him by God Almighty.

Machiavel would not have a Prince counterfeit Virtues at certain times only, but he endeavours alſo to eſtabliſh a ſort of Policy upon Vice, by ſhewing how by help of this, the other may be advanced to the higheſt pitch; and by aſſerting that Men are ruined, becauſe they know not how to be wicked; as if there might be a certain Science to be form'd of it. This Doctrine has made many Princes Tyrants, and ruined them. Men are not ruin'd, becauſe they know not how to be wicked, but becauſe wickedneſs it ſelf can't long defend its ſelf; for there is no Villainy ſo cunning

(28) *Egregium Principatus temperamentum, ſi demptis virtutibus utriuſque vitiis ſolæ virtutes miſcerentur.* Tac. 2. Hiſt. (29) *Eo Munitiores Reges cenſentur, quo illis, quibus imperitant, nequiores.* Saluſt.

and

and cautious, as to prevent its self from being caught at last in its own Snares. What skill can instruct a Man to keep a sound Judgment in his Vices, whose Sins trouble his Conscience, which though 'tis in us, yet by a certain Divine Impulse operates without us, being both Judge and Executioner of our Actions: whose Tyranny *Nero* felt after he had commanded his Mother to be kill'd, fearing that the Light which gave Life to others, brought his Death (30). The most resolv'd Spirit sometimes hesitates, and is confounded at the sight of Villainy: So it happened to *Sejanus*, when he plotted to extinguish the Family of *Tiberius*; he was confounded by the greatness of the Crime(31). *God taketh the wise in their own craftiness* (32). Vice is ignorance, oppos'd to Prudence; 'tis a Violence that toils to its own Ruin; 'tis a dangerous Building which falls upon his Head who built it. No Judgment is so great as to correct lesser Tyrannies by greater; and to what a vast Bulk might Men raise it? That very Example of *John Pagola* of *Peru*, which *Machiavel* makes use of to confirm his Assertion, makes it evident enough how dangerous 'tis to walk upon those Precipices, when though he had procured the Death of Pope *Julius* the Second, he could by no means accomplish his Villainy. The same also befel D. *Valentine*, whom he proposes as an Idea as 'twere to Princes; for he, that he might upon the Death of Pope *Alexander* the Sixth, secure his own Affairs, drank to some of the Cardinals of the contrary Faction in a Bowl of Poison, but the Cups being by mistake changed, he and *Alexander* drank the Poison, upon which the Pope died suddenly, and *Valentine* was so ill upon't, that he could not be present at the Conclave, (which mischance all his cunning could not foresee and prevent) whence it happen'd too, that

(30) *Sed à Cæsare professo demum sceleris magnitudo intellecta est; reliqua nescio, modo persæpius pavore exurgens, & mentis impos expectabatur, tanquam exitium allaturam.* Tac. 14. Ann. (31) *Sed magnitudo facinoris metum, prolationes, diversa interdum consilia adferebat.* Tac 4. Ann. (32) Job 5. 13.

whom he desired was not elected, and he himself lost all that he unjustly possessed in *Romania*. Divine Providence does not permit Tyrants to thrive in their Designs (32): 'Tis Virtue only that has the Power to make God propitious to us, not wickedness. If any Tyrant has long enjoy'd his unjust Usurpations, 'tis the effect of some eminent Virtue or Natural Endowment, which hides his Vices, and makes him obey'd by the People. But Malice ascribes this to tyrannical Artifices, and from Examples of that Nature, picks out some impious and erroneous Maxims of State, to the ruin both of Princes and Empires. Besides, all don't Reign, who have the Scepter in their Hands, or the Crown upon their Heads; for Divine Justice, though it leaves them the Kingdom, takes away the Command, by permitting them to be Slaves to their Passions, and their Ministers, and to be oppressed by Misfortunes and Seditions. So was *Samuel*'s Prediction to *Saul* fulfilled, that as a Punishment for having disobeyed God, he should be no more King (34): For though he lived and died King, yet was his Reign but perfect Slavery.

(33) He disappointeth the devices of the crafty, so that their hands cannot perform their enterprise, *Job* 5. 12. (34) Because thou hast rejected the Lord, he has also rejected thee from being King, 1 *Sam.* 15. 23.

EMBLEM XIX.

IN the Games of *Vulcan* and *Prometheus*, ſeveral Perſons being placed in a Row imployed themſelves thus: The firſt came out with a lighted Torch in his Hand, which he gave to the ſecond, and he to the third, and ſo from one to t'other; whence came the Proverb, *Curſu lampada trado*; apply'd to thoſe things which paſt as 'twere by Succeſſion from one to another. In which Senſe *Lucretius*,

Et quaſi curſores vitai Lampada trado.

Which he ſeems to have borrowed from *Plato*, when perſwading Men to Propagation, he ſays 'tis neceſſary, that Life which Men received from their Predeceſſors, they ſhould like a flaming Torch deliver down to Poſterity.

ſterity (1). What elſe is a Scepter, but ſuch a Torch as this, which paſſes by Succeſſion from one to another? What is it therefore that Majeſty aſſumes to its ſelf in this ſo ſhort and tranſitory Greatneſs? Many things are common to a Prince with other Men, there's but one thing, and that accidental too, which makes the difference. All thoſe don't humble his Mind, yet does this ſingle accident puff him up above others. Let him think that he is a Man, and that he governs Men; let him conſider well that he comes upon this great Theatre of the World to act the part of a Prince; and that he having his diſcharge, another ſhall ſucceed to thoſe Robes which he ſhall leave; and that of both of them only this will remain, that they once were. Laſtly, Let him know that theſe Robes wherewith he is cloathed, are not his own, but the States, which that only lends him, that he may be a while its Head, and may conſult for the Preſervation, Increaſe, and Proſperity thereof, as we have ſaid before.

When therefore a Prince has once begun to run the Race of this Life, furniſhed with the lighted Torch of his State; let it not be his only buſineſs to prolong his Race, for the Goal is already fixt beyond which he can't go; and who knows but that he may be now very near it, the Flame being expoſed to every blaſt of Wind. One ſingle Gale wrenched it from the Hands of King *Henry* the Firſt, er'e he was fourteen Years old. Alſo a fall from a Horſe prevented Prince *John*, Son of their moſt Catholick Majeſties from taking hold on't.

Let a Prince conſider alſo the fitneſs of his hand, the occaſion and right, that he mayn't raſhly graſp at more of theſe Torches, than either Succeſſion or lawful Election ſhall grant him. Had *Frederick*, Count *Palatine*, conſidered this, he had never loſt his Electoral Dignity, his Places, and Titles ſo unfortunately,

(1) *Ut vitam, quam ipſi à majoribus, acceperint, viciſſim, quaſi tadam ardentem poſteris tradant.* Plato.

for

for being ambitious of the Kingdom of *Bohemia*. And truly *Charles*, King of *Naples*, had ended his Race more ſucceſsfully, had he been contented with the Torch of his own Kingdom, and not attempted to graſp at that of *Hungary*, where he was therefore poiſoned.

Let not a Prince too readily truſt his Torch to another, nor ſuffer any one to touch it with ſo great Authority. For Empire admits of no Companion. The Infant *Sancho* attempted to ſnatch this Torch from his Father, King *Alphonſo* the Wiſe, by the ſame Power and Authority which he receiv'd from him. Nor were there wanting Pretences for the Infant of *Portugal*, to attempt the ſame againſt his Father, *Dionyſius*.

Theſe Torches of Kingdoms lighted by ill Methods, are commonly ſoon extinguiſh'd, for no Power acquired by wickedneſs is laſting. King *Garcias* forc'd his Father, *Alphonſo*, to quit his Kingdom, but could not enjoy the Crown ſo gotten above three Years. *Fruela* the Third, poſſeſs'd but fourteen Months the Kingdom which he had attain'd rather by Force than Election. Violent Counſels h'an't always their deſired Succeſs. *Ramon* hop'd certainly to inherit the Throne of *Navarre*, if he could make away with his Brother *Sancho*; but the People abhorr'd him who had conceiv'd ſuch a horrid Villainy, and ſo offer'd it to *Sancho*, King of *Arragon*, his Uncle.

Let not a Prince unadviſedly truſt his Torch out of his own Hands in his Life-time, leaſt, if he ſhould afterwards repent, it ſhould befal him, as it did King *Alphonſo* the Fourth, who having once reſign'd his Kingdom to his Brother *Ramiro*, could never afterwards retrieve it, though he deſir'd it. Ambition while in Poſſeſſion regards not Juſtice, having always Arguments and Pretences at hand to defend it ſelf. And who will not be mov'd by the difference between commanding and obeying.

Though theſe Torches do paſs from Father to Son, yet let Kings remember that they receive them from God,

God, and that when he pleaſes they are to Surrender them to him, that they may know to whoſe Gift they ought to aſcribe them, and how ſtrict an Account they are to give of them. This King *Ferdinand* the Great did, who with his laſt Breath pronounc'd theſe Words, *Thine, O Lord, is Power, Empire is thine; Thou art Supream King of Kings; all things are under thy Providence. The Kingdom which from thy Hand I receiv'd, unto thee I reſign.* The ſame Words did King *Ferdinand* the Holy, uſe at the point of Death.

'Tis a glorious, though laborious Race which Heaven has deſign'd for your Royal Highneſs, which muſt be run not with one, but with ſeveral Torches of ſhining Diadems, which like the Sun, but without ever leaving us in the dark, will diffuſe their extended Light from *Eaſt* to *Weſt*. Furious Winds riſing from each part of the Horizon, will perhaps threaten them; but ſince God has lighted them to preceed the Standard of the Croſs, and to give light upon the Holy Altars of the Church, it may well be hop'd that theſe may ſhine like that (2); eſpecially if your Highneſs's Faith and Holy Zeal, would by holding them upright, make their Flame burn more clear and bright, its natural tendency being towards Heaven; and he who holds them obliquely, will make the Flame its ſelf feed upon and waſt them, but he who turns 'em directly downwards, oppoſite to Heaven, will immediately extinguiſh them; for the Matter which would elſe nouriſh them, will then extinguiſh them. Let your Highneſs therefore take care with theſe Lights to finiſh your Courſe with Glory, and Surrender them bright and flaming to your Succeſſor, not meerly ſuch as you receiv'd them, but illuſtrated and augmented with new Rays: For God weighs both Kingdoms and Kings when they begin to Reign, that he may afterwards require a juſt Account

(2) I will alſo give thee for a light to the *Gentiles*, that thou maiſt be my Salvation to the end of the Earth, *Iſaiah* 49. 6.

from

from them; thus he did with King *Balthazar* (3). And if *Otho* thoguht himself oblig'd to deliver up the Empire to Posterity, such as he had receiv'd it from his Ancestors (4); your Highness must acknowledge no less an Obligation deriv'd to you from your glorious Predecessors. So the Emperor, *Charles* the Fifth, resign'd his while he was yet living, to his Son *Philip* the Second. And though the wickedness of some can't attend the end of their Career, for fear of adverse Winds already rais'd, as was the Case of *Alphonso*, King of *Naples*, who seeing he could not resist *Charles* the Eighth of *France*, surrendred the Crown to his Son *Ferdinand*, Duke of *Calabria*; yet certain 'tis, that his design was to make a timely Restitution of his Crown to God, and prepare himself for another, not Temporal but Eternal one, which once obtain'd may be securely enjoy'd without fear of ever being lost.

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(3) Thou art weigh'd in the balance, and found wanting, *Dan.* 5.27.
(4) *Urbi nostræ institutum, & à Regibus usque ad Principes continuum, & immortalem, sicut à Majoribus accepimus, sic posteris tradamus.* Tac. 1. Hist.

E M.

EMBLEM XX.

AMONG the Ceremonies of the *Athenians* at their Marriages, a certain little Boy, with a Basket of Bread in his Hand, and a Crown of Thorns upon his Head, went before the Bridegroom; by which, I believe, they intimated that Matrimony was not inſtituted for Pleaſure only, but alſo for Cares and Labours. By the ſame (if Emblems will admit Human Figures) might alſo be meant a Prince. For what thorny Cares does not he feel, who endeavours to maintain his State in Juſtice, Peace, and Plenty. What Difficulties does he experience? What Dangers is he liable to, who commands others (1)? His Fatigues ſhould be the Peo-

(1) *Quam arduum, quam ſubjectum fortunæ regendi cuncta onus?* Tac. 1. Ann.

ples

ples Reſt, his Dangers their Security, his Vigilance their Sleep. But we have here repreſented the ſame thing by a Crown, fine, indeed, and charming to ſight, but within full of Thorns and Briars; with this Motto of *Seneca* the Tragedian.

Falſe good! What Cares doſt hide,
Under the appearance of a gay outſide?

Who viewing thoſe Pearls and Diamonds, and thoſe Flowers which adorn a Crown, would not fancy that the inſide was much more fair and beautiful; yet is there nothing but ſharp Thorns, which continually prick and ſcratch the Head and Breaſt? There is not a Pearl in a Crown, but which is Sweat; nor a Ruby, but which is Blood; nor a Diamond, without ſome aſperity or roughneſs; 'tis a Circumference without a Center of reſt, a perpetual Motion of Cares *; for this reaſon Kings anciently wore a Crown made like a Ship, to repreſent its Inconſtancy, Trouble, and Dangers †. This he well knew, who, when a Crown was offered him, laid it down, with theſe Words, *Let him take thee up, who does not know thee.* Inſtead of Crowns they at firſt us'd Fillets, not as a Badge of Majeſty, but only to bind and preſerve the Head (2). So heavy are the Cares of a Crown'd Head, that it had need to be fore-arm'd; for to Reign is nothing but three continual Sighs and Toils, in preſerving, acquiring, and loſing. Therefore did the Emperor, *Mark Anthony*, ſay, That *Empire was the greateſt of Troubles.* Princes are born to labours, let them therefore inure themſelves thereto. The Kings of *Perſia* had a Chamberlain, who wak'd them betimes in the Morning with theſe Words, *Ariſe, O King, to look after the Affairs of your Kingdom.* Some Princes now-a-days would not endure ſuch diſturbance, for they perſwade themſelves that Eaſe, Voluptuouſneſs,

* Strabo. † Valer. Max. (2) Let them ſet a fair Mitre upon his Head, *Zach.* 3. 5.

and

and Vices, are the Rewards of Princes, but that the Shame and Diſgrace thereof belong to others. Whereas ſome Princes ſhamefully neglect their Duty, it is becauſe (as we ſhall mention elſewhere) they take the Kingdom for their Inheritance and Propriety, which they may uſe as they pleaſe, and think that their Authority and Sovereign Power is ſubject to no Laws, but altogether free to act as it liſt; in which Flattery encourages them, inſinuating that without that freedom and liberty of living, a Kingdom would be the worſt of Slavery, more intolerable than the meaneſt Condition of Subjects. Whence reſigning themſelves to Luxury and Pleaſure, their Strength and Spirits flag, and themſelves become wholly unfit for Government. Hence, I believe, it is, that among ſo many Princes, there are ſo very few good Governors, not that they want Natural Parts, for in thoſe they uſually exceed others, as being born of better Blood; but becauſe that through Eaſe and Luxury they don't make uſe of them; nor do their Courtiers ſuffer it, for they make their Fortunes with more eaſe under a negligent than careful Prince. The Remedy againſt theſe Inconveniencies conſiſts chiefly in two Things; The firſt is, That a Prince, ſhould from his Youth, as ſoon as he has the uſe of Reaſon, be accuſtomed to the Management of Affairs, even before the Death of his Predeceſſor; thus God did with *Joſhua*. And if in Matters of Concern and Truſt, it be not convenient, for Reaſons which I ſhall ſhew in the laſt Emblem but one; yet in other things it is, that his Mind may be diverted from Debauchery. This made the *Roman* Senate introduce their Youth to their Conſultations. By the benefit of this many Popes Nephews, though they have been admitted very young to the Adminiſtration of Affairs, have in a few years made experienc'd Stateſmen. The other is, That thoſe that are near the Prince, ſhould dexterouſly endeavour to root out of his Mind certain vain Opinions of his Greatneſs, and let him know that 'tis the common Conſent of all that gives Power and Authority to the Scepter,

Scepter, for Nature made no Kings. That his Purple is an Emblem of Blood, which he should be ready upon occasion to shed for the People (4); that it was not given to breed and nourish the Moths of Vices: That he is born a Prince by chance; that Virtue only is the proper good of Man; that his Dominion is Government, not absolute Power, and that his Vassals are Subjects not Slaves. This Document the Emperor *Claudius* gave to *Meherdatus*, King of *Persia* (5). Let them advise the Prince so to do by those whom he Governs, as he would be done to were he a Subject; so *Galba* instructed *Piso* when he adopted him his Son (6). No Prince was ever elected only to be so, but that being so he might be serviceable to the rest. King *Antigonus* considering this, advis'd his Son not to abuse his Power, not to be proud or use his Subjects ill, *Knowest thou not, my Son,* said he, *that our Kingdom is but a noble Slavery* (7). Upon this the Woman grounded her Answer to the Emperor *Rodolphus*, who telling her he was not at leasure to hear her: *Then*, says she, *you are no more Emperor.* Subjects are not born for the King, but the King for the Subjects. 'Twould be too hard a Bargain for them to sell all their Liberty to the King, if in return they could not promise themselves Justice and Protection from him, to which end they voluntarily submitted themselves to his Command. The *Romans* in their Triumphs were crown'd with their own Shields (8), made into the circular Form of a Crown, whence were introduc'd the Diadems of the Saints, who were Victorious against the Common Enemy. A Prince deserves not a Crown, unless also he use it as a Shield to ward the Stroaks of adverse Fortune from his

(4) *Consulares fasces, prætextum, curulemque sellam, nihil aliud, quam pompam funeris putent; claris insignibus velut insulis velatos ad mortem destinari.* Liv. 2. Hist. (5) *Ut non dominationem, & servos, sed rectorem & cives cogitaret.* Tac. 12. Ann. (6) *Cogitare quid aut nolueris sub alio Principe, aut volueris.* Tac. 1. Hist. (7) *An ignoras, fili mi, nostrum Regnum esse nobilem servitutem?* (8) With favour wile thou compass him as with a Shield, *Psalm* 5. 12.

Subjects. To Reign is rather an Office than a Dignity, an Authority of a Father over his Children (9); and if the Subjects find not that Fatherly Care and Affection in the Prince, they owe him no Respect or filial Obedience. King *Ferdinand* the Holy, look'd upon his Government as an Office, which consisted in protecting his Subjects, in administring Justice, in chastising Vice, and procuring the Enlargement of his Territories; not sparing any pains for its Advantage, and according to this he always acted. Princes are (as we shall observe elsewhere) like Mountains, as well because they are nearer the Favours of Heaven; as because they should receive all Injuries of the Weather upon themselves, being Depositaries of Ice and Snow, which melting, should flow thence, and water and refresh the droughty Fields and Valleys beneath, and by the Shade of their Bodies defend them from the scorching Heat of the Sun (10). For this reason, the Scriptures call Princes Giants (11), for they that are born to sustain the weight of Government, had need be of a more than ordinary Stature: They are Giants which must undergo Fatigues and Groans (as *Job* says) under the Waters (12), by which are meant People and Nations (13). They are the Corners which sustain the whole Fabrick of the State (14). A Prince, who believes he is not born to do this for his Subjects, and does not prepare himself to shelter them from the Injuries of the Weather, dwindles from a Mountain to a Valley; nay, 'tis unlawful for him whom Heaven has design'd to Govern others, to regard his own ease and quiet.

(9) *Ut enim gubernatio patrisfamilias est Regia quædam potestas domi; ita Regia potestas, est civitatis & gentis unius aut plurium quasi domestica quædam gubernatio.* Arist. Polit. 3. cap. 11. (10) For thou hast been a strength to the poor, a strength to the needy in his distress; a refuge from the Storm, a shadow from the heat, *Isa.* 25. 4. (11) There were Giants in the Earth in those days; the same became mighty Men, *Gen.* 6. 4. (12) Vid. *Job* 26. 5. (13) And the Waters which thou sawest, where the Whore sitteth, are Peoples, and Multitudes, and Nations, and Tongues, *Revel.* 17. 15. (14) Vid. 1 *Sam.* 14. 38.

Wambs

Wamba being elected King of the *Goths*, and refuſing the Crown, a certain Captain with his drawn Sword threatned to ſtab him unleſs he accepted it; *Shall you alone*, ſays he to him, *oppoſe the Will of the whole Nation, and prefer your own Private Eaſe to the Publick Good?* For this reaſon, the States of *Guadalajara* would not ſuffer King *John* to reſign his Kingdom to his Son *Henry*, he being too young, and himſelf having a Conſtitution fit for Government. Hence 'tis evident, That Princes are a part of the Commonmwealth, and that they are in ſome meaſure ſubject to it, as Inſtruments of its Preſervation, ſo that their ſucceſs or misfortunes reſpect it; as *Tiberius* told his Sons (15). Thoſe who deſired *David* for their King, told him, *We are thy Bone and thy Fleſh* (16); intimating to him that he muſt with his own ſtrength ſupport them, and take upon himſelf all their Toils and Grievances.

A Prince ought alſo to be taught while he is young, to tame and govern the skittiſh Horſe of Government; for ſhould he let him have his Head, he would fall headlong with him: He ſhould uſe therefore the Bridle of Reaſon, the Reigns of Policy, the Whip of Juſtice, and the Spurs of Valour, keeping always faſt in the Stirrups of Prudence. He muſt not execute every thing that comes into his Mind, but only what is honourable and juſt, leaſt he ſhould tranſgreſs Piety, Reputation, Modeſty, or good Manners (17). Let not a Prince imagine that his Power is wholly abſolute, but ſubject by the publick Good and Intereſt of his State. Not immenſe, but limitted, and expos'd to many Caſualties; one blaſt of Wind diſſipated all *Philip* the Second's Naval Preparations againſt *England*.

Let the Prince alſo know, that his Authority is not ſo Sovereign, but that part of it remains in the Subject,

(15) *Ita nati eſtis ut bona malaque veſtra ad Remp. pertineant.* Tac. 4. Ann (16) 2 Sam. 5. 1. (17) *Talia quæ lædunt pietatem, exiſtimationem, verecundiam noſtram, & ut generaliter dixerim, contra bonos mores fieri nec facere eos credendum eſt.* L. 15. F. de Condit. Inſtit.

which they either reſerv'd to themſelves from the beginning, or which Common Sence has ſince granted them for their defence againſt any Prince notoriouſly unjuſt and tyrannical. Good Princes are pleas'd at the Liberty of their Subjects; Tyrants only would be abſolute (18). The Safety and Preſervation of the Kingdom, depends upon the well-temper'd freedom of the People. 'Tis not that Prince who is moſt powerful, that is moſt ſecure, but he who is ſo with reaſon; nor is he leſs Sovereign who defends the juſt Rights and Privileges of his Subjects. 'Tis rather prudence to let them enjoy 'em freely, for they never derogate from the Authority of the Prince, but when he thinks his Honour affronted, and endeavours wholly to take 'em away. Let him be content to maintain his Crown by the ſame means his Anceſtors did. It ſeems to be this which God would admoniſh Princes of, (though in another Sence) by *Ezekiel* the Prophet (19), when he ſaid, bind the tire of thine Head to thee; if any one ſhall wear it too looſe, 'twill be very apt to fall off.

(18) *Quemodo peſſimis Imperatoribus ſine fine dominationem, ita quamvis egregiis libertatis modum placere.* Tac. 4. Ann. (19) Bind the tire of thine Head upon thee. Ezek. 24. 17.

EMBLEM XXI.

JUſtice is the Center from which the Circumference of a Crown is drawn. If we could live without one, there would be no need of t'other.

In former times all Princes Judges were,
And to ſee Juſtice done, was all their Care.

In the firſt Age there was no need of Puniſhment, for there were no Crimes; nor of Rewards, for Virtue and Glory were belov'd for their own ſakes. But as the World grew older, Wickedneſs encreaſed with it, and made Virtue more reſerv'd, which before liv'd freely and careleſsly in the Fields. When Equality was laid aſide, and Ambition and Force ſuppli'd the place of Modeſty and Shame, then Government was alſo intro-

duc'd. For Prudence urg'd by neceſſity, and Common Prudence oblig'd Men to Civil Society, that they might exerciſe Virtues, which Reaſon prompted them to, and make uſe of Speech which Nature gave them, that by revealing to one another the Senſe of their Minds, they might inform, aſſiſt, and defend each other (1). Society being thus by common Conſent eſtabliſh'd, there aroſe at the ſame time a certain Supream Power neceſſary to the Preſervation of its Parts, which by puniſhing Vice, and rewarding Virtue, might defend them in Peace and Juſtice. And becauſe this Authority could not be diffuſed through the whole Body, by reaſon of the Confuſion which would ariſe in the Execution thereof; and becauſe 'twas alſo neceſſary that ſome ſhould Command, and the reſt Obey, they quitted their Pretenſions to it, conferring it either upon one, few, or many, which are the three ſorts of Government; Monarchy, Ariſtocracy, and Democracy. The firſt of which was Monachy; for originally Men were govern'd by one in each Family; afterwards they choſe from among the People, one, who excell'd others in Goodneſs and Virtue, whoſe Hand, as his Authority encreas'd, they honour'd with a Scepter, and his Head with a Diadem, as a Badge of the Power and Sovereignty which they had conferr'd upon him, which ſhould principally conſiſt in Juſtice, by which he ſhould preſerve and defend his Subjects in Peace; ſo that without that there is no Order of Government (2), and all Kingly Authority ceaſes, as it happened in *Caſtile*, which was reduc'd to the Government of Judges, the Kings being excluded for the Injuſtice of *Ordonno* and *Fruela*.

This Juſtice could not be well adminiſter'd by the mere Law of Nature, without imminent Danger to the Commonwealth; for ſince 'tis defin'd to be a conſtant and

(1) *Sermo verò datus eſt homini, ad utile & inutile, ac proinde juſtum ac injuſtum declarandum.* Ariſt. Pol. 1. cap. 2. (2) *Nam Reſpub. nulla eſt, ubi leges non tenent Imperium.* Ariſt. Pol. 4. cap. 4.

perpetual

perpetual desire of giving to every one their own (3), it would be very dangerous if it should depend upon the Opinion and Judgment of the Prince, and not be written; nor can mere natural Reason, though free from Affections and Passions, give true Judgment in such variety of Cases as happen continually. So that 'twas necessary for States to arm themselves with Laws, deduc'd from long use and experience, as well Penal as Distributive; these to punish faults, and those to give every one his own. Penal Laws are represented by a Sword, the Emblem of Justice, as *Trajan* intimated, reaching a Sword to the Captain of his Guards, with these Words, *Take this, and if I govern well, use it for me, if not, against me.* Equally sharp on both sides, as well for the Rich as the Poor; not with one Edge blunt, and t'other sharp; to spare one, and hurt another. Distributive Laws are represented by a Rule or Square, which measures indifferently the Actions and Rights of all (4). By this Rule of Justice things ought to be measured. not this Rule by things, as the *Lesbian* Rule was, which being made of Lead, easily adapted it self to all shapes of the Stone. The Prince ought to give Life and Vigour to both. King *Alphonso* the Wise said, That a King was the Heart and Soul of the State. And in another place he says, That *Rex* a King is the same with *Regula* a Rule. *Rex* a King, and *Lex* a Law, differ but in one Letter; and what else is a King but the Speaking law, and the Law but a dumb King; so much King that could it exert it self it should govern alone. Prudence has as it were divided the Power of Princes, and yet in their Persons it remains whole, yet it has subtilly transferr'd part thereof to Paper, so that it has left Majesty written and expos'd to the view of all, for the exercise of Justice, so that Justice and Chastisement, by means of the Law, anticipating Crimes, the Sentence might not be ascrib'd to the Will,

(3) For Justice is immortal, *Wisd.* 1. 15. (4) *Legem scimus justi injustique regulam esse.* Seneca.

Paſſion, or Intereſt of the Prince, and that he might avoid the Odium of his Subjects. The Law is an excuſe for Rigour, a diſcountenancer of Favour, an inviſible Arm of the Prince, with which he holds the Reigns of the Government. There is no better way to make Authority reſpected and obeyed; for which reaſon the Law ſhould be punctually obſerv'd, nor ſhould force be us'd in any thing which may be decided by Law (5). When once a Prince proceeds that way, the Laws will ſoon loſe their force and efficacy (6): Crimes will be reckon'd Innocence, and Juſtice Tyranny (7): Nor is the Power of the Prince a little diminiſh'd, for that is ever more effectual with the Law than without it. 'Tis the Law that crowns, defends, and confirms a Prince (8), without it there would be no difference between Subjection and Command. True Policy is founded upon the Law, not upon Arbitrary Sway. They are the true Rule of Government, the Roads of Policy, by them as by certain Lines the Ship of the State ſails ſecurely; they are the Walls of Civil Power, the Eyes and Soul of the State, the Fetters of the Mob, and the Bridle (the preſent Emblem) which Guides and Curbs it (9). Even Tyranny it ſelf can't ſubſiſt without them.

The Determination of Juſtice could not be ſafely committed to the inconſtancy of the Will, which is ſubject to ſo many Affections and Paſſions, and of it ſelf perfectly blind; but it was neceſſary that it ſhould be reſtrain'd by certain fix'd Decrees and Statutes, founded upon Reaſon and Prudence, which ſhould without diſtinction be Obligatory to all. Such are the

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(5) *Nec utendum imperio, ubi legibus agi poſſit.* Tac. 3. Ann. (6) *Minui jura quoties gliſcat poteſtas.* Tac. 3. Ann. (7) The work of righteouſneſs ſhall be peace and the effect of righteouſneſs, quietneſs and aſſurance for ever. *Iſaiah* 32. 17. (8) *Inauditi atque defenſi tanquam innocentes pereant.* Tac 1. Hiſt. (9) *Facta ſunt autem leges, ut eorum metu humana coerceatur audacia, tutaque ſit inter improbos innocentia, & in ipſis improbis reformidato ſupplicio refrænetur audacia & nocendi facultas.* Iſid. lib. 2. Etymol. L. legibus, C. de leg.

Laws

Laws which experience of paſt Accidents has provided for future ones; and ſince they can't explain themſelves, but are mere Bodies which receive Soul, and underſtanding from the Judges, with whoſe Tongues they ſpeak, and by whoſe Pens they are explain'd, and apply'd to particular Caſes, it being impoſſible to comprehend all; let a Prince be very careful to whom he commits them; for in them he entruſts his very Being, and the chief Inſtruments of Government; but the choice being once rightly made, let him not hinder the free exerciſe and ordinary courſe thereof, but leave it wholly to the Magiſtrate; but if Princes will through Clemency or Arbitrary Power, intermeddle with the Expoſition of the Laws; all this Politick Structure will fall, and thoſe Laws which ſhould prop and ſupport it, rather cauſe its ruin. Tyranny is nothing elſe but an ignorance and contempt of the Laws, aſſuming to it ſelf their Power and Authority. This *Rome* of old bewail'd as the chief cauſe of its Slavery, *Auguſtus* arrogating to himſelf the chiefeſt Offices in the Law, that he might the better play the Tyrant (10).

When Cæſar *to himſelf aſſum'd the Laws,*
Poor Rome *grew ſoon degenerate and baſe,*
Forgot her War, and ſlept in ſervile Peace. Claud.

A Prince in obſtructing the Laws encourages Vice, as it happ'ned in the time of the Emperor *Claudius* (11).

Multiplicity of Laws are very dangerous to a State, for they deſtroy one another; being too numerous they create Confuſion and Oblivion, or when they can't be obſerv'd are deſpis'd. A ſure ſign of a diſſolute and corrupt State; one contradicts another, and makes room for ſiniſter Interpretations, and different Opinions, whence ariſe Diſputes and Contentions

(10) *Inſurgere paulatim, munia ſenatus, Magiſtratuum, legum in ſe trahere.* Tac. 1. Ann. (11) *Nam cuncta legum, & Magiſtratuum munia in ſe trahens Princeps, materiam prædandi paraſcit.* Tac. 11. Ann.

The

The greateſt part of the People are taken up in Law, there want Men to manure the Ground; for Offices and War. A few good ſupport many bad, and many bad lord it over the few good. The Courts of Judicature are Harbours for Pirates, and Receptacles for Thieves. Thoſe very Men who ſhould be the Aſſertors of the Peoples Liberty, are the heavieſt Fetters of their Slavery (12). Too many Laws are not leſs pernicious to a State than Vices (13). He who makes many Laws, ſets many Traps, in which all muſt be caught. So *Caligula*, when he had a deſign upon the Innocent, eſtabliſhed many Laws, written in ſo ſmall a Character, that they could be hardly read. And *Claudius* publiſhed Twenty in one day, which ſo puzz'led the People, that 'twas more difficult to know than to obſerve them. Therefore *Ariſtotle* ſaid, That few Laws were ſufficient for the weighteſt Caſes, and that the reſt ought to be left to natural Reaſon. Nothing is ſo prejudicial to State as multiplicity of Laws: Hence God threatened *Iſrael*, as a Puniſhment for their Sins, that he would multiply their Laws (14). To what purpoſe is it to make an Addition of new Laws upon every ſlight occaſion, when there is no caſe which has not happ'ned before, nor any inconveniency which has not been already conſider'd of, and by Obſervation and Experience provided for? Thoſe which are now introduc'd into *Caſtile*, as new, may be all found in the Ancient Records. The Obſervation of theſe would be much more agreeable to the People, and would create leſs Odium to the Prince, than the Promulgation of other new ones. In thoſe Judgment acquieſces, in theſe 'tis dubious and unſteady; thoſe ſeem to be founded with care, the Authority of theſe is queſtionable; thoſe may ſafely be renew'd, theſe can't be introduc'd with-

(12) *Deditque jura, queis pace, & Principe uteremur, acriora ex ea vincula inditi cuſtodes.* Tac. 3. Ann. (13) *Utque antehac flagitiis ita nunc legibus laborabatur.* Tac. 3. Ann. (14) Becauſe *Ephraim* hath made many Altars to Sin, Altars ſhall be unto him to Sin. *Scribam ei multiplices leges meas*, ſays the *Latin* Verſion, *Hoſ.* 8. 11, 12.

out

out danger. To make Experiments of new Medicines is dangerous to Health and Life; many Herbs before the way of preparing them were known, were Poiſon. Better is that State govern'd, whoſe Laws, though imperfect, are ſettled, than that which is continually changing them. The Ancients to intimate that Laws, ought to be perpetual, wrote them upon Tables of Braſs (15), and God engrav'd them with his Eternal Finger upon Stone (16). For this reaſon *Auguſtus* adviſ'd the Senate, that they ſhould preſerve their Laws intire without altering them; for that tho' they were bad, they were more beneficial to the State than new ones (17). There is no Kingdom but is provided with Laws ſufficient; but care ought to be taken, leaſt the variety of Interpretations ſhould render them ambiguous and obſcure, and occaſion Diſputes and Controverſies. This ought to be prevented, which might with eaſe be done in *Spain*, if ſome King, upon this account not leſs a Reſtorer than *Pelagius*, would abbreviate all Proceſſes, and leaving the Civil Law, would make uſe only of thoſe of the Kingdom, which are not leſs prudent and learned than juſt and reaſonable. This King *Receſewind* meant, when in one of his Laws he ſaid,

Alſo King Alphonſus *the Wiſe, commanded his Judges.*

This their Majeſties, *Ferdinand* and *Joan*, afterwards confirm'd, as did King *Alarick*, who laid ſevere Penalties upon the Judges for admitting the Pleas of the *Roman* Laws. Nor does it a little derogate from Supream Juriſdiction to be govern'd by Foreign Laws. To this I

(15) *Uſus æris ad perpetuitatem monumentorum jampridem tranſlatus eſt tabulis æreis, in quibus conſtitutiones publicæ incidantur.* (16) And he gave unto *Moſes*, when he had made an end of communing with him upon Mount *Sinai*, two Tables of Teſtimony, Tables of Stone written with the Finger of God. (17) *Poſitas ſemel leges conſtanter ſervate, nec ullam earum immutate; nam quæ in ſuo ſtatu eademque manent, etſi deteriora ſint, tamen utiliora ſunt Reipublicæ, his quæ per innovationem, vel meliora inducuntur.* Dion. l. 52.

foreſee

foreſee two Objections; firſt, that if theſe Laws were written in *Spaniſh*, the *Latin* Tongue would be loſt, and the Lawyers would apply themſelves wholly to the Study and Explanation of them only; beſides, that without the knowledge of the Civil Law, from whence they are deriv'd, they could not be well underſtood. The other is, that ſince the Civil Law is Common to almoſt all *Europe*, according to which cauſes ought to be decided, and that the Rights and Privileges of Princes are often to be determin'd in Foreign Parliaments, and Courts of Judicature; it will be very neceſſary to have Men well vers'd in the ſaid Law. Which inconveniences will be eaſily remedied by erecting and indowing ſome places for Civil Lawyers in the Univerſities; as (though upon different Motives) King *Ferdinand* did.

But if this can't be effected, the forementiond inconveniences may be thus remedied; firſt by prohibiting ſuch a vaſt number of Books to be imported, which ſerve only to clear the Pockets, not the underſtanding, nor is Printing any thing elſe now-a-days, but Merchandize and Trade. This variety confounds the Senſes, embarraſſes and puzzles the Judgment. 'Twould be more adviſeable, where the written Laws are not full enough for the Deciſion of any Controverſy, to be guided by Reaſon, that living Law, rather than to grope for Juſtice in the obſcurity of ſuch diverſity of Opinions, equally favourable to each ſide, and ſubject to Subornation and Paſſion. Next, by ſhortening the tedious Methods of the Law, as King *Philip* the Second deſign'd to do at *Milan*, when he conſulted with the Senate about that Affair. In which he not only reſpected the good of the Subject, but alſo that in that State, which is the Bullwark of the Kingdom, there might be more Men of the Sword than the Gown. The ſame was attempted by the Emperors, *Titus* and *Veſpaſian*, *Charles* the Fifth, their Catholick Majeſties, *Peter*, King of *Portugal*, *James* the firſt of *Arragon*, and *Lewis* the Eleventh of *France*; none of them being able

able to effect it, nor can any one else hope to bring it about, since for the reforming the Practice of the Bench, the Judges themselves must be of Counsel, whose Interest it is to prolong Suits, as 'tis that of Soldiers to continue War. 'Twas pure necessity oblig'd the most Serene Queen *Isabel*, of her own accord, to make use of this Remedy, when being at *Sevil* harrass'd with vexatious Appeals, she commanded all Suits depending, to be by the assistance of able and learned Men, decided in her presence, without the noise of the Bar, and that Accumulation of Informations and Processes, and truly successfully enough as experience has shewn. The Cantons of *Switzerland* are very prudently govern'd, because there are no Lawyers among them; the Witnesses are heard, and without writing down any thing, except the Judgment, the Causes are immediately decided. A quick Condemnation is more expedient for the Client, than a favourable Judgment after a tedious dependance. He who commences a Law-suit now-a-days, does as it were plant a Palm-Tree, which he can't expect to live to gather the Fruit of. In a State where Suits are long and tedious, the People can never live peaceably and amicably (18). Let there therefore be few Counsellors, Attornies, and Sollicitors. How can that Government be quiet, in which there are so many who get their living by raising and promoting Feuds and Law-suits? What hopes of Restitution to the injur'd, when there are so many ready to fleece and strip him? Suppose them to be Persons of Worth and Integrity, yet is Justice ne'er the better administred for their number; no more than a Disease is better cur'd by many Physicians. Nor would it redound to the Common Good, if with the loss of the Publick Tranquility, and the Estates of the People, there should be made too nice a scrutiny into every ones Right: A moderate and moral Care is sufficient.

(18) *Non fuerint concordes unquam, aut inter amantes cives, ubi mutuæ malæ lites judiciales sunt, sed ubi eæ brevissimæ & pauissimæ.* Plato.

Nor

Nor does leſs damage arrive from an abundance of Penal Laws to prohibit Luxury in Cloaths, and ſuperfluous Expences; for ſuch Edicts are generally ſlighted, and not obſerved; the ſame Month in which they are eſtabliſh'd, they are aboliſh'd. They are like the Reſponſes of the *Sibyls*, written upon Leaves, and ſcatter'd by the Wind. And if once this diſobedience takes place, it makes Luxury more inſolent and ſecure (19). The Prince's Reputation ſuffers, when the Remedies which he preſcribes are ineffectual, or not obſerv'd. The Edicts of *Margaret* of *Auſtria*, Dutcheſs of *Parma*, not being executed, derogated much from her Authority in *Flanders*. Therefore 'tis a queſtion, whether moderate Luxury be not a more tolerable Inconveniency, than a Prohibition when not obey'd (20)? Or whether it be not better to wink at old and ſettled Vices, than by feeble Laws to ſhew that they are ſtronger than the Prince? If Laws are once broken, unpuniſhed, there is no reſtraint or ſhame beyond. If a Prince would expreſs theſe Laws and Edicts about Reformation of Manners in himſelf, perhaps Flattery, or the natural Propenſity in Inferiors to imitate their Superiors, or the Subjects their Prince, would be more effectual than the rigour of the Law, and that without danger to Sovereign Authority. Frugality, which the Sumptuary Laws could not introduce, the Emperor *Veſpaſian* did, only by his Example (21). The Imitation of the Prince, is a Slavery ſweetned by Flattery. 'Tis eaſier for Nature to err in her own Works, ſaid *Theodorick*, King of the *Goths*, than for the Subjects not to obſerve the Manners of their Prince. In him, as in a Glaſs, the People adjuſt their Actions:

(19) *Tot à majoribus reperta, tot quas divus Auguſtus tulit, illæ oblivione, hæ (quod flagitioſius eſt) contemptu abolitæ, ſecuriorem luxum fecere.* Tac. 3. Ann. (20) *Num coercio plus damni in Remp. ferret; quam indecorum attrectare, quod non obtineretur, vel retentum ignominiam & infamiam virorum illuſtrium poſceret.* Tac. 3. Ann. (21) *Sed præcipuus adſtrictî moris autor Veſpaſianus fuit, antiquo ipſe cultu, victuque obſequium inde in Principem, & æmulandi amor validior, quam pœna ex legibus, & metus.* Tac. 3. Ann.

——*The*

——The Nation follows ſtill,
The Faſhions of the Court, and 't always proves,
Example more than Law the People moves. Claud.

Cuſtoms are Laws, not written upon Paper, but in the Mind and Memory of all, and are more grateful when not forc'd, but a free choice and ſort of liberty; and the ſame common Conſent, which firſt introduc'd them, ſtill obſerves them ſo ſtrictly, that it won't permit them to be altered though they are bad, for common Opinion, by which, after they have been received by their Anceſtors, the People are fully perſwaded they are juſt and reaſonable, does prevail more in this matter than the ſtrongeſt Arguments; nay, than the Inconveniences themſelves which are found in them. 'Tis therefore more prudent to bear with them, than wholly to remove them. A prudent Prince governs his State without altering its Cuſtoms (22). But if they are oppoſite to Virtue or Religion, they ought to be dexterouſly corrected, and the People by degrees prepared to know the reaſon. King *Froila* incurr'd the odium of many by diſannulling the Cuſtom of the Clergy's marrying, which had been before introduc'd by *Witiza*, and confirm'd by the Example of the *Greeks*.

If the State be not well conſtituted, and the Peoples minds docil and corrigible, Laws will be of ſmall uſe (23). Which I believe *Solon* meant, when being ask'd what Laws were beſt; he anſwered, thoſe which the People obſerve. Medicines are of no uſe where the Diſeaſe is incurable. Laſtly, Laws will be inſignificant, unleſs the Prince by his Life and Example confirm and ſtrengthen them (24). That Law ſeems pleaſant and eaſy to the People, which the Legiſlator himſelf obſerves:

(22) *Mos hominum tutiſſime agere, qui præſentibus moribus, legibuſque etiam ſi deteriores ſint, minimum variantes Reipub. adminiſtrant.* Thucid. (23) *Quid leges ſine moribus vanæ proficiunt?* S. Aug. (24) *Digna vox eſt Majeſtate regnantis, legibus alligatum ſe profiteri.* L. 4. C. de Leg.

If

If you command, and hope to be obey'd,
Obſerve your ſelf thoſe Laws your ſelf firſt made.
The People then will due Obedience ſhew,
To you who make Laws, and obſerve them too. Claud.

The Laws made by *Servius Tullius*, were not only for the People, but alſo for the Prince (25). By them Controverſies between the Prince and People ought to be determined: As *Tacitus* relates of *Tiberius* (26). *Tho'* (ſaid the Emperors, *Severus* and *Antoninus*) *we are free from the Laws, yet we live by them.* A Prince is not oblig'd by the ſtrict Letter of the Law, but by the Reaſon on which 'tis grounded, for that is natural and common to all, not peculiar to Subjects only for their good Government; for in ſuch caſe the Obſervation of the Law belongs to them alone, tho' 'twill be very neceſſary, if the Caſe will allow, for him to conform himſelf to them, that ſo they may ſeem the more pleaſant to others. This was the meaning of God's Command to *Ezekiel*, that he ſhould eat the Roll (27). That others ſeeing that he had firſt taſted the Laws, and found them ſweet as Honey, all might imitate him. The Kings of *Spain* are ſo ſubject to the Laws, that the Treaſury in caſes of the Royal Patrimony, runs the ſame fortune with any other Subject, and in a doubtful caſe is condemn'd. So it was enacted by *Philip* the Second; and once when his Grandſon, *Philip* the Fourth, your Highneſs's Father, was preſent in Council, upon a Debate of a Caſe relating to the Exchequer, neither the Judges wanted Integrity to give it againſt him, nor his Majeſty Temper to hear it without Reſentment. Happy is that State, in which the Prince's Cauſe is the worſt (28).

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(25) *Quibus etiam Reges obtemperarent.* Tac. 3. Ann. (26) *Siquando cum privatis diſceptarent, forum & jus.* Tac. 4. Ann. (27) Eat this Roll, and go ſpeak unto the Houſe of *Iſrael*; ſo I opened my Mouth, and he caus'd me to eat the Roll, *Ezek.* 3. 1, *and* 2. (28) *Quæ gloria tua eſt præcipua, ſæpe vincitur Fiſcus cujus maſa cauſa nunquam eſt, niſi ſub bono principe.* Plin. in Pan.

E M-

EMBLEM XXII.

THough the Peoples Conſent confers the Power of Juſtice upon Princes, they receive it immediately from God, as being his Vicars in Temporal Affairs. They are the Royal Eagles, the Miniſters of *Jove* (1), who Adminiſter his Thunder, and ſupply his place in puniſhing Vice, and adminiſtring Juſtice; in which they have need of three Qualities of the Eagle, ſharpneſs of Sight to inſpect Crimes, ſwiftneſs of Wing for Execution, and ſtrength of Talons, that they main't fail therein. The Injury done by a certain Nobleman to a poor Peaſant, though in the remoteſt Corner of *Ga-*

(1) For he is the Miniſter of God to thee for good; but if thou do that which is evil, be afraid; for he beareth not the Sword in vain, *Rom.* 13. 4.

licia, could not escape the quick sight of King *Alphonso* the Seventh, call'd Emperor, who disguising himself, went immediately to punish him with such speed, that he apprehended him before he knew any thing of his coming. O lively and ardent Soul of the Law! to be himself Judge and Executioner, to satisfy an Injury done to a poor Peasant, and to punish the unjust Oppression of the Grandee. The same did King *Ferdinand* the Catholick, who being at *Medina*, went privately to *Salamanca*, and seized *Roderigo Maltonado*, who exercis'd great Oppressions in the Castle of *Monleon* (2). Who would ever transgress the Laws, if he always fear'd such a surprise? One such as this would frighten and reform a whole Kingdom. But it is not always expedient for Majesty it self to imitate such Examples. When the State of the Kingdom is well settled, when the Courts of Judicature are open, and the fear of the Law is fresh and lively, 'tis sufficeint for a Prince to see Justice administer'd by his Ministers. But when all is in Confusion, when Obedience staggers; when the King's Authority is slighted, as 'twas in those times, then some such suddain and severe Punishment will be seasonable, that the People may know the Power of their Prince, and understand, that as in a Humane Body, so in a Kingdom, the Soul of Majesty is all in all, and all in every part. Yet 'twill be very necessary to moderate this severity, when the Distemper is inveterate, and the Kingdom confirm'd in Vice; for if Virtue should be too severe upon Vice, and endeavour to reform all at once, 'twould be esteem'd rather Cruelty than Justice. Time must recruit that which time has weakned; to precipitate a Cure is dangerous, and may make the Prince experience the Rage of the incens'd Multitude. Connivance and Dexterity is often more effectual than force. In this King *Ferdinand* the Catholick was excellent; and by this King *Peter* was deceiv'd, who relying wholly

(2) Mar. Hist. of *Spain*.

upon

upon Severity, got the Name of Cruel. Though Justice be one single Virtue, yet has it various Effects, according to the difference of time. Sometimes the People wholly reject it, and become more Insolent; sometimes they acknowledge the damage of their excess, and co-operate with the Prince to remedy it, and suggest the most severe means against their own Liberty, by which the Prince acquires the Name of Just without danger.

Let not a Prince remit the Punishment of such Offences against the Government, in which few are concern'd, but pardon those in which many are involv'd. *Agrippa* being put to Death, in the Isle of *Planasia*, by the Order of *Tiberius*, a certain Slave who was very like him, stealing away his Ashes, pretended that he was *Agrippa*; the *Romans* believ'd it; the Report spread, and caus'd a Tumult, with evident danger of a Civil War. *Tiberius* caus'd the Slave to be apprehended, and put to Death privately, and though many Gentlemen and Senators of his own Family, were said to have assisted him with Money and Advice (3), yet would he suffer none to speak in his behalf. Thus Prudence triumph'd over Cruelty, and by Silence and Connivence he appeas'd the Disorder.

Let a Prince pardon small Offences, and punish great ones; sometimes let him be content with Repentance, which *Tacitus* commended in *Agricola* (4). He is not the best Governor who punishes with most Severity, but he who pardons with such Discretion and Circumspection, as not to give any occasion to the Delinquents to transgress again. No body commends a Chirurgeon for cutting off many Legs and Arms; no body hates a Prince for punishing, provided he does it with Reluctancy and Grief; but him who de-

(3) *Et quanquam multi ex ejus domo equites ac senatores sustentasse opibus, juvisse consilio, dicerentur.* Tac. 2. Ann. (4) *Parvis peccatis veniam, magnis severitatem commendare; nec pœna semper, sed sæpius pœnitentia contentus esse.* Tac. in Vit. Agric.

sights in it, and eagerly carps at all opportunities of doing it. To punish for Example, and amendment, is Mercy; but to do it through Passion or Avarice, is Tyranny. Let not a Prince suffer any one to think himself so great, and free from the Laws, as to dare to oppose the Ministers of Justice, and those who represent its Power and Authority, for so the Pillar of Justice can't stand secure (5), when such boldness once takes place, contempt will by degrees undermine it, and bring it to the Ground. The chief Foundation of the *Spanish* Monarchy, and that which has rais'd it to such an height, and keeps it so, is the inviolable Observation of Justice and Rigour, by which its Kings have always taken care to make it respected and esteem'd of all. No Violation of it goes unpunish'd, though great be the Dignity and Authority of the Delinquent. A certain Judge at *Corduba*, was by the Command of King *Ferdinand* the Catholick, enquiring into some Misdemeanor, whom when the Marquis of *Puego* had arrested, the King so resented it, that all the Signal Services of that Family of *Corduba*, could not hinder him from punishing him very severely; afterwards he put himself wholly into his Majesty's Hands, by the Advice of the Great Captain, who seeing the heinousness of the Crime, which would not admit of Pardon, wrote to him to cast himself at the King's Feet, by which he might perhaps expiate his Crime, but if not he would certainly be ruined (6).

Nor ought a Prince only to punish Crimes committed against his own Person, or during his Reign; but those also which were acted in the last, though the State were then under the Power of an Enemy. For Presidents of Disobedience and Contempt of Authority being conniv'd at, or rewarded, are dangerous even to Successors. Dignity is ever the same, being always

(5) *Hinc P. C. curam sustinet Princeps, hâc omissâ funditus Resp. trahet.* Tac. 3. Ann. (6) Mar. Hist of *Spain*.

espoused

espouſed to him who poſſeſſes her. Wherefore he defends his own Cauſe, who takes care of his Predeceſſor's Honour, though 'twas not wounded in his time. A Prince ought not to leave behind him the Memory of one, who has been ſo impudent as to affront Authority unpuniſh'd; for if once Subjects are perſwaded that they may raiſe their Fortunes, or ſatisfy their Paſſions, by the Death or Abuſe of the Prince, none will be able to live ſecure. The Puniſhment of Impudence to the Predeceſſor, is the ſecurity of the Succeſſor, and a warning to all from daring to attempt the like. For which reaſon *Vitellius* put all thoſe to Death, who petition'd him for Rewards for the Murther of *Galba* (7). Every one is treated as he treats others. *Julius Cæſar* commanding the Statues of *Pompey* to be erected, confirm'd his own. If Princes ſhould not unite againſt Contempt and Treaſon, Authority and Loyalty would be in danger.

In Caſes where the ſame circumſtances concur, a Prince ought not to connive at ſome and puniſh others, for nothing renders them more odious than partiality (8). Whence the *Egyptians* ſignified the Equality which ſhould be obſerv'd in Juſtice, by the Feathers of an Oſtrich, which are equal on both ſides.

'Tis great Prudence in a Prince to find ſuch ſorts of Puniſhments, as will expiate the Offence, with the leaſt damage to the Delinquent. Certain Noblemen fomented Diſturbances in *Galicia*; and though they deſerv'd Death, King *Ferdinand* the Fourth call'd them to him, and gave them employs in the Army, where ſome of them were puniſh'd by the Enemy, others by the Hardſhips and Toils of War, and ſo that Province was reduc'd to its former Tranquility.

(7) *Non honore Galba, ſed traditis principibus more, munimentum ad præſens, in poſterum ultionem.* Tac. Hiſt. lib. 1. (8) *Cavendum eſt ut iiſdem de cauſſis alii plectantur, alii ne appellantur quidem.* Cic. de Off.

As in time of Peace, Juſtice and Mercy are very advantageous, ſo in War are Rewards and Puniſhments; becauſe there the Dangers are ſo great, as would not be attempted without great hopes, and nothing but fear could reſtrain the Licentiouſneſs of the Soldiers. In ſo much as without theſe two things, ſays King *Alphonſo*, *The Faults which are committed in War are much more dangerous; for if Men have ſo much to do to defend themſelves from the Miſchief of their Enemies, how much more have they from that which accrues from their own Faults?* For which reaſon the *Romans* inflicted divers ſorts of Infamy and Puniſhment upon the Soldiers who fail'd in their Duty, or in any dangerous Attempt or Military Affair; whence they were leſs afraid of the Enemy than the Puniſhment, and choſe rather to die bravely in Action, than to loſe their Honour or Lives afterwards with perpetual Ignominy and Diſgrace. In thoſe times none durſt Deſert, becauſe he could not ſhelter himſelf in any part of the Empire. Now-a-days Deſerters are not only not puniſhed when they return to their own Country; but ſculking from Battel, they March from *Milan* to *Naples*, where as if they had ſerv'd under ſome other Prince, they are again liſted into his Majeſty's Service, to the great detriment thereof. In which the Vice-Roys ſhould follow the Example of the *Roman* Senate, who after the Battel of *Canna*, though they were in extream want of Soldiers, could not be induc'd to redeem ſix thouſand Priſoners which *Hannibal* offered them, thinking them not worth Redemption, who ſuffer'd themſelves ignominiouſly to be taken Priſoners, when they might have died gloriouſly.

The Errors of Generals committed through ignorance, ought rather to be conniv'd at than puniſh'd, leaſt the fear of being puniſhed or reprimanded ſhould make them too timorous. Beſides the greateſt Prudence may be confounded in Accidents of War, whence they deſerve Compaſſion rather than Puniſhment. *Varro* loſt the Battel of *Canna*, and at his return the whole Senate

Senate went out to receive him, thanking him for that in such a total Defeat he had not wholly despair'd of Affairs.

When connivence is not convenient, but the Execution of Justice is required, let it be done with readiness and resolution. He who does it privately and by stealth, is more like an Assassine than a Prince. He who checks the Authority which the Crown gives him, either doubts his Power or Merit; from the Prince's distrust of himself proceeds the Peoples disrespect. Whose Opinion of him is answerable to what he has of himself. King *Alphonso* the Wise lost the esteem of his People, by doing Justice in private. This can be convenient only in troublesome times, when greater Dangers may be fear'd, if the People don't see the Authors of Seditions punish'd e'er they know they are taken. Thus *Tiberius* acted for fear of this Inconveniency (9). In other Cases let a Prince execute that Office boldly and vigorously, which he holds in the Name of God and the People; for 'twas Justice that at first gave him his Scepter, and 'tis that which must preserve it. 'Tis the Will of God, the Harmony of Government, and the Protection of Majesty. If the Laws be once suffer'd to be broken unpunish'd, there will be neither Fear nor Modesty, and without them no Peace nor Quiet (10). Yet let Princes consider that they are like Masters of Families; nay, that they really are such in respect to their Subjects, and therefore let them temper Justice with Clemency. They ought to drink the Sins of the People, as God intimated to St. *Peter*, by that Vessel of unclean Animals, out of which he commanded him to eat (11). A Prince should have the Stomach of an Ostrich, so

(9) *Nec Tiberius pœnam ejus palam ausus, in secreta palatii parte interfici jussit, corpusque clam auferri.* Tac. 2 Ann. (10) *Si prohibita impunè transcenderis, neque metus ultrà neque pudor est.* Tac. 3. Ann. (11) Wherein were all manner of fourfooted Beasts of the Earth, and wild Beasts, and creeping Things, and Fowls of the Air; and there came a Voice unto him, Rise, *Peter*, kill and eat, *Acts* 10. 12, 13.

hot with Mercy as to digest Iron, and should be also an Eagle with the Thunder of Justice, which by striking one terrifies all. For if all were to be punish'd who transgres's'd, there would be none left for the Prince to Command, for there is scarce any Man so just, as not to have one time or other deserved Death (12). The Rigour of Justice is not less dangerous to the Crown, Life, and Empires, than Injustice. Of this King *John* the Second is an Example, who for his great Severity became odious to his People: And King *Peter* the Cruel, lost thereby his Kingdom and Life too. Let Justice and Mercy walk hand in hand, so link'd together, as if they were Parts of the same Body, yet so that one may be us'd without Offence to the other. For this reason God gave not the flaming Sword, which guarded Paradise to a Seraphim, which is all Love and Mercy; but to a Cherubim, a Spirit of Knowledge, who knew better how to temper Justice with Clemency (13). Nothing is more pernicious than a Prince over-merciful. In the times of *Nerva* they us'd to say, That 'twas more difficult to live under a Prince who bore with all, than one who bore with nothing. For he is not less Cruel who pardons all, than he who forgives none, nor is excessive Mercy less prejudicial to the People than Cruelty (14); and sometimes Indulgence and Forbearance does more mischief than the Crime it self. For wickedness grows bolder, when it can promise it self pardon. 'Twas the Clemency, or rather Negligence of King *Henry* the Fourth, that made his Reign as Bloody as that of King *Peter* was by his Cruelty. Clemency and Severity, the one profuse, and the other moderate, make the Prince beloved (15). He who can neatly and pru-

(12) *Vix enim quisquam adeò mali expers, ut non aliquam mortem meretur.* Tac. 2. Ann. (13) And he plac'd at the east end of the Garden of *Eden* Cherubims, and a flaming Sword, *Gen.* 3. 24. (14) *Feliciores sunt improbi, supplicia luentes, quam si eos nulla justitia pœna coerceat.* Boet. lib. 4. Phil. (15) *Mirumque amorem affectus erat effusa clementia, modicus severitate.* Tac. 6. Ann.

dently

dently temper these Virtues, can't chuse but govern well; nay, his whole Reign will be a tuneful Harmony, like that which proceeds from a Base and Treble (16). Heaven produces Corn by the mildness of its Dew, and preserves it by the rigour of its Frosts and Snows. If God were not merciful, we should fear him, but not adore him; both these Virtues make him both fear'd and lov'd. Therefore *Alphonsus*, King of *Arragon*, us'd to say, by Justice I oblige the good, the bad by Clemency. The one compels their Fear, the other engages their Love. Confidence of pardon makes Subjects arrogant, and excessive Clemency creates Contempt and Disrespect, and occasions the Ruin of Governments.

(16) I will sing of Mercy and Judgment, unto thee, O Lord, will I sing.

EMBLEM XXIII.

THERE are no greater Chymists than Princes, who set a value upon worthless Trifles in bestowing them upon others as a Reward of Virtue (1). The *Romans* invented several sorts of Crowns, as Mural, Civick, and Naval, as glorious Badges of great and worthy Exploits; these Nature suppli'd them with as Grass, Palm, and Bays; of which without any cost they made those Crowns. The Treasury would not have been sufficient to have rewarded Services, had not that politick Invention of Crowns been thought on; which being given as publick Testimonies of Va-

(1) *Imperator aliquando torquibus, murali, & civicâ donat; quid habet per se pretiosum, quid pratexta, quid fasces, quid tribunal, quid currus? nil horum honor est, sed honoris insigne.* Sen. lib. 1. de Ben.

lour

lour were more valued and esteem'd than Gold or Silver. The Soldiers underwent all Fatigues and Dangers to obtain them. For the same reason the Kings of *Spain* founded Military Orders, whose Badges were not only marks of Nobility, but also of Valour; so that all care ought to be taken to keep up their Value and Esteem, by bestowing them with great attention and respect to Merit; for they are so much esteem'd as they are tokens of Nobility and Bravery; but if without distinction they should be promiscuously conferr'd on all, they would grow cheap and contemptible. And *Arminius* might well jeer his Brother *Flavius* (who follow'd the *Roman* Faction) that when he had lost an Eye in Battel, he should call to mind the Collar and Crown, the cheap Rewards of Slavery (2). The *Romans* so well knew of what advantage 'twas to preserve the Peoples Esteem for those Rewards, that *Tiberius* held a Council about the Qualifications which a Soldier ought to be indow'd with, to merit a Crown of Oak. In the Badge of the Order of St. *James*, (the Figure of this present Emblem) are expres'd the Endowments which ought to be consider'd ere it is bestow'd; for the ground-work is a Scollop-shell, the Product of the Sea, bred among Waves and Billows, and inur'd to Fatigues; in its fair Bosom shines the Pearl, the Emblem of Nobility and Virtue, as well for its Purity, as that it is bred by the Dew of Heaven; when these are bestow'd upon Children, or such who have not deserv'd them by any signal Service, they are tokens of Favour, not Rewards. Who will endeavour to merit them by Services, if he can obtain them by diligence? They were instituted for War, not Peace, and so ought to be distributed among those only who have signaliz'd themselves therein, or serv'd at least four Years in the Army, and made themselves fit for Preferment (3), which doubtless would induce more of the

(2) *Irridente Arminio vilia servitii præmia.* Tac. 2. Ann. (3) *Honoris augmentum non ambitione, sed labore ad unumquemque convenit pervenire.* L. contra publicam C. de re milit.

Nobility

Nobility to apply their minds to Arms, and the Art of War would flouriſh more.

This, becauſe the *Athenians* neglected, they became a Prey to the *Macedonians* (4). *Alexander Severus* conſidering the importance of gratifying the Soldiery, as being the Foundation and Security of the Empire, divided the Contributions among them; eſteeming it a great Crime to ſquander it away in Luxury, or upon his Courtiers (5).

Let other Rewards be common to all, who ſignalize themſelves either in War or Peace; to this end the Scepter was endow'd with Riches, Honours, and Offices; as alſo with the Power and Authority of Juſtice, that with theſe it might puniſh Offences; with thoſe reward Virtue and Valour

Without Rewards and Puniſhments, Governments would be in Confuſion, for they are the Spirit that maintains and preſerves them; without them they can't ſubſiſt, for the hopes of Reward engage Reſpect, and the fear of Puniſhment, Obedience, even againſt the natural deſire of Liberty. Hence the Ancients repreſented Empire by a Whip, as may be ſeen in ſome Conſular Coins; and 'twas a Prognoſtick of the Grandeur of *Auguſtus*, who dreaming that *Jupiter* offer'd him a Whip; he interpreted it to be the *Roman* Empire, which had been erected and maintain'd by Rewards and Puniſhments. Who would refrain from Vice if there were no Puniſhments? Who would expoſe themſelves to Dangers, were there no Rewards? *Democritus* conſidering that the World could not be govern'd without them, call'd them *Two Gods of the World.* They are the Poles of the Orb of Civil Authority, the two Lights of a State, without which it would be over-

(4) *Tunc veſtigal publicum, quo antea milites & remiges alebantur, cum urbano populo dividi cœptum, quibus rebus effectum eſt, ut inter otia græcorum, ſordidum & obſcurum antea Macedonum nomen emergeret.* Trog. l. 6. (5) *Aurum & argentum raro cuiquam niſi militi diviſit, neſcit eſſe dicens, ut diſpenſator publicus in delectationes ſuas & ſuorum converteret, id quod provinciales dediſſent.* Lamp. in Vit. Alex.

whelm'd

whelm'd in foggy darkneſs: They are the Props of Princes Thrones (6). For this reaſon *Ezekiel* commanded King *Zedekiah* to lay down his Crown and other Regalia, as being unworthy of them, in that he could not diſtribute Rewards with Juſtice (7). The Prince in acknowledging Merits, acknowledges a Reward due, for they are Relatives; and if he gives not that, he is unjuſt. The importance of Rewards and Puniſhments was not well conſider'd by the Legiſlators and Lawyers, who have been altogether upon Penalties and Puniſhments, without ever mentioning Rewards. That wiſe Legiſlator of the *Partidas* conſider'd better of this; for that he might join one with the other, he intituled it particularly *of Rewards*.

Since therefore Rewards and Puniſhments are ſo neceſſary for a Prince, that without this Balance he can't walk ſteadily upon the Rope of Government, he ought well to conſider the right uſe of them. For this reaſon the Lictors Rods were bound up; but the Crowns being made of Leaves, which ſoon fade, were wrought after the Victory; that while thoſe were loos'd, and theſe were finiſh'd, ſome time might interfere between the Fault and the Puniſhment, between the Deſert and the Reward, and that the Merit and Demerit might be duly conſider'd. Rewards inconſiderately given, ſcarce merit thanks. He ſoon repents, who beſtows them raſhly; nor is Virtue ſafe from him, who puniſhes without Diſcretion. If the Puniſhment be extravagant, the People excuſe the Fault, and blame the Severity. If Virtue and Vice be equally rewarded, the one is diſguſted, the other becomes inſolent. If in equality of Merit, one is rewarded above the other, it creates Envy and Ingratitude; for Envy and Gratitude for the ſame thing, can never go together; alſo the method of diſpenſing Rewards and Puniſhments ought to be conſider'd; for Rewards ought not to be deferr'd till

(6) For the Throne is eſtabliſh'd by righteouſneſs, *Prov.* 16. 12.
(7) Remove the Diadem, and take off the Crown, *&c. Ezek.* 21. 26.

they

they grow deſpicable, as being deſpair'd of; nor Puniſhments till they ſeem not due, as being aton'd for by length of time, or as not being now exemplary to others, for as much as the Cauſe is wholly worn out of Memory. King *Alphonſo* the Wiſe, one of your Highneſs's Progenitors, very judiciouſly admoniſh'd his Poſterity, how they ought to behave themſelves in Rewards and Puniſhments, ſaying, *That we ought to behave our ſelves with Moderation, as well in the Good we do, as in the Ill we puniſh; for that in both the one and the other we muſt have regard to the Circumſtances of the Perſon, Time and Place, and that the World properly ſpeaking is ſupported but by the Obſervation of theſe two things, Rewarding thoſe that do well, and Puniſhing thoſe that do otherwiſe.* Sometimes 'twill be convenient to defer the diſtribution of Rewards, that they may not ſeem due from Juſtice, and that thoſe who expect them, fluſh'd with thoſe hopes, may more vigorouſly perform their Duty; nor is there any Merchandiſe cheaper, than that which is bought with the hopes of Reward. 'Tis certain Men do more out of hopes than for Rewards already receiv'd. Whence it appears how prejudicial is Succeſſion in Publick Offices and Rewards, which *Tiberius* conſider'd when he oppos'd the Propoſal of *Gallus*, that the Candidates ſhould be nam'd every five Years, who ſhould ſucceed in the Lieutenancies of Legions, and the Prætorſhip; for that others, for want of hopes, would flag in their Duty and Service (8). In which *Tiberius* did not only reſpect the publick Detriment, but alſo that he ſhould hereby loſe the Prerogative of diſtributing Rewards, in which he conceiv'd the ſtrength of his Government conſiſted (9). And ſo by a plauſible Oration he retain'd his Authority (10). Court Favourites, uncertain of the continuance of their Power,

(8) *Subverti leges, quæ ſua ſpatia exercendæ Candidatorum induſtriæ, quærendiſque haud potiundi honoribus ſtatuerint.* Tac. 2. Ann. (9) *Haud dubium erat, eam ſententiam altius penetrare, & arcana imperii tentari.* Tac. 2. Ann. (10) *Atque ita favorabili in ſpecium ſpecie, vim imperii retinuit.* Ibid.

rarely

rarely remedy this inconvenience of future Succeſſion, thereby to adjuſt their own Actions, to weaken the Prince's Power, and free themſelves from the importunity of Petitioners.

A Prince being as it were the Heart of his State, as King *Alphonſo* ſaid, *The vital Spirits of Riches and Rewards, ſhould by it be imparted to the other Members, even the remoteſt Parts, though they cannot injoy his Preſence, ſhould nevertheleſs participate of his Favours.* Princes are ſeldom mov'd by this conſideration. They uſually Reward thoſe only who are about them, being overcome either by the importunity of Petitions, or by the flattery of their Courtiers, or through want of Reſolution to refuſe them. And ſo as Rivers only refreſh the Grounds through which they run; ſo they gratify and reward thoſe only who are near them, unmindful of the Pains and Perils their Foreign Miniſters undergo to preſerve their Authority, and to do that which they themſelves cannot. All Favours are ſhared among Courtiers and Paraſites; thoſe Services are moſt valued, which ſmell of Civet and Pulville, not thoſe which are ſmear'd with Blood and Duſt; thoſe which are ſeen, not thoſe which are heard of at a diſtance; as well becauſe flattery ſooner ſtrikes the Eyes than Ears, as becauſe the Mind is tickled with the vain Glory of preſent Submiſſions and Acknowledgements. For theſe Reaſons Court-Services are ſooner rewarded than Deſert, Ambition before Zeal, and Complaiſance before Fatigue and Toil. A Splendor which pays it ſelf.

He, who does Abſent Services may perhaps be commended, not rewarded. He will be for a while fed with vain Hopes and Promiſes, but will at laſt die ſtarv'd with Deſpair. The Remedy is coming ſometimes to Court, for no Letters or Memorials are ſo perſwaſive as Preſence. The Buckers of Pretention are not to be fill'd, unleſs they are dipp'd into the Court-waters. The Preſence of Princes is as fertile as that of the Sun. All things flouriſh when that ſhines, but fade and wither in its abſence. To him who ſtands under the Tree, the

the Fruit drops into his hand. Whence all covet to live at Court, and decline Foreign Employments, in which the Prince has most need of Ministers. This would be remedied, if the Bait of Rewards was thrown farther off, if they were bestow'd where deserv'd, not where they are begg'd; without need of Petitions or Importunities. King *Theoderick* comforted the absent, saying, That from his Court he observ'd their Actions, and discern'd their Merits (11). *Pliny* said of *Trajan*, that it was easier for his Eyes to forget the Persons of the absent, than for his Mind not to remember his Love towards them (12). Yet this advice for absent Ministers to repair sometimes to Court, ought not to be effected, by desiring to be dismist from their Offices, but still retaining them, by giving several Reasons to get leave of the Prince to be sometimes with him; for so they may obtain what they desire, still retaining that which if they should quit, might be confer'd upon another. Many either dissatisfied with their present Station, or Ambitious of greater, resign it, and afterwards repent, finding their Hopes and Expectations fruftrated, for the Prince looks upon it as a Slighting and Contempt of his Favour. Let no man presume so much upon his own Person and Parts, as to think the Prince can't Live without him. For Princes never want Ministers, and being once Slighted, they often forget their Chiefest. This I speak to those who canvass for publick Employs, not those who knowing the Vanity of them, choose to live Solitarily and Retir'd. Only let them consider, that great Souls form'd for Business, don't always find in retirement that Ease and Tranquility of Mind, which they propose, and being once ingag'd therein, without being able to change their Resolutions, they live and die miserable.

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(11) *Abunde cognoscetur quisquis fama teste laudatur; quapropter longissime constitutum mentis nostræ oculus serenus inspexit & vidit meritum.* Cassid. lib. 9. cap. 22. (12) *Facilius quippe est, ut oculis ejus cultus absentis, quam animo charitas excidat.* Plin. in Paneg.

Modesty

Modeſty in receiving Rewards and Gratuities, is of great uſe, together with ſuch a prudent Carriage, as may make them appear Obligations to farther Services, not to drain the Prince's Liberality, for this obliges him yet more: As God, when *Solomon* ask'd for nothing but an underſtanding Heart, not only gave him that, but alſo Riches and Glory (13). They ought not to be demanded as a Debt, for Virtue is to it ſelf a fair and large Reward; and though ſome acknowledgement be due, yet does it depend upon the Prince's Favour. And all had rather it ſhould be receiv'd as their Bounty, not a juſt Debt to deſert. Whence Princes are more inclin'd to Reward liberally ſmall Services, but great ones more ſparingly, for they think they ſhall receive more acknowledgments from the one, than the other. Whence he who has receiv'd many favours, may expect to receive more, for Bounty once beſtow'd cauſes farther Benefits. For a Prince had rather another ſhould acknowledge himſelf his Debtor, than he his, the firſt being the more honourable. *Lewis* the Eleventh, King of *France*, uſed to ſay, *That he had more regard for one, who for ſmall Services had been well rewarded, than for others who for great Services had receiv'd but ſmall Reward.* The Emperor *Theodorick* owning this failure, confeſs'd, *That 'twas from Ambition that Rewards ſprouted out, without the leaſt care of him who planted them, and that it provoked him to give more to thoſe whom he had once began to favour* (14). This is viſible in Favourites, towards whom Princes Favour and Liberality ſeem a kind of Obſtinacy.

(13) And I have alſo given thee that which thou haſt not ask'd, both Riches and Honour; ſo that there ſhall not be any among the Kings like unto thee, in thy days, 1 *Kings* 3. 13. (14) *Amamus noſtra beneficia germinare, nec ſemel præſtat largitulis collata faſtidium, magiſque nos provocant ad frequens præmium, qui initia noſtræ gratiæ ſuſcipere meruerunt; novis enim judicium impenditur, favor autem ſemel placitis exhibetur.* Caſ. lib. 2. Epiſt. 2.

EMBLEM XXIV.

THough (as we have ſaid before) Juſtice arm'd with the Laws, and Rewards, and Puniſhments, are the Pillars which ſupport the Structure of the State, yet will theſe Pillars be in the Air, unleſs founded upon the Baſis of Religion, which is the Bond of the Laws; for the Juriſdiction of Juſtice comprehends only external Acts, legitimately approv'd of; but don't extend to private and internal ones. It has Authority only over the Body, not the Mind; ſo that Wickedneſs would little heed Puniſhment, when it could privately commit Injuries, Adulteries, and Rapine; nay, he would make a jeſt of the Laws, were there not another inviſible one, menacing within. So neceſſary is this fear in a Government, that ſome Atheiſtical Perſons eſteem Religion but a meer Politick Invention; who without

it would be content with his Poverty and preſent Condition? What Truſt in Bonds and Covenants? What Integrity in the Adminiſtration of Goods? What Fidelity in Offices and Employments? What Security of Life? Few would be entic'd by Rewards, if they could obtain the ſame thing by private Injuſtice; few would be charm'd with the Beauty of Virtue, if through hopes of a more laſting Garland than one of Palm, they did not confine themſelves to the ſtrict Rules of Continency. Vices would ſoon confound the Order of Government, without the principal end of Happineſs, which conſiſts in Virtue, and in this Foundation and Bulwark of Religion, which ſuſtains and defends the Civil Power, if the People did not think that there was another Supream Tribunal to Judge the Thoughts and Imaginations, whoſe Rewards and Puniſhments will be Eternal. The hope and fear of this being born in the moſt barbarous and impious Sinners, do regulate and compoſe their Actions. *Caligula* ſcoff'd at, and ridiculed the Gods; yet, when it Thundered he was forc'd to own a Supream Hand, which had Power to puniſh him. This Hand all acknowledge, for there is no Heart which is not touch'd with that Divine Magnet. And as the Mariners Needle from a certain natural Sympathy, is in perpetual Motion, till it ſtops at the Light of that fix'd *North* Star, about which all the Cœleſtial Orbs are turned, ſo we can't live quietly till we acknowledge and adore that increated *North*, in which is true reſt, and from whence proceeds the Motion of all things. Who ought to obſerve this more than a Prince, who is the Pilot of the State, upon whoſe care it depends to bring the Ship ſafe into Port? Nor is it enough for him to ſeem to look at that, while he keeps his Eyes upon other dark and obſcure ones, for ſo he would loſe his Courſe, and run the Veſſel upon Sands and Rocks, and ſo make a Wreck. The People will be divided in Opinions, and thence into Factions, from whence ariſe Plots and Seditions, and from them

changes in States and Empires *. More Princes are ruined by Diſſention in Religion than by Arms. For which reaſon the Sixth Council of *Toledo* prudently enacted †, That no Prince ſhould come to the Crown before he had firſt taken an Oath not to tolerate any one in his Realm who was not a Chriſtian. *Spain* could never be at quiet till it rejected the Errors of *Arius*, and wholly embrac'd the Catholick Religion, ſince which the People have liv'd ſo happily, that when King *Weterick* afterwards endeavour'd to introduce that Sect, he was kill'd in his very Palace; but notwithſtanding many like Examples, there are ſome who dare impiouſly teach Princes to diſſemble and counterfeit Religion. He who diſſembles it, does not believe it. And if this Diſſimulation be a politick Artifice to unite Peoples Minds, and to maintain the State, true Religion would better do it than falſe, for this is fading, that Eternal. Many Empires founded upon falſe Religions, proceeding from Ignorance, God has preſerv'd a long time, rewarding by that means their Morality, and blind Worſhip, and barbarous Sacrifices, with which they ſought him; not that they were acceptable to him, but for the religious Simplicity wherewith they were ſometimes offer'd. But has never preſerved thoſe Empires, which counterfeited Religion more through Malice and Artifice than Ignorance. St. *Iſidore*, at his Death, foretold the *Spaniards*, that if they ſtray'd from the True Religion they ſhould be ſubdu'd by their Enemies; but if they perſiſted in it, their Grandeur ſhould be rais'd above all Nations. Which was verified by the Yoak of the *Africans*, which began from the time that *Witiza* deny'd Obedience to the Pope, after which liberty of Worſhip, and licenciouſneſs of Vice diſturbed the Publick Peace, and ruined Military Diſcipline, which brought heavy Misfortunes upon the King himſelf, and his Sons, as well as upon the Kingdom; till being ſubdu'd and chaſtis'd, *Spain* acknow-

* Mar. Hiſt. of *Spain*. † Concil. Tolet. cap. 3.

ledg'

ledg'd its Errors, and again found Heaven propitious in that little handful of Chriſtians, with which *Pelagius* retir'd into a Cave in the Mountain *Auſena*, call'd *Cavalonga*, where the Arrows and Stones of the Moors were miraculouſly retorted upon themſelves †. From that the Monarchy began to revive, and roſe (though after a long time) to that greatneſs, which it at preſent enjoys, as a Reward of its conſtancy in the Catholick Religion.

Since then, Religion is the Soul of Governments, a Prince ought to uſe all poſſible care to preſerve it; The firſt Spirit which *Romulus*, *Numa*, *Lycurgus*, *Solon*, *Plato*, and other Founders, infus'd into them, was Religion (1), for that unites Mens minds more than neceſſity. The Emperors, *Tiberius* and *Adrian* prohibited all Foreign Religion, and were wholly intent upon the Preſervation of their own: As alſo *Theodoſius* and *Conſtantine*, who eſtabliſhed Laws and Puniſhments againſt thoſe who revolted from the Catholick Faith. Their Majeſties, *Ferdinand* and *Iſabella*, never tolerated the Exerciſe of any other Religion. In which commendable was the Conſtancy of King *Philip* the Second, and his Succeſſors, who could never be induc'd to compoſe the Seditions of the *Netherlands* by Toleration of Liberty of Conſcience, though they might thereby have retain'd thoſe Provinces, and ſav'd thoſe Immenſe Treaſures which were expended in the War. They preferr'd the Honour and Glory of God to their own Eaſe and Tranquility; imitating *Flavius Jovianus*, who being proclaim'd Emperor by the Army, excus'd himſelf, ſaying, *That he was a Chriſtian, and that 'twas not fit he ſhould Command them who were not ſo, and would not Conſent till all the Soldiers had promis'd to turn Chriſtians.* Though he might inherit this pious Conſtancy from his Anceſtors, ſince the Eighth Council of

† Mar. Hiſt. of *Spain*. (1) *Omnium primam rem ad multitudinem imperitam efficaciſſimam Deorum metum injiciendum ratus.* Liv.

Toledo mentions the ſame thing of King *Receſuinthus* (2). Of which Piety your Royal Highneſs's Father, *Philip* the Fourth of glorious Memory, is a ſignal Example to your Royal Highneſs. In the beginning of whoſe Reign it being argu'd in Council, whether the Truce ſhould be continued with the *Dutch*; and ſome of his Counſellors urging that it was not Policy to begin War, or any change of Affairs, in the beginning of a Reign; he oppos'd them, ſaying, *That he would not have his Name branded with the Infamy of having maintain'd one hours Peace with the Enemies of God and his Crown*; and ſo immediately broke the Truce. For this ardent Zeal and Conſtancy in the Catholick Religion, King *Recaredus* merited the Name of Catholick, (as long before the Kings of *France* that of moſt Chriſtian). In the Third Council of *Toledo*, and in that of *Barcelona*, which Title the Kings *Siſebutus* and *Ervigius* kept, which their Succeſſors afterwards loſt, till re-aſſum'd by King *Alphonſo* the Firſt, to diſtinguiſh him from Hereticks and Schiſmaticks.

Though 'tis a King's Duty to maintain Religion in his Realms, and to promote the Worſhip of God, as his Vicars in Temporal Affairs, that they may Govern to his Glory, and their Subjects Safety; yet they ought to know that 'tis not in them to decide Controverſies in Religion and Divine Worſhip, for the care of this belongs directly to the Spiritual Head of the Church, to whom alone Chriſt has given this Authority, the Execution, Preſervation, and Defence thereof only is committed to Kings, as that Head ſhall order and direct. The Prieſts ſharply check'd King *Uzziah*, and God ſeverely puniſh'd him becauſe he offer'd Incenſe (3). 'Tis neceſſary for the Preſervation of the Purity of

(2) *Ob hoc ſui Regni apicem à Deo ſolidari præoptaret, ſi Catholicæ fidei per cuncta ſummas acquireret, indignum reputans Catholicæ fidei Principem ſacrilegis imperare.* Concil. Tol. 8. cap. 11. (3) And they withſtood *Uzziah* the King, and ſaid unto him, It appertaineth not unto thee, *Uzziah*, to burn Incenſe unto the Lord, but to the Prieſts, 2 *Chron.* 26. 18.

Religion,

Religion, that it be the ſame in all the Parts of the Chriſtian World. True Worſhip would ſoon be loſt, if each Prince might accommodate it to his own Ends and Deſigns. In thoſe Provinces and Kingdoms where this has been attempted, there ſcarce remain any Tracts thereof, ſo that the poor diſtracted People are wholly ignorant of the True Religion. The Spiritualty and Temporalty are two diſtinct Juriſdictions; this is adorn'd by the Authority of the other, and that is maintain'd by the others Power. 'Tis an Heroick Obedience which ſubmits to the Vicar of him who diſpoſes of Crowns and Scepters. As arbitrary and free from the Laws as Princes pretend to be, they muſt ſtill pay Obedience to the Apoſtolick Decrees, and are oblig'd to give force to them, and ſee them ſtrictly obſerv'd in their Dominions; eſpecially when 'tis not only expedient for the Spiritual, but alſo the Temporal Good, that thoſe Holy Decrees be put in Execution, nor ſhould they ſuffer any one to violate them, to the damage and prejudice of their Subjects, and their Religion.

EMBLEM XXV.

THE Stork builds its Neſt upon the Church Steeple, and by the Sanctity of the Place makes its Succeſſion ſecure. The Prince who founds his Kingdom upon the Triangular ſtone of the Church, renders it ſtrong and laſting. The *Athenians* once conſulting the Oracle of *Delphi*, how they might defend themſelves againſt *Xerxes*, who with a vaſt Fleet of twelve Hundred Sail, was coming to fall on them, were anſwer'd, That if they could fence their City with a wooden Wall they ſhould get the better; *Themiſtocles* interpreted *Apollo*'s meaning to be, that all the Citizens ſhould go on Ship-board; which done they obtain'd a Victory over that prodigious Fleet. The ſame Succeſs will attend a Prince, who ſhall embark his Grandeur in the Ship of the Church; for if this by the Teſtimony of

of another Oracle not fabulous and uncertain, but infallible and divine, cannot be ſunk, neither can that which is embark'd in it. For this reaſon your Highneſs's glorious Anceſtors, were us'd to conſecrate part of the Spoils they took in War from their Enemies, to God, as the Lord of Victories who fought for them, offering for his Worſhip very conſiderable Revenues and Poſſeſſions, whence innumerable Foundations and Endowments of Churches, Cathedrals, and Convents, took their riſe; having built in *Spain* above Seventy thouſand Churches. Of which *Samy*, the firſt King of *Arragon*, alone, built a Thouſand, conſecrated to the Bleſſed Virgin, which his Munificence was amply rewarded by the many Conqueſts he made, and Victories he won, having fought Thirty three Battels, in all which he came off victorious. Theſe pious Works were like Religious Colonies, render'd by their Spiritual Arms not leſs powerful than Military ones; for Artillery make not ſo great Breaches as Prayer. The Prayers of the *Iſraelites* for ſeven Days beat down the Walls of *Jericho* (1). Riches are therefore better repoſited in Temples than Treaſuries; not only againſt extream neceſſity, but that as by them Religion flouriſhes, the State may with it. The *Athenians* kept theirs in that of *Delphi*, as did many other Nations. What better Guardian than the Sovereign Arbitrator of Kingdoms? Our Hearts at leaſt will be in the Churches, if our Treaſures are there (2). Wherefore their Council is no leſs impious than imprudent, who under the ſlighteſt pretence of publick Neceſſity are for pillaging them. He is not worthy the Protection of Divine Providence, who diffident of God's Power, upon every accident has his Eye upon the Furniture of his Houſe. When King *Ferdinand* the Holy, wanted Money to carry on the Siege of *Sevil*, and ſome adviſ'd him to

(1) And the People ſhouted with a great ſhout, that the Wall fell down flat, ſo that the People went up into the City, every Man ſtrait before him, and they took the City, *Joſ.* 6. 20. (2) For where your Treaſure is, there will your Heart be alſo, *Mat.* 6. 21.

ſupply

ſupply the Deficiency of his Exchequer out of the Church-Treaſures. He made anſwer, I promiſe my ſelf more from the Prayers and Sacrifices of the Prieſts, than from their Riches; which Piety and Confidence, God abundantly recompenc'd the very next day by the Surrender of the City. Thoſe Kings, who have done otherwiſe, have left ſevere Examples of their Sacrilegious Preſumption. *Gunderick*, King of the *Vandals*, going to Plunder St. *Vincent*'s, fell down dead as he was entring it. The great Misfortunes of *Alphonſo*, King of *Arragon*, were thought to be God's Judgments upon him, for having robb'd his Sacred Houſes. Queen *Uraca* died at the very Door of St. *Iſidore*'s at *Leon*, the Treaſures of which ſhe had embeziled. *Sancho*, King of *Arragon*, was ſhot through the Arm with an Arrow, for that he had defil'd his Hands with the Plunder of Churches. And though, in St. *Victorio*'s at *Rota*, he publickly confeſs'd his Crime, and with Tears and all imaginable Signs of Contrition, offering Reſtitution and Amendment, yet it pleas'd God to publiſh his Offence in his Puniſhment, as a warning to others. King *John* the Firſt, was routed and kill'd at the Battel of *Aliubanota*, for having made uſe of the Treaſures of the Church of *Guadaloupa*. Upon the Surrender of *Cajeta* to *Frederick*, King of *Naples*, the *French* loaded two Ships with the Plunder of the Churches, both which were loſt.

But in all theſe Caſes, extream neceſſity had not place; for then right Reaſon allows Princes for their Preſervation, to make uſe of ſuch Riches, as out of a pious Liberality themſelves have laid up in theſe Holy Places, provided it be with a Reſolution to reſtore them when the Proſperity of their Affairs ſhall put them in a Capacity. As their Catholick Majeſties, *Ferdinand* and *Iſabella* did, having obtain'd a Grant from the Parliament of *Medina del Campo*, of the Church-Plate to defray Expences of War. And the Sacred Canons and Councils have preſcrib'd certain Caſes and Circumſtances of Neceſſity or Danger, wherein Eccleſiaſticks

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are bound to aſſiſt the Publick with their Contributions; and certainly 'twould be inexcuſable Avarice in them not to regard Common Neceſſities. They are the moſt noble and principal Part of a State; and if for them, or for Religion, others are oblig'd to expoſe their Lives, why not they their Riches? If the State maintains and keeps them, it may very juſtly expect a reciprocal Relief from them for its Conſervation and Defence. The People would be diſcourag'd from paying Tyths, and other Church Duties, if in Common Calamities there were none to eaſe them of extraordinary Burthens; they will blame their own Piety, and their Zeal and Devotion, for any new Offerings, Donatives, and Legacies to the Church will ſlacken. 'Tis therefore highly reaſonable that the Clergy in Caſes of this Nature, aid the Publick with their Revenues, not only for that the danger or benefit equally reſpects all; but withal, leaſt the Goods and Eſtates of the Laity be ſo oppreſs'd, that Tillage, and with it Tythes, and other pious Works muſt fail. In ſuch caſes, Church-Plate ſhews better in Bars in the Mint, than in Chalices and Cups in the Veſtry.

This Obligation upon the State Eccleſiaſtical, is more ſtrict in the more urgent neceſſities of the *Spaniſh* Kings; for almoſt all the Foundations and Endowments of Churches being the Effects of their pious Liberality, they are in Juſtice bound mutually to relieve their Patrons in neceſſity, and oblige them to continue their Munificence in better times. Theſe, and many other Reaſons, have prevail'd with the Apoſtolick See, to be ſo liberal to the Kings of *Spain*, in granting them the uſe of the Church goods, to maintain their Wars againſt the Infidels. *Gregory* the Seventh granted *Sancho Ramirez* King of *Arragon*, the Tythes and Revenues of all the Churches, either newly built or gain'd from the *Moors*, to diſpoſe of as he pleas'd. The ſame Grant alſo Pope *Urban* made to *Peter* the Firſt, King of *Arragon*, his Succeſſors and Grandees of his Kingdom, excepting the Churches of Reſidence. *Innocent* the Third granted

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the Bull of the *Croiſade* for the War of *Spain*, which was call'd the Holy War; which favour, Pope *Calixtus* afterwards in *Henry* the Fourth's time extended both to the living and the dead. *Gregory* the Tenth, gave King *Alphonſus* the Wiſe, the third Part of the Tythes which were deſign'd for Building: This began afterwards to be perpetuated in *John* the Second's Reign; and *Alexander* the Sixth extended it alſo to the Kingdom of *Granada*. *John* the Twenty Second, granted the Tythes of the Church Revenues, and the *Croiſade* to King *Alphonſus* the Eleventh. *Urban* the Fifth, a third Part of the Benefices of *Caſtile* to *Peter* the Cruel. *Sixtus* the Fourth, conſented to have the Clergy contribute at one time an hundred thouſand Ducates for the War of *Granada*; which favour ſeveral other Popes continued. *Julius* the Second, granted *Emanuel*, King of *Portugal*, the third Part of the Revenue which belong'd to the Church-Building, and the Tythes of all other Eccleſiaſtical Incomes. Theſe Subſidies ought not to be ſpent but in Neceſſities, and for the Publick Uſes, to which they were deſign'd. This Queen *Iſabella* ſo religiouſly obſerv'd, That ſeeing Ninety Millions rais'd by the Croiſade, ſhe immediately commanded they ſhould be employ'd to the very Uſes preſcribed by the Apoſtolick Bulls. Thoſe Favours will ſhine more, and produce better Fruit, when ſo expended. But Neceſſities and Danger uſually confound all things, and eaſily wreſt the Popes meaning to what was not intended.

EMBLEM XXVI.

IT was an impious Opinion, that of thoſe who impudently aſſerted the Heathens to have had more Courage than the Chriſtians; upon this ground, that their Superſtition ſtrengthned their Minds, and render'd them more fierce and manly by the diſmal ſight of ſo many bloody Victims, as they offer'd to the Gods in their Sacrifices; and held them only to be Men of Courage and Magnanimity, who got the better of other Nations rather by force than reaſon: Accuſing on the contrary the Inſtitution of our Religion for recommending Humility and Meekneſs; Virtue is good for nothing but to make Men mean ſpirited. What an impious and unreaſonable Opinion this! The ſpilling of Blood may indeed make the Mind more barbarous and cruel, more valiant it never can. Fortitude and Magnanimity enter not

not at the Eyes, but are born within the Breaſt; nor are thoſe the moſt generous, who are moſt pleas'd with the Blood and Slaughter of Beaſts, or who live on Man's Fleſh. Our Religion does not contemn Magnanimity, but rather promotes it, not by propoſing to us temporary and corruptible Rewards, as the *Pagan* Superſtition does, but eternal ones never to have an end. And if a ſimple Crown of Lawrel, which begins to fade as ſoon as gathered, inſpired ſo much Courage then, what won't now that everlaſting one of Stars (1)? Is it that the Heathens have expoſed themſelves to greater Dangers than the Chriſtians? No, for if at any time they aſſaulted a City, or forc'd a Camp, it was under Shields and Targets. Whereas now Chriſtians muſt make their way through thick Showers of Bullets, and the Thunder and Lightning of Gunpowder. 'Tis a miſtake to imagine Humility and Valour incompatible; they are rather ſo cloſely connected, that without the former this is impracticable; nor can true Valour be where there is not Humility, Patience, and in general all other Virtues. For he only is really Valiant that can ſubdue his Paſſions, and is free from all Perturbation of Mind; a Study the *Stoicks* have beſtow'd much labour on, and after them the Chriſtians with greater ſucceſs. He makes but a very ſmall progreſs in it, who ſuffers himſelf to be tranſported with Anger and Pride. This is truly Heroical to conquer ones Luſts and Appetites. The Mind where theſe Conflicts are, is none of the eaſieſt Fields of Battel; he who has learnt thus much Submiſſion, to bend the Knee to another, will upon occaſion eaſily deſpiſe Danger, and with undaunted Reſolution ſubmit his Neck to the Ax. The Heathen Religion, 'tis true, has produced many great Commanders, ſuch as were the *Cæſars*, *Scipios*, and abundance of others, but certainly the Chriſtian has furniſht us with no leſs con-

(1) Now they do it to obtain a corruptible Crown, but we an incorruptible, 1 *Cor.* 9. 25.

ſiderable

ſiderable ones in the Perſons of the *Alphonſo*'s and *Ferdinands* of *Caſtile*, as well as other Kings of *Arragon*, *Navarre*, and *Portugal*. What Valour could poſſibly equal that of the Emperor *Charles* the Fifth? What great Generals has Antiquity ever celebrated, which have not been equall'd, if not been ſurpaſs'd by *Gonzalez Ferdinand* of *Cordova*, *Fernan Cortez*, *Antony de Lieve*, *Ferdinand d'Avalos*, Marquiſs of *Peſcara*; *Alphonſo d'Avalos*, Marquiſs of *Guaſt*; *Alexander Farneſe*, Duke of *Parma*; *Andrew d'Oria*, *Alphonſo d'Alb'ouquerque*, *Ferdinand Alvarez* of *Toledo*, Duke of *Alba*; the Marquiſſes of *Sancta Cruz*; the Earl of *Fuentes*, Marquiſs *Spinola*, *Lewis Faxardo*, and almoſt infinite others; as well *Spaniards* as others, never ſufficiently to be commended by Fame. To whom may deſervedly be applied what St. *Paul* ſaid of thoſe Great Captains, *Gideon*, *Barak*, *Sampſon*, *Jephtha*, *David*, and *Samuel*, that by Faith they ſubdued Kingdoms; waxed valiant in Fight, turn'd to Flight the Armies of the *Aliens* (2.) If we will compare the Victories of the Heathens to thoſe of the Chriſtians, we ſhall find the latter to have been much the greater. In the Battel of *Navas* were kill'd Two hundred thouſand *Moors*, with the loſs only of Twenty five on our ſide; finding the Camp ſo covered with Spears and Darts, that though the Victors ſtaid there two Days, uſing no other Fewel but the Wood of them; they could not conſume them, even, though they endeavour'd it. There fell more in the Battel of *Salado*, with the loſs but of Twenty Chriſtians. And in that Naval Victory, which *Don John* of *Auſtria* obtain'd over the *Turks* at *Lepanto*, there were no leſs than an Hundred and eighty Gallies ſunk and taken: Which Victories Chriſtians attribute not to their own Valour, but to the True God whom they adore. An Heart confiding in God, as effectually ſlays an Enemy, as a Hand arm'd with a Sword, as *Judas Ma-*

(2) Heb. 11, 33, 34.

chabæus

thabæus found (3). 'Tis God who governs the Hearts, 'tis he that imparts Courage and Strength, that grants or denies Victories (4). He would be an Impoſtor, and could not be clear'd from the Imputation of Fraud, were he rather aſſiſting to thoſe who adore falſe Gods, whoſe Idolatrous Sacrifices all tend to procure their favour. But if he ſometimes alſo permit them to be Victorious, 'tis not to be aſcrib'd to their Devotion, but to other ſecret Cauſes of Divine Providence. In the Thirſt which the *Roman* Army ſuffer'd in the War againſt the *Marcomanni*; God could not be appeas'd with the Prayers and Sacrifices of the Heathen Legions, but when the Tenth compos'd of Chriſtians, at laſt implor'd his aid, he ſent down plentiful Showers to them, but to the Enemy Thunder and Lightning, ſo that they obtain'd an eaſy Victory, whence it was afterwards call'd the Thundring Legion. If that Faith were ſtill, it would ſtill work the ſame effects; but whether through want of that, or for ſome other ſecret Ends, God does ſometimes permit thoſe to be triumph'd over, who pay him true Adoration; but then the Victory is not a Reward to the Conqueror, but a Chaſtiſement to the Conquered. Let Princes therefore always hold in their Hands the Flag of the Croſs, ſignified by that Sword which *Jeremiah* gave to *Judas Machabæus* to wound his Adverſaries withal (5), and on their Arms the Buckler of Religion, and continually before their Eyes, that eternal Fire which went before the *Perſian* Monarchs: An Emblem of that other incomprehenſible Fire from which the Sun receives its Rays. This is the true Religion which the

(3) So that fighting with their Hands, and praying to God with their Hearts, they ſlew no leſs than Thirty and five thouſand Men, 2 *Mach.* 15. 27. (4) Leaſt thou ſay in thine Heart, my Power, and the might of my Hand hath gotten me this Victory. But thou ſhalt remember the Lord thy God; for it is he that hath given thee power to get wealth, *Deut.* 8. 17, 18. (5) Take this Holy Sword, a Gift from God, with which thou ſhalt wound the Adverſaries, 2 *Mach.* 15. 16.

Soldiers

Soldiers ador'd, as oft as they proſtrated themſelves before the Emperour *Conſtantine*'s Banner: for when the ſhape of a Croſs in the Heavens made by the Sun's light, with this Inſcription, *Thou ſhalt Conquer under this Sign* *, ſeem'd to promiſe him the Victory over *Maxentius*, he commanded a Standard to be made in the ſame Form with that of the preſent Emblem, with the Letters *X* and *P*, Cyphers of Chriſt's Name over it, and the Letters *Alpha* and *Omega*, the Emblem of God, the Beginning and End of all things. This Standard the Emperors after him made uſe of, till *Julian* the Apoſtate's time †; and *Don John* of *Auſtria* had on all his Colours embroider'd a Croſs, with this Motto: *With theſe Arms I have conquer'd the* Turks, *and with the ſame I hope to overcome Hereticks* *: King *Alphonſus* the Great put the Words of *Conſtantine*'s Croſs on another ſort of Enſign, which he afterwards offer'd in the Church of *Oviedo*: And of thoſe I have thought fit to make uſe on, as well as *Conſtanſtine*'s Standard, to form this Emblem, and to imprint on Princes Minds, that Faith and Aſſurance, with which they ought to erect the Standard of Religion againſt their Enemies. At the Battel of *Navas*, a Perſon made way three times through the thickeſt of the Enemy with the Croſs of *Roderigo*, Archbiſhop of *Toledo*, though all the Darts and Arrows of the *Moors* were aim'd at it, and many ſtuck in the Lance. Angels are the Guards of this Banner; two Angels upon white Horſes, were ſeen to Fight in the Front of the Battel of *Simaneas*, when King *Ramiro* the Second, vanquiſh'd the *Moors*; and in that of *Clavigio*, in time of *Ramiro* the Firſt; and alſo in that of *Merida*, under King *Alphonſus* the Ninth, appear'd that Divine Light, the Son of Thunder, St. *Jago*, Patron of *Spain*, on a White Steed carrying Colours diſtinguiſh'd by a Red Croſs. No one ſhall be able to ſtand before you, (ſaid *Joſhua* upon his Death-

* *In hoc ſigno vinces.* Euſeb. l. 9. Hiſt. St. Ambr. Ep. 29. † Genebr. l. 4. Chron. Anno 1572. * Mar. Hiſt of *Spain*.

Bed) if you put your Hope and Confidence in God (6): Your Sword ſhall Conquer thouſands, for he will fight for you (7). The Holy Scriptures are full of Inſtances of this Divine Aſſiſtance. God put the very Stars in array againſt the *Canaanites* (8). Againſt the *Amorites* he arm'd the Elements, and rain'd great Stones from Heaven (9). Nor did the faithful need any aſſiſtance againſt the *Madianites*, for the Lord ſet every Man's Sword againſt his Fellow (10). Thus, whoever is God's Enemy, brings Vengeance upon his own head.

(6) Joſh. 23. 10. (7) Ibid. (8) They fought from Heaven, the Stars in their courſes fought againſt *Siſera*. (9) The Lord caſt down great Stones from Heaven upon them to *Azekah*, and they died, *Joſh.* 10. 11. (10) Judg. 7. 22.

EMBLEM XXVII.

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WHAT, neither Force, nor a close Siege of many Years could do against *Troy*, Fraud at length effected under pretence of Religion, the *Græcians* conveying their Arms into the City within the Body of a Wooden Horse, under pretext of a Vow to *Minerva*. Neither the clattering noise of the Weapons, nor the Advertency of the most prudent Citizens, nor the Consideration that it could not be brought into the City but by a Breach, nor that of its being to continue within the Walls a considerable time, were sufficient to open the Peoples Eyes, and to discover the Treachery: Of such Influence is Religion. This *Scipio Africanus*, *Sylla*, *Sertorius*, *Minos*, *Pisistratus*, *Lycurgus*, and many others, have advantageously made use of to authorize their Laws, and impose upon the People.

The *Phœnicians* coming into *Spain*, built, where *Medina Sidonia* now ſtands, a Temple in the Form of a Fortreſs dedicated to *Hercules*, ſaying, That they were ſo commanded in a Dream. The *Spaniards* believ'd that to be Devotion which was Stratagem, that to be Piety which was a Trick, whereby religiouſly to enſlave and plunder the People. By means of another Temple on the promontory *Dianea*, (now *Denia*) the Inhabitants of the Iſle of *Zante* conceal'd the Deſign they had of bringing *Spain* under their Subjection. King *Siſenand* having depos'd *Swinthila*, to ſecure to himſelf the Crown, call'd a Provincial Synod of about Seventy Biſhops, under Colour of making new Laws for regulating Eccleſiaſtical Diſcipline which time had corrupted; whereas his chief and real Deſign was to get *Swinthila* depos'd, and himſelf inthron'd by a Decree of theſe Fathers, the better to ſatisfy the People. Which very Artifice *Ervigius* made uſe of to confirm his Election, and the Abdication of King *Wamba*. Malice well knows what effect Religion has on Mens minds, and therefore makes that the principal Inſtrument to execute its Deſigns, which eaſily impoſe upon the ſimple Vulgar, who, poor Souls, not being able to penetrate all their ends, believe their only tendency is to render God propitious, to make him proſper their Temporal Affairs here, and reward them Eternally hereafter. What nauſeous Deluſions have Nations ſwallow'd when gilt with Religion, miſerably abandoning themſelves to Superſtition? What ſervile and barbarous Cuſtom has not that introduc'd, to the prejudice of Liberty, Life, and Fortune? Let Princes therefore be upon their Guard, in theſe times particularly, when Policy puts on the Maſk of Piety, and not eaſily admit thoſe Stalking-horſes of Religion, which have ruined not only Cities, but whole Countries and Kingdoms. For, if under that Title, Ambition and Avarice creep in, and the People be oppreſs'd, they will renounce God's eaſy Yoak, and will look upon this Natural and Divine Law of Religion to be nothing but a piece of State Policy; and that

Princes

Princes under that Veil conceal their Methods to keep Subjects in Allegiance, and ſtrip them of their Fortunes. Let Princes therefore throughly examine, whether the Novelty introduc'd be really upon the account of Religion, or meerly a ſpecious pretence to the prejudice of their Power and Authority, to the detriment of their Subjects, or the Publick Peace; which they may find out by the ends it propoſes, by obſerving to what ſuch Innovations tend, whether to Intereſt or Ambition, whether they conduce to the Spiritual Good or not; or if this can't be procur'd by other means leſs prejudicial. In ſuch caſes an Evil is with leſs danger prevented than afterwards remedied; and the only means to prevent it, is not to give place to theſe Pretexts and Abuſes; however, if they be already introduc'd, they ought to be corrected with all the mildneſs imaginable, not raſhly, nor with Violence or extream Rigour; eſpecially, if the Caſe fall not under the Prince's Juriſdiction; but with extraordinary addreſs, having due reſpect to the Perſons, under whoſe Cognizance it falls (1), laying before them the truth of the thing, and the ill Conſequences and Inconveniences of it. For if the Secular Prince attempt to do it by force, and thoſe Abuſes ſhould be eſtabliſh'd into a Cuſtom among the People, they will interpret this Violence to be Impiety in the Prince, and rather obey the Prieſts than him: On the other ſide, if they ſee the Eccleſiaſtical and Civil Power diſagree, they will throw off all Obedience, and emboldened by the declared Will of the Prince, they will make an Inſurrection againſt Religion it ſelf, and be inſenſibly induc'd to believe, the Inconveniencies of theſe Contentions extend even to the Subſtance of Religion, which will eaſily bring them to change their Opinions, and that too. And by this means, the Prince being engag'd in Civil Broils and Diſſentions with the Clergy, and the People in new

(1) For the Prieſt's Lips ſhould keep knowledge, and they ſhould ſeek the Law at his Mouth, *Malach.* 2. 7.

Opinions, all respect for things Sacred will cease, and Errors arise upon the Eclipse of that Divine Luminary which before enlighten'd and united their Minds; which is the scource of the Ruin of many Princes, and of the Revolutions of States (2). Great prudence is requisite to govern the People in such matters, for 'tis equally obvious for them to despise them, which is impious; and to be over credulous in them, which is Superstition; this last most frequently happens, in that their Ignorance is presently taken with appearances of Devotion, and new Opinions, before Reason has had time to examine them; wherefore 'tis very necessary gradually to remove from them all occasions of Ruin, those particularly which usually arise from frivolous Disputations about too subtle Points, such as very little, if at all promote Religion, not suffering them to be defended or printed; otherwise they will be divided into Factions, and every one's maintaining his own Opinions with as much Heat and Obstinacy, as if they were Matter of Faith, may occasion no less Disturbances, than even a difference of Religions, or a Toleration of them. It was an Apprehension of this made *Tiberius* forbid the Books of the Sibyls to be seen, whose Prophecies might cause Seditions (3). In the Acts of the Apostles we read, that the Books which contain'd idle Curiosities were burnt (4).

An appearance often miserably deludes the Common People, who blindly follow any Superstitious Devotions with a Submission wholly effeminate, which renders them Melancholy, Cowardly, and very Slaves to their own Imaginations; which debase their Spirits, and prompt them to idle away their time in Convents and Pilgrimages, where oft-times many Abuses and Vices are committed. This is an Infirmity of the Vul-

(2) *Nulla res multitudinem efficacius regit, quam superstitio.* Curtius. (3) *Censuit Asinius Gallus, ut libri Sibyllini adirentur, vetuit Tiberius, perinde divina humanaque obtegens.* Tac. 1. Ann. (4) Many of them also which us'd curious Arts, brought their Books together, and burnt them before all Men, *Acts* 19. 19.

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gar, and not a little prejudicial to the Truth of Religion, and the Publick Safety; and unleſs nipp'd in the Bud, creates great Inconveniencies and Dangers, being a kind of folly that under the appearance of Good does every thing hand over head, following new Notions of Religion, and deviliſh Inventions. Some Submiſſion is requiſite, but that without baſe and ſlaviſh Bigottry; ſuch I mean as has Virtue in eſteem, abhors Vice, and holds Labour and Obedience to be more agreeable to God and the Prince, than Convents and Pilgrimages, this Devotion being uſually celebrated with Banquets, Balls, and Plays; like that of the People of *Iſrael* at the Conſecration of the Molten Calf (5).

But if the People once begin to be too opinionative in Matters of Religion, and to introduce any Innovations in it, immediate Remedy muſt be apply'd, and the ill Seed be routed out before it take Root and ſpread farther, ſo as to grow into a Body too powerful for the Prince, againſt whom they may afterwards, if he refuſe to conform to their Opinion, contrive ſome pernicious Innovation in the Government (6). And though the Underſtanding be free, and without deſtroying its liberty can't be conſtrain'd to believe, and ſo it may ſeem to belong peculiarly to God Almighty to puniſh thoſe who have unworthy Sentiments of him (7); yet, would it be of very ill conſequence to commit the Deciſion of the ſublimeſt Myſteries of Faith to the blind and ignorant Mob: 'Tis therefore

(5) And they aroſe up early on the morrow, and offered burnt offerings, and burnt peace-offerings; and the People ſat down to eat, and to drink, and roſe up to play, *Exod.* 32. 6. (6) *Eos vero qui in divinis aliquid innovant, odio habe, & coerce, non Deorum ſolum causâ (quos tamen qui contemnit, nec aliud ſane magni fecerit) ſed quia nova quædam numina hi tales introducentes, multos impellunt ad mutationem rerum, unde Conjurationes, Seditiones, Conciliabula exiſtant, res profectò minimè conducibiles Principatui.* Dion. (7) *Deorum injurias Diis cura.* Tac. I. Ann.

infinitely requiſite to oblige Subjects to think, as the Ancient *Germans* did, that there is more Sanctity and Reverence in believing than knowing things Divine (8). What monſtrous Errors were a Kingdom obnoxious to, if each man were allow'd to be a Judge in Matters of Religion? Hence the *Romans* were ſo careful in Prohibiting the Exerciſe of any new Religion (9), and *Claudius* thought the Foreign Superſtitions a ſufficient Subject for complai t to the Senate (10). But if Malice have already got footing, and Puniſhment be too weak to reſiſt the Multitude, 'tis neceſſary that Diſcretion perform the part of Fire and Sword: For obſtinacy in Faults ſometimes increaſes by an untimely Application of Remedies too violent; nor does Reaſon always ſurrender to Force. King *Ricaredus* by dexterouſly adapting himſelf to the times, now diſſembling, now flattering, brought his Subjects to renounce *Arianiſm*, and to return to the Catholick Church.

Great Men have anciently made uſe of Superſtition (as we have before intimated) to authorize their Laws, animate their People, and keep them in Subjection and Obedience; to this end they feigned Dreams and Divine Revelations, and pretended to have private Conference with the Gods; but although theſe Artifices extreamly influence the ſimple People, whoſe Superſtitious Humour is eaſily affected with things that have an appearance Supernatural: 'Tis not however allowable for Princes to delude them with counterfeit Miracles, and a falſe ſhew of Religion. Of what uſe is the Shadow, where one may enjoy the Light it ſelf? To what purpoſe thoſe Divine imaginary Prodigies of Heaven, ſince it gives, as we ſee, ſo many real ones

(8) *Sanctius, ac reverentius viſum, de aliis Deorum credere, quam ſcire.* Tac. de Mor. Germ. (9) *Neque niſi Romani Dei, nec quo alio more, quam patrio colerentur.* T. Liv. (10) *Quia externæ ſuperſtitiones valeſcant.* Tac. 11. Ann.

to

to those who with a firm Faith and Assurance expect them from Divine Providence? How can an infinitely Just God give success to these Arts which seem to call in question his Care and Concern for things here below, that counterfeit his Omnipotence, and ascribe to him what he is not the Author of? What certainty in Religion can the People promise themselves, if they see it wrested to serve the particular Ends of Princes, and that 'tis nothing but a Veil with which they cover their Designs, and give Truth the lye? That Policy is certainly very unsafe, that is cloak'd with Fraud, very weak and tottering, that is supported by contrivance.

EMBLEM XXVIII.

PRudence is the Rule and Measure of Virtues, without that these degenerate into Vices. Wherefore as other Virtues have theirs in the Appetite, this has its residence in the Intellect, from thence presiding over them all. *Agatho* calls it a great Goddess. This it is which constitutes the three Forms of Government, Monarchy, Aristocracy, and Democracy, and assigns each of them their Parts conformed to the Subjects Nature, having its Eyes always intent upon their Preservation as the principal end of Politicks. Prudence is the State's Anchor, the Prince's Compass. Where this Virtue fails, the very Soul of Government is wanting. *'Tis this*, (says King *Alphonsus*) *which makes us see things as they are, and judge what they may be, making us act therein decently, without Tumult and Precipitation.*

'Tis

'Tis the peculiar Virtue of Princes (1), and that which above all others renders a Man compleat, which makes Nature ſo ſparing in her Diſpenſations of it; having given many great Wit and Capacity, very few great Prudence; for defect of which, the more eminent Men are in Dignity, the more dangerous is their Government; for as much as they eaſily tranſgreſs the limits of Reaſon, and are ruined; beſides, that one of Command requires a clear Judgment to diſcern all things as they are in themſelves, to weigh and give each thing its juſt value. This nice Examination is of very great conſequence in Princes, and as Nature contributes much to it, ſo does Obſervation and Experience more.

The Virtue of Prudence conſiſts of ſeveral Parts reducible to theſe three Heads; the Memory of paſt, the Knowledge of preſent, and the Proſpect of future times. All theſe differences of time are repreſented in this Emblem, by a Serpent, the Emblem of Prudence, upon an Hour-Glaſs, which repreſents Time preſent, winding it ſelf about a Scepter, and viewing it ſelf in the two Glaſſes of paſt and future; with this Verſe of *Virgil*, tranſlated from *Homer*, including all three, for the Motto:

What are, what were, and what ſhall come to paſs.

which Prudence looking into regulates, and compoſes all its Actions.

Theſe three Times are the Mirror of Government, in which by obſerving the paſt as well as preſent Errors and Miſcarriages, it dreſſes and beautifies it ſelf by private and acquired Experience: Of the former I treat in another place. The acquir'd is either attain'd by Converſation or Hiſtory. Converſation is very beneficial, though ſomething more limitted, being appre-

(1) *Nam velle diſponere, vellque judicare, qui poteſt, is eſt Princeps & imperator.* Menand.

hended

hended with leſs difficulty, abundantly more ſatisfactory of all Doubts and Queſtions, and conſequently more improving. Hiſtory is a general Repreſentation of all the Ages of the World, and by the benefit of that the Memory recals the Time of our Anceſtors. The faults of thoſe who were, inſtruct them that now are. Wherefore 'tis neceſſary that the Prince ſearch for true Friends, ſuch as will relate with ſincerity things both paſt and preſent: And ſince they are, as *Alphonſus*, King of *Naples* and *Arragon*, us'd to ſay, Like Hiſtories that neither flatter, nor conceal, or diſſemble the Truth; let him admit them particularly into his Council, carefully obſerving the neglects and failings of his Predeceſſors; by what Tricks they have been put upon; the Court Artifices; the inteſtine and foreign Ills of Kingdoms; and examine whether he be not in danger of the ſame. Time is the beſt Maſter of Princes. Paſt Ages are a kind of Hoſpitals, where Policy Anatomizes the Carcaſſes of Monarchies and Commonwealths which once flouriſhed, thereby the better to cure the Ails of the preſent. They are the Sea-Charts, wherein by the Wrecks, or proſperous Navigations of others, Shores are diſcover'd. Seas ſounded, Sands and Rocks found, and all the Lines of Government marked out; yet, are not all Books good Counſellors; for ſome advance Knavery and Deceit, which becauſe more practiſed than truth, many have recourſe to (2). The moſt ſecure are thoſe dictated by Divine Wiſdom. Here a Prince hath for all manner of Accidents, a compleat Syſtem of Politicks, and ſafe Precepts to govern himſelf and others by (3). For this reaſon, the Kings of *Iſrael* were commanded to have always by them, the Book of *Deuteronomy*, and to read ſome part

(2) Who ſeek Wiſdom upon Earth, the Merchants of *Merrhan* and *Theman*, the Authors of Fables, and Searchers out of Underſtanding; none of theſe have known the way of Wiſdom, or remember her Paths, *Baruch* 3. v. 23. (3) All Scripture is given by Inſpiration of God, and is profitable for Doctrine, for Reproof, for Correction, for Inſtruction in Righteouſneſs, 2 *Tim.* 3. 16.

of

of it every day (4). 'Tis God we hear, him we learn of as often as we turn over thoſe Divine Oracles. The Emperor *Alexander Severus*, had always near him Perſons well vers'd in Hiſtory, to tell him what other Emperors had done in dubious Matters (5).

With this Study of Hiſtory, your Royal Highneſs may ſecurely enter the dangerous Sea of Government, having the experience of things paſt for a Pilot to Steer you in the Conduct of thoſe preſent, both which your Highneſs ought to manage, ſo as to keep your Eyes fixt on Futurity, ſtill looking forwards to prevent dangers, at leaſt to render them leſs injurious (6). According to theſe Aſpects of Times, your Highneſs's Prudence ought to judge of things to come, not by thoſe of the Planets, which being few in number, and having their Motions ſtated and regular, cannot poſſibly (though there were ſome Virtue in them) foretel ſuch variety of Events, as fortune produces, or free-will prepares. Nor are Speculation and Experience ſufficient, whereupon to ground any certain knowledge of Cauſes ſo remote. Let your Highneſs therefore be pleas'd to caſt your Eyes on the times paſt, from *Ferdinand* the Catholick, to *Philip* the Second, and comparing them with thoſe that have paſs'd from thence till now; conſider whether *Spain* be now as well-peopled, as rich and plentiful as then; whether Arts and Arms flouriſh as much; whether Trade and Husbandry ſucceed as well; and if your Highneſs find it to have fail'd in any of theſe particulars, diſſect the whole Body, ſearch into its Arteries and Parts, the ſound and entire as well as the diſtemper'd; as alſo into the Cauſes of thoſe Infirmities: Conſider with your ſelf, whether they do not proceed from ſome of thoſe ſo ordinary ones; from planting Colonies, want of Propagation,

(4) And he ſhall read therein all the days of his Life, *Deut.* 17. 19. (5) *Præſtitebat rebus literatos, & maximè qui hiſtoriam norant, requirans quid in talibus cauſis, quales in diſceptatione verſabantur, veteres imperatores feciſſent.* Lamp. (6) She knoweth things of old, and conjecturech aright what is to come, *Wiſd.* 8. 8.

multilpicity

multiplicity of Religious Orders, too many Feſtivals, Univerſities, and Studies, the Diſcovery of the *Indies*, Peace ill manag'd, War ſlightly undertaken, or negligently carried on, from the Caſhiering of Officers, the Rarity of Recompences, the Oppreſſion of Uſury, the Tranſportation of Money, the Diſproportion of the Coin, or whatever Cauſes of the like Nature. If your Highneſs ſhall diſcover the Fountain from whence the Evil proceeds, it will be no difficult matter to provide a Remedy againſt it; and from a competent knowledge of the paſt and preſent Times, your Highneſs will be enabled to make an eſtimate of that to come, for there is no new thing under the Sun; the thing that hath been, it is that which ſhall be; and that which is done, is that which ſhall be done (7). The Perſons are chang'd not the Scenes, Manners and Cuſtoms are always the ſame.

After the Converſation of Books, it will be very much for a Prince's Improvement to have that of learned Men, who are daily converſant with them, and will entertain his Ear with well digeſted Diſcourſe and Reaſonings, the reſult of long Premeditation. This gave occaſion to that uſual ſaying of *John* the Second, King of *Portugal*, That a Kingdom either found a Prince prudent, or made him ſo. That is, the great School of Government, wherein Miniſters of the greateſt Learning and moſt eminent Experience, whether Domeſtick or Foreign, converſe with the Prince about Affairs. Here one is in conſtant Exerciſe, and has a particular knowledge almoſt of whatever is tranſacted in the World. This School being more eſpecially, neceſſary for a Prince, teaches him, if not out of Duty, at leaſt for Learning's ſake to apply himſelf to Affairs, and ſtudy fully to underſtand, and go to the bottom of them, and not leave them to the Deciſion of his Councellors. For by an entire neglect and diſuſe of Buſineſs, the Mind becomes Savage, and

(7) Eccleſ. 1. 9.

conceives

conceives an Averſion for it, as an intolerable weight, and ſo chuſes to leave all to the Care and Induſtry of others. And if their Opinion upon any Subject be afterwards told him, he is in the dark, not being able to diſcern whether they have determined well or ill; in which Confuſion he muſt neceſſarily be aſhamed of himſelf, ſeeing how like a dumb Idol he is, to whom Adoration is paid, while another renders the Oracles. For this reaſon, the Prophet *Zachary* calls that Prince an Idol, who like a Shepherd that leaveth his Flock, forgets his Duty (8). He is a Statue which repreſents, but does not exert Majeſty. He has a Mouth and ſpeaks not; Eyes and Ears, but neither ſees nor hears (9). And being generally look'd upon to be an Idol of Adoration only, not Miracles, is univerſally deſpis'd as an unprofitable Burthen to the Earth (10). Nor will it be eaſy for him to retrieve his Credit; for Affairs out of which he might draw ſome Experience, will glide away like Waters that never return; and not knowing where the Web of Affairs begins, 'tis impoſſible he ſhould finiſh it with ſucceſs.

To avoid theſe and the like Inconveniences, it is abſolutely requiſite for the Prince at the beginning of his Reign to apply himſelf to the Adminiſtration of Publick Affairs, that by uſe he may gradually learn the Art of Government. For though they at firſt ſeem terrible and difficult, Ambition and the Glory which may be expected thence, will afterwards make them pleaſant and delightful. Let not fear of doing amiſs be any obſtacle to him, for there's no Prudence ſo infallible but it may ſometimes err. From Errors proceeds Experience, and from thence the beſt Maxims of Government. And if at any time he happens to be in one, let this thought comfort him, that 'tis ſometimes

(8) Wo to the idle Shepherd that leaveth his Flock, *Zach.* 11. 17. (9) They have Mouths, but they ſpeak not; Eyes have they, but they ſee not; Ears have they, but they hear not; Noſes have they, but they ſmell not, *Pſalm* 115. 5. (10) We know that an Idol is nothing in the World, 1 *Cor.* 8. 4.

leſs

leſs dangerous to miſcarry himſelf, than ſucceed by another; for this the People carp and cavil at, the former they eaſily bear with. A Prince's Obligation conſiſts only in being deſirous, and uſing his utmoſt endeavours to ſucceed, admitting Inſtruction and Counſel without Pride and Preſumption, that Mother of Error and Ignorance. Power is born with Princes, Wiſdom not: If they will but hear, they will know how to Govern. *Solomon* owning what a Child he was to judge God's People, prayed for a docile and underſtanding Heart (11), thinking that ſufficient to make him capable of ſucceſsfully diſcharging his Duty. A zealous and well-meaning Prince, God leads as 'twere by the Hand, leaſt he ſhould at any time make a falſe Step in the Government of his States.

(11) Give therefore thy Servant an underſtanding heart to judge thy People, that I may diſcern between good and bad, 1 *Kings* 3. 9.

EMBLEM XXIX.

29

SOME Fiſhermen, once in the Iſland *Chios*, caſting their Nets into the Sea for Fiſh, drew out a *Tripos*, which was a kind of Veſſel made for the Service of the Altar, or (as others will have it) a round three legg'd Table, an admirable Work, and of an ineſtimable Value, not ſo much for the matter, though it was of Gold, as becauſe of the Artiſt *Vulcan*. This kindled Avarice in them, and all the other Fiſhers of that Iſland, who in vain often threw theirs with the ſame hopes. How often have the happy Succeſſes of one Prince deceiv'd himſelf and others, while they all endeavour to attain the ſame Fortune by the ſame Means? 'tis not ſo eaſy to follow another's Steps, or to go ones own over again, ſo as to tread always exactly in the ſame Tracks. A ſmall ſpace of time joyn'd with ſo great a Variety

of Accidents effaces the firſt, and whatſoever impreſſions are made afreſh, are quite different, and conſequently lead not to the ſame end. *Alexander* the Great has had many Followers and Imitators, who although nothing inferior to him in all Accompliſhments, both of Body and Mind, yet could never arrive to ſo high a pitch of Glory and Succeſs, at leaſt have not met with that Applauſe. To be good is in our Power, but to appear ſo to others is not. Fortune ſports with us even in Matters of Fame, nor does the ſame Succeſs always correſpond to the ſame Action. What befel *Sguntum*, did alſo happen to *Eſtepa*, yet of this there ſcarce remains any Memory. This little City, forſooth, deſerv'd not ſo much Glory; for what is ſcarce taken notice of in ſmall, in great ones is often highly extoll'd. The ſame thing is uſual in Virtues; the ſame ſhall create one Prince a good, another an ill Character; this is the Times and Subjects. If the Nobility be unruly, the Commonalty diſſolute and licentious; the Prince that tries to reduce them to Reaſon, will not eſcape the name of bad. Every Kingdom would have a Prince of its own Stamp. Whence 'tis, that though a Prince govern by the ſame good Methods, as have in anothers Government been applauded, yet ſhall he not be ſo well receiv'd, nor equally commended, except the Subjects of both be alike good.

Hence 'tis not without danger, for a Prince to be wholly guided by Examples, it being very difficult, if not abſolutely impoſſible, that in any one Caſe there ſhou'd be an equal Concurrence of all thoſe very Circumſtances which are in another. Theſe Second Cauſes of the Celeſtial Orbs turn round continually, and form each Day new Aſpects of Conſtellations, by which they produce their Effects, and the Changes of Things: And as the Stars once appearing never return exactly in the ſame manner again, ſo neither have they the like Operations upon things here below, and by the Variation of ſome Accidents, the Succeſſes too are varied, in which Chance has ſometimes more Efficacy

than

than Prudence. Others Examples in my Opinion deceive Princes no leſs than to follow none at all. Wherefore what has happened to others deſerves Conſideration, to eſtabliſh a prudent Policy; not that all its Maxims ſhould be ſquared by their Rule, and that expoſed to the Hazard and Uncertainty of Caſualties. Others Events are to be an Inſtruction not a Law (1). Thoſe Examples alone can be imitated with any Aſſurance, that reſult from Cauſes and Reaſons eſſentially good, and common to the Law of Nature, and that of Nations, for they are at all times the ſame. As alſo thoſe of ſuch Princes as have preſerved themſelves in Credit and Honour by Religion, Juſtice, and Clemency, and other Virtues and Moral Actions. Yet in theſe Caſes too careful Attention is required, for Manners, and the Reputation of Virtues often change, nor is it new or unuſual for a Prince to be ruined by the ſame, that at another time made him flouriſh. All theſe things therefore Prudence ought to conſider, and not put too much Confidence in its ſelf, but conſult the various Accidents that every day happen, not looking upon things to come as certain, however diſcreet Judgment and Diligence ſeem to have ſearcht and provided againſt them. For Events are not always correſpondent to their means, nor do they at all times depend upon the ordinary Connexion of Cauſes, where Humane Counſels uſually take Effect, but on that ſuperior Cauſe which directs all other. This makes our Thoughts and Suppoſitions ſo uncertain, and the hopes founded thereon ſo ſubject to Diſappointment. No one was in all Mens Opinion farther from the Empire, than *Claudius*, yet Heaven had then deſign him for *Tiberius*'s Succeſſor (2).

This is more common in the Election of Popes, wherein humane Induſtry is very often baffled. Di-

(1) *Flures aliorum eventis docentur.* Tac. 4 Ann. (2) *Quippe fama, ſpe, veneratione potius omnes deſtinabantur Imperio, quam quem fatalem Principem fortuna in occulto tenebat.* Tac. 3. Ann.

vine Providence does not always uſe natural Means, at leaſt ſometimes produces by the ſame different Effects, drawing ſtreight Lines by a crooked Rule, ſo what ſhould have been advantageous, proves frequently prejudicial to the Prince. The ſame Pillar of Fire in the Wilderneſs gave Light to God's People, and filled the Enemies Camp with Darkneſs. The greateſt Humane Prudence is oftentimes at a loſs; where a Man expected Security, he ſometimes finds Ruin, as it happened to *Viriatus*, who was betrayed and killed by thoſe very Ambaſſadors he had ſent to the Conſul, *Servilius*. A Misfortune we have once ſuſtained, we don't eaſily believe we ſhall ſuffer again; but on the contrary, preſently perſuade our ſelves Proſperity will continue, or at leaſt return. This Confidence has been deſtructive to many in that it diſarms Prudence. This World is a vaſt Sea of Events, toſſed by various and unknown Cauſes. Let us not be too much elated, if by chance we bring our Nets to Shore full with the Succeſs of our Wiſhes; nor on the other ſide, dejected if they prove empty; we ought always to caſt them, and expect the Conſequence with the ſame equality of Mind. 'Tis impoſſible for that Man to enjoy any Reſt, who promiſing himſelf a proſperous Iſſue of his Deſign, ſees a contrary Event, and is deſtitute of a Remedy for it. Misfortunes cannot ſurprize one that expects the worſt, nor will diſappointed Hopes expoſe him to Ridicule, as they did the *Perſians* in the War againſt the *Athenians*, who had a great while before furniſhed themſelves with Marble from *Paros* to inſcribe the Victory on, which their hopes had long ago anticipated; but being afterwards overcome, the *Athenians* made uſe of that very Marble to erect to Revenge a Statue, an everlaſting Monument of the *Perſian* Folly. To preſume to know things to come, is in a manner a Rebellion againſt God, and a fooliſh Contention with Divine Wiſdom, which has indeed permitted Human Prudence to gueſs at, but not foretel things of this Nature, that in this uncertainty of Accidents it may acknowledge it ſelf more ſubject

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to, and dependent on its Creator. This makes Policy ſo cautious and provident in its Reſolutions, well knowing how ſhort-ſighted the greateſt Humane Wiſdom is in Futurity, and how uncertain thoſe Judgments are, which are grounded upon Preſumption. If Princes could foreſee future Contingences, their Councils would not ſo often miſcarry. And this I take to be the Reaſon, that as ſoon as *Saul* was elected King, God infuſed into him the Spirit of Prophecy (3).

From what hath been ſaid, may be gathered, that although Antiquity be venerable, and there be really ſomething Royal in the ways ſhe hath opened to Poſterity, for Experience to paſs more ſecurely; yet 'tis viſible many are ruined by time, ſo that they grow impaſſable; and conſequently the Prince ought not to be ſo diffident of himſelf, ſo religiouſly to tread his Anceſtors Steps, as not upon occaſion to venture to go another way of his own. Innovations are not always dangerous; it is ſometimes convenient to introduce them. Were there no Alterations, the World would never be perfected, which advances in Wiſdom as it does in Age. The moſt ancient Cuſtoms were new. And what we now ſee without Example, will be hereafter a Precedent. What we now follow by Experience, was begun without it. Our Age alſo may leave many glorious Inventions for Poſterity to imitate; nor is every thing the Ancients have done the beſt, no more than all the Moderns do now, will be approved by After-ages. Many Abuſes have deſcended to us from our Anceſtors, and many ſevere Savage Cuſtoms of the Ancients time has mitigated and changed for the better.

(3) 1 Sam. 10. 6.

EMBLEM XXX.

INgenious *Rome*, that Virtue and Valour might not want Trophies to Honour and Recompence Conquerors, excite Emulation in Posterity, and give Example to her other Citizens, invented the *Columnæ Rostratæ*, Pillars whereon were hung the Heads of such Ships, as returned Victorious after long Voyages, thus eternizing the Memory of Sea-fights; one of which Monuments was raised to the Consul *Duillius*, for the signal Victory he obtained over the *Carthaginians*; as also to *Marcus Æmilius* for another. This Trophy gave occasion to the present Emblem, wherein the strength and firmness of the Pillar represents Wisdom, and the Heads of the Ships that had run through so many Perils upon the Ocean, Experience, the Mother of Prudence and Support of that Wisdom. This has things

universal

univerſal and perpetual for its Object, that particular Actions. The one is acquired by Speculation and Study; the other (which is an Habit of the Mind) by the Knowledge of Good and Evil, and by Uſe and Exerciſe; both jointly make a perfect Prince, one alone is not ſufficient. Whence it eaſily appears how dangerous the Government of thoſe is, who are addicted only to the Contemplation of Sciences, and a Solitary Life, for ſuch want generally Uſe and Practice, and ſo can profit little by their Actions, they being either raſh, or mean and abject; eſpecially if they be tranſported with Exceſs of Fear or Zeal. Their Diſcourſes, indeed, and Writings (wherein more of a ſpeculative than practical Genius reigns) may be ſerviceable to the Prince to awaken his Mind, and furniſh him with Matter for Converſation, provided they be ſeaſonably uſed, and with Experience. Phyſick preſcribes Remedies for Diſeaſes, which however the Phyſician never applies without firſt examining the Qualities of the Diſtemper, the Nature and Conſtitution of his Patient. Had *Hannibal* by this Conſideration moderated his barbarous Arrogance, he had not took *Phormio* for a Fool, for teaching the Art of War, when himſelf was no Soldier; for although Speculation alone does by no means acquire Practice, it being extreamly difficult for the Hand to Copy accurately all that the Mind has drawn, or for whatever the Imagination has propoſed to be accompliſhed to the Eyes Satisfaction; eſpecially when War depends upon ſuch a Variety of Accidents that Experience her ſelf ſometimes knows not what is to be done. Yet, for all this, *Phormio* might have given *Hannibal* (as great and experienced a General as he was) ſuch Precepts as would have taught him to correct his treacherous and ſubtle Nature, to leave off his Cruelty to conquered Nations, and proud Carriage to ſuch as had recourſe to him for Protection. He undoubtedly had learnt to make a better Uſe of the Victory at *Cannæ*, to ſhun the De-

baucheries of *Capua*, and gain the Favour of *Antiochus*. King *Ferdinand* the Catholick, uſed on ſome Occaſions the Miniſtery of the Religious; but whether to manage or only prepare Affairs, I can't ſay; or if it was not, perhaps to ſpare the Expence of Ambaſſies, or prevent the Inconveniences uſually ariſing from Diſputes between the Nobility about Precedency. However Secrets are not ſecurely intruſted to them, they depending more upon the Obedience of their immediate Superiors, than that of Princes; and if they accidentally die, into their Hands will fall all private Letters and Papers. Beſides, for Neglect of Duty they are not puniſhable, and their Example is a Diſturbance to Religious Tranquility, and the Practices of Policy infect their Candor and Simplicity. They are better Phyſicians for Spiritual than Temporal Diſtempers. Every Sphere has its peculiar Activity. I don't in the mean time deny that ſometimes there are to be found among them, Perſons who have had their Education in Courts, without that Narrowneſs of Soul which uſually accompanies a monaſtick and retired Life, Wits ſo cultivated by Learning and Obſervation, that Affairs even of the greateſt Conſequence may be ſafely committed to them, eſpecially ſuch as reſpect the Publick Quiet, and the Good of Chriſtendom; for Modeſty in Converſation, well ordered Virtues, the Gravity of, and Deference paid to a Religious Habit, are no ſmall Recommendations in Prince's Courts to gain Audience, and prepare Minds to receive Impreſſions.

Experiences drawn from others Misfortunes and Dangers, are indeed happy, but not ſo effectually perſuaſive as our own; the former we ſee or hear only; theſe we ſenſibly feel too. They are too deeply engraved, as I may ſay, on our Breaſts to be ſoon effaced. Shipwrecks deſcried from Shoar, are ſomething more affecting than anothers Relation of them; but he who has had the Fortune to eſcape them, hangs

hangs up his Rudder in the Temple of Experience for a perpetual Memorial of it. So that though a Prince will improve by both, yet his own private ones he ought moſt to regard, particularly obſerving this, that if they proceed from any fault, Self-love is too apt to excuſe them; and that Truth late or never comes to his Ears to undeceive him, being either ſtopped in the Palace-Gates by Malice, or concealed by Flattery, which makes Virtue not dare to unmask it for fear of bringing it ſelf into Danger, becauſe it belongs not to it, or at leaſt it ſees all would be to no purpoſe. And thus Princes ignorant of what neglect they have been guilty, how and where they have done amiſs in their Councils or Actions, cannot correct their Errors, nor by their Experience prove more cautious and prudent for the future. There ought to be no Fault committed, no Miſcarriage happen in the State, whereof there ſhould not be preſent faithful and ſincere Information given the Prince. There's no Senſation or Pain in any part of the Body, but immediately is carried to the Heart, as the Prince of Life, where the Soul has its chief Reſidence, and as that whoſe principal Intereſt it is to preſerve the other Members intire. How happy were it, if Kings well knew what Evils their Kingdoms laboured under, we ſhould not ſee them ſo inveterate. Whereas the only thing now aimed at in Courts, is to divert the Prince's Ears with Muſick, and ſuch like Entertainments, that he may not hear his Subjects Complaints, nor ſay with *Saul*, *What aileth the People that they weep* (1)? And ſo he is ignorant of their Neceſſities and Calamities, at leaſt knows them too late. Though the Adventure of *Jonas*, whom a great Fiſh had vomited up alive, was very freſh; though his Publick Cries made a Noiſe over the whole City of *Nineveh*,

(1) 1 Sam. 11. 5.

whoſe

whoſe Deſtruction he threatned within forty Days; yet was the King the laſt that heard of it, every Citizen, from the greateſt to the leaſt, having already mourned, and put on ſackcloath (2). Who is there has the Courage to tell a Prince the whole Truth, or diſcover the Evils that menace him? The whole Army of *Bethulia* came to *Holoferne's* Tent with great Cries, becauſe the Sun was already riſen, yet did not the Officers of the Bed-Chamber dare to awake him, nor call him by his Name (3), but made only a Noiſe with their Feet; till when the Evidence of the Danger obliged them to enter, the Enemy had already cut off his Head and hung it upon their Walls (4). Thus it generally happens, the Prince firſt diſcovers Faults, when there's either no Remedy for them, or at leaſt it cannot be applied without great Difficulty. His Miniſters perſwade him all things ſucceed well, which makes him negligently loſe all Experience, and the Inſtructions of Neceſſity, the beſt Miſtreſs of Prudence. For although Proſperity proceed from Prudence, this does not from Proſperity. The principal Office of Prudence in Princes, or others concerned with them, is to teach them to know experimentally all Mens Humours, which are diſcernible from the Dreſs, the Looks, the Motions of the Eyes and Actions, and laſtly from the Speech. Marks which God Almighty thought ſo neceſſary to Human Commerce, that he has wrote them viſibly upon every one's Forehead (5). Without them neither the Prince would know how to Govern, nor Men of Affairs obtain their Ends. Mens Minds are as various as their Faces (6); and although Reaſon be in its ſelf one and the ſame, the ways reaſoning take in the reſearch of it, are widely different; and the

(2) Jon. 3. 5. (3) Judith 14.10. (4) Ibid. (5) Eccl. 19. 26. (6) Eccl. 19. 27.

Deluſions

Deluſions of the Imagination uſually are ſo great, that ſome Men appear as irrational as the very Brutes. Wherefore all are not to be treated with in the ſame Method, but this muſt be varied, ſuitably to the Perſon's Nature, as they change the Bit according to the Horſe's Mouth. Some Tempers are generous and exalted, with theſe Reputation and Honour are moſt prevailing: Others mean and abject, which are wholly lead by private Intereſt and Advantage. Some are bold and enterprizing, theſe are to be gently turned from the Precipice: Others ſlothful and timorous, which ſhould be ſo lead by Buſineſs, that they may ſee the Vanity of Danger. Some are naturally ſervile, theſe Threats and Fear of Puniſhment has more Influence on than Intreaties: Others arrogant, and are tamed by Authority, being by compliance ruined. One is full of Fire, and ſo quick at Buſineſs, that with the ſame Expedition he diſpatches it, he immediately repents; this Man 'tis hard giving Counſel to: Another is ſlow and irreſolute, whom time muſt teach at his own coſt. Some are ignorant and ſtupid, theſe are not to be convinced by ſubtle and refined Arguments, but palpable Demonſtrations. Others ſceptically diſpute every thing, and are guilty of an Exceſs of Subtilty, theſe muſt be abandoned to themſelves, to fly as Hawks till they be tired, then called to the Lure of Reaſon, and the Buſineſs in hand. Some refuſe all Mens Counſel, are wholly guided by their own; to theſe you are not to give any, but ſo point as it were to them, and give ſuch Hints in a large Diſcourſe upon the Matter, that they may of themſelves light on them, which will make them approved as their own Off-ſpring, and accordingly executed; others know neither how to act nor reſolve without Counſel, with ſuch as theſe all the Perſuaſion in the World is to no purpoſe, ſo the Buſineſs which ſhould have paſſed through their hands may be better tranſacted with their Counſellors.

The

The ſame Variety which is viſible in Diſpoſitions, is found alſo in Affairs; ſome are eaſy at firſt, but afterwards increaſe as Rivers by the Affluence of Rivulets, as it were of divers Inconveniencies and Difficulties, theſe are overcome by Expedition in not giving time to their Increaſe. Others on the contrary, like the Winds riſe in Storms, but end calmly, which require Patience and Conſtancy. The Enterprize of ſome is full of Uncertainty and Danger, in that when one leaſt thinks the Depth of Difficulties appears, here one muſt proceed with Caution and Courage, with Care, and a Mind provided to encounter any Accident. Some require Secrecy, theſe are to be carried on by Mines, that the happy Succeſs may break out before one can perceive it: Others can't be obtained but at certain Times, in theſe you ought to have all the Means ready immediately to hoiſt Sail upon the firſt favourable Blaſt of Wind. Some take Root gradually, and demand Time to come to Maturity; here the Seed of Diligence is to be Sowed and the Fruit waited for: Others except they ſucceed preſently never do at all, which muſt be taken by Aſſault, by employing all Methods at once. Some are ſo delicate and brittle, that like Glaſſes they are with a Blaſt formed and broken, theſe are to be tenderly handled: the Difficulty of others is inhanced by being too much deſired and purſued, here the Arts of Lovers are uſeful, whoſe Paſſions are inflamed by Slight and Diſdain. In a word the Management of a few Affairs demands Precipitation; in more Force prevails; in many Patience, and in almoſt all Reaſon and Intereſt. Importunity has ſpoil'd abundance of Affairs, but it has alſo furthered many, as St. *Jerome* ſaid of the Woman of *Canaan* (7). Men are no leſs weary of refuſing than granting. Opportunity is the thing contributes moſt to the good

(7) *Quod precibus non potuit tædio impetravit.* D. Hieron.

Management

Management of Affairs; he who knows how to uſe this ſhall ſcarce ever Miſcarry. The Husbandman that is well acquainted with the Nature of his Soil, and knows the proper Seed-time, may expect a plentiful Harveſt. There's a time when all things are granted, another wherein all are denied, according as the Mind ſhall be diſpoſed, in which you may eaſily ſee the Increaſe and Decreaſe of Buſineſs, for being lopped like Trees in a proper Month, they ſprout out the more. Some Addreſs in propoſing and perſuading by Honeſty, Profit, and Eaſe; Prudence in the Choice of Means, and ſome other natural Endowments infinitely conduce to the Succeſs of Affairs, provided thoſe Gifts of Nature be accompanied with a diſcreet kind of Complaiſance and natural Grace that captivates the Mind; for ſome Mens Looks and Behaviour are ſo diſagreeable and ungenteel, that they even ſhew one how to refuſe their Petitions; but although theſe Means joyned with good Judgment and Induſtry have a ſtrange Effect on Buſineſs; yet too much Confidence ought not to be put in them, nor yet ſhould they be deſpaired of. Light Affairs ſometimes breed great Difficulties; and on the other ſide, the lighteſt Cauſes often obſtruct the moſt weighty. The greateſt Prudence is ſometimes blind in a Matter as clear as the Sun; Divine Providence that has already long ago determined in his eternal Decree, what ſhall become of every thing, being thus pleaſed to ſport with Humane Affairs.

From this Variety of Capacities and Affairs, appears of how much Concern it is to the Prince, to make Choice of Miniſters fit to manage them, each Man being no more capable of all manner of Buſineſs, than every Inſtrument uſeful for all Works. Perſons of a violent Temper, the Cowardly and Diffident, the Rough and Unpleaſant in Converſation, who

who can never ſerve the times, nor adapt themſelves to others Natures and Cuſtoms, rather ſpoil Affairs than compoſe them; are readier at making, than reconciling Enemies, fitter to be Informers than Mediators. Affairs require Perſons of very different Qualities to Adminiſter them. That Man is above all the moſt proper, who in his Air and Words diſcovers a Soul of Candor and Veracity, whoſe private Perſon procures him Love and Eſteem; in whom Jealouſy and Cunning are from Art not Nature, who can keep them in the moſt ſecret Place of his Breaſt when they require Concealment; who propoſes with Sweetneſs, hears with Patience, replies with Force, diſſembles with Diſcretion, urges with Attention; who obliges by Liberality, perſuades by Reaſon, and convinces by Experience; who in a word deſigns prudently, and executes effectually. It was with theſe Miniſters, King *Ferdinand* the Catholick was able to ſucceed in all his Enterprizes. The good Choice of theſe is of no leſs Conſequence, than the Conſervation and Enlargement of any State, for as much as all depends upon their Adminiſtration; more Kingdoms having been deſtroyed by their Ignorance than by that of Princes. Let this therefore be your Highneſs's chiefeſt Care to examine diligently all the Qualities of your Subjects, and after having given them any Place, look now and then into their Actions, and not be preſently taken with, and deluded by the Draught of their Memoirs. There being very few Miniſters, who in them draw themſelves to the Life? In Effect, who will be ſo candid, ſo much a Stranger to ſelf-love, as to confeſs what good he has neglected to do, what Evil to prevent? It will be much if he with Sincerity relate what he has actually done; ſome uſing to write to the Prince not what they have done or ſaid, but what they ought to do or ſay. They have thought of, and deſigned every thing before

before-hand; they foreſaw, nay, and executed all Affairs enter their Cloſets like miſhapen Logs, but immediately come out again, as from ſome Statuaries Shop, exquiſite Figures; 'tis there they are varniſhed, gilded, and painted, to beautify them, and enhance their Value. There Judgments are form'd, and abundance of Preventions devis'd ever after the Succeſs; there they are more powerful than God himſelf; make the paſt Time preſent, and the preſent paſt, by changing the Date of their Actions, as they ſee convenient. They are Miniſters who tranſact Affairs in Imagination only; Men that court Applauſe, and ſteal Rewards by their falſe Letters: Whence proceed the greateſt Inconveniences in the World, in that the Prince's Privy Counſellors being directed by thoſe Intelligences and Advices, if they are falſe, the Orders and Reſolutions founded upon them will neceſſarily be ſo too. The Holy Scripture teaches us how Miniſters, and particularly Ambaſſadors are oblig'd punctually to execute their Commiſſions; for we ſee in that *Hazael* had from *Benhadad*, King of *Syria* to conſult the Prophet *Eliſha* about his Diſeaſe, he chang'd not one word, nor dared ſo much as to ſpeak in the Third Perſon (8).

Miniſters of extraordinary Experience are ſometimes dangerous, either for that the Prince puts too much Confidence in them, or becauſe biaſſed by Self-love, or preſuming upon their own Abilities, they ſeldom think thoroughly of Affairs, and born as 'twere to overcome the moſt violent Tempeſts, deſpiſe the ſmall Storms of Inconveniences and Difficulties, whereby they evidently expoſe themſelves to Danger. Thoſe are in ſome Caſes much ſafer, who as yet Novices in Navigation keep cloſe to the Shore.

(8) 2 Kings 8. 9.

Though

Though both together compoſe the beſt Counſels; in that the Experience of thoſe is qualified by the Timorouſneſs and Caution of theſe; in Debates between the Flegmatick and Cholerick, the Bold and Circumſpect, the Quick and Slow, there reſults a wholſome Compoſition of Opinions, as there does in Bodies from the contrariety of Humours.

EMBLEM XXXI.

A Pillar ſupports it ſelf, balanced by its own weight. If it once leans on either ſide, it preſently falls, and that the ſooner the heavier it is. Thus Empires ſtand, and are preſerv'd by their own Authority and Repute; when they begin to loſe that, they begin to fall; nor is any Earthly Power ſufficient to ſtrengthen and prop them (1). Let no one truſt too much to a ſtreight Pillar, when it inclines never ſo little, the weakeſt Hand promotes its Ruin; that very leaning I know not how inviting to puſh it; but when falling, the ſtrongeſt is unable to uphold it. One ſingle Action ſometimes overthrows the beſt eſtabliſh'd Reputa-

(1) *Nihil rerum mortalium tam inſtabile ac fluxum eſt, quam fama potentiæ, non ſua vi nixa.* Tac. 13. Ann.

tion which a great many can't erect again. For ſcarce any Stain can ſo thoroughly be waſhed out, but ſome ſign of it will remain, nor any Opinion in Mens Minds that can be entirely effaced. Dreſs the Infamy as carefully as poſſible, it will ſtill leave ſome Scars. Wherefore, if the Crown ſtand not fixed and firm upon this perpendicular Pillar of Reputation, it will ſoon fall to the Ground. *Alphonſo* the Fifth, King of *Arragon*, by his Credit not only preſerved his own Kingdom, but conquered that of *Naples*. At the ſame time *John* the Second, King of *Caſtile*, for his mean Spirit was ſo far the Contempt of his Subjects, that he admitted what Laws they thought fit to impoſe. The Provinces which under *Julius Cæſar* and *Auguſtus*, Princes of great Eſteem, were Firm and Loyal, rebell'd in the Reign of *Galba*, a Man ſlothful, and univerſally deſpiſed (2). Royal Blood and Large Dominions are inſufficient to maintain Reputation, where private Virtue and Magnanimity are wanting; as it is not the Frame of a Glaſs, but its Intrinſick Excellency makes it valuable. Regal Majeſty has not more Force than Reſpect, which uſually ariſes from Admiration and Fear, and from theſe Obedience and Subjection, without which the Prince's Dignity cannot long maintain it ſelf, being founded upon the Opinion of others; and the Royal Purple will be rather a Mark of Deriſion, than Eminence and Majeſty, as was viſible in *Henry* the Fourth. It is the Spirits and Native Heat that keep the Body upright; the Legs alone would not be a ſufficient Baſis. And what is Reputation, but a kind of fine Spirit kindled in all Mens Opinions, which raiſes and ſupports the Scepter. Let the Prince therefore take all poſſible care that his Actions may be ſuch as will nouriſh and foment theſe Spirits. The *Parthians* grounded their Peti-

(2) *Melius Divo Julio, Divoque Auguſto notos eorum animos Galbam, & infracta tributa, hoſtiles Spiritus induiſſe.* Tac. 4. Hiſt.

tion

tion upon Reputation, when they asked *Tiberius* to send as of his own accord, one of *Phraates*'s Sons to *Rome* (3).

This Repute and Authority has yet greater Influence in War, where Fear is of more Efficacy than the Sword, and Opinion than Strength, whether of Mind or Body, and therefore to be taken no less Notice of than Force of Arms. This made *Suetonius Paulinus* very prudently advise *Otho* to endeavour always to keep the *Roman* Senate on his side, whose Authority could never be wholly Darkned, though it might be sometimes Eclipsed (4). This also made many Countries submit to it, and seek its Protection (5), in the Differences that were between those Great Generals, *Cæsar* and *Pompey*, each his principal Aim was to Conquer rather the Reputation than Arms of his Rival; well knowing that Minds and Forces follow more the noise of Fame, than that of the Drum. King *Philip* the Second was eminently skilful in this Art of preserving Reputation; having by it from his Cabinet so managed the Reigns of both Worlds, that he always had them at Command.

Nay, even when the Ruin of States is apparent, 'tis better to suffer them, than ones Credit to be destroy'd, for without this 'tis impossible to re-establish them. For which Reason, though the Republick of *Venice* saw it self lost in that violent Storm of the League of *Cambray*, yet that most Prudent and Valiant Senate thought it better to shew their Constancy on that Occasion, than to betray any Cowardice by using dishonourable Means. Desire of Dominion makes Princes mean. For want of this

(3) *Nomine tantum, & auctore opus, ut sponte Cæsaris, ut genus Arsacis, ripam apud Euphratis cerneretur.* Tac. 6. Ann. (4) *Nunquam obscura nomina, etsi aliquando obumbrentur.* Tac. 2. Hist. (5) *Erat grande momentum, in nomine Urbis, & prætexta senatus.* Tac. 1. Hist.

Conſideration, *Otho* with ſtretch'd out Hands ſeem'd to adore the People, he embraced every one, and ſhewed all the ſervileneſs imaginable to gain them to his Party, and ſo procur'd the Empire by thoſe means which declared him unworthy of it (6). Even in Indigence and Neceſſity it is not fit to uſe means violent and inglorious, or ſeek the Aſſiſtance of Foreigners; for both are dangerous, and neither ſeek to relieve want; nay, Reputation is the better Remedy for it. One Man is as rich in Opinion, as another in the abundance of hid Treaſures. The Old *Romans* were undoubtedly perſwaded ſo, when in ſeveral occaſions of Adverſity, the Provinces offering them Money and Corn, they return'd Thanks, but would not accept them. Two Legions having been caſt away at Sea, to recruit the Loſs, *Gaul*, *Spain*, and *Italy*, ſent Money, Horſes, and Arms; *Germanicus* commended their Affection, and accepted only of the Horſes and Arms, but not the Money (7). In two other Preſents made the *Roman* Senate, of Golden Cups of great Value, in time of extraordinary Neceſſity, the firſt time thanks were given the Ambaſſadors for their Care and Magnificence, and the Cup of leaſt value accepted (8). The other, Thanks were return'd, but the Preſents rejected (9).

The Authority and Reputation of a Prince proceeds from ſeveral Cauſes; ſome of which reſpect his Perſon, others his State. The former ſort are either of Body or Mind: Of the Body, as if it be of a ſuitable Frame, and a Diſpoſition capable of maintaining Majeſty; though the natural Defects of

(6) *Nec deerat Otho protendens manus adorare vulgum, jacere oſcula, & omnia ſervuliter pro dominatione.* Tac. 1. Hiſt. (7) *Caterum ad ſuppleada exercitus damna, certavere Gallia, Hiſpania, Italia, quod cuique promptum, arma, equos, aurum offerentes, quorum laudato ſtudio Germanicus, armis modo & equis ad bellum ſumptis, propria pecunia militem juvit.* Tac. 1. Ann. (8) *Legatis gratiæ actæ pro magnificentia curaque, Patera quæ minimi ponderis fuit accepta.* Liv. l. 22. (9) *Gratiæ actæ, aurum non acceptum.* Liv. 22.

Body

Body are often ſupplied by Virtues of Mind. *Charles Emanuel*, Duke of *Savoy*, had no ſmall Imperfections of Body; yet his great and generous Soul, his lively Wit, his Complaiſance, and other Courtly Accompliſhments made him admired by all. A grave and auſtere Carriage make him paſs for a Prince, who without that would be but very contemptible; yet this Air ought to be temper'd with Courteſy and good Humour, that Authority may be ſupported without incurring Hatred, or the Character of Arrogant; a thing *Tacitus* commends in *Germanicus* (10). The Riches and Splendor of Apparel is another thing, procures Admiration and Authority: for the Vulgar are taken with theſe Outſides, and Mankind admits the Eyes no leſs than the Underſtanding into its Counſel. Whence *Alphonſo* the Wiſe, very well ſaid, *That Cloaths contribute much to make Men known for either Noble or Baſe; and the Ancient Sages oblig'd their Princes to Cloths of Gold, and Silk, and beſet with Jewels, that they might be known at ſight without inquiry.* When King *Abaſuerus* gave Audience, he wore Royal Apparel, and ſhone in Gold and precious Stones (11). It was on this account God commanded *Moſes to make Holy Garments for Aaron, his Brother, for Glory and for Beauty* (12). And he accordingly made them of Purple, embroidered with Gold, and adorned with other things of great value (13), which his Succeſſors wore after him; and at this day the Popes do, though with greater Prudence, and leſs Expence. And indeed, if his Holineſs be an Arm of God upon the Earth; if the Voice of his Cenſures be like that of the Almighty's Thunder (14), 'tis but juſt (whatever Impiety cavils) that as God covers himſelf with Light (15), the Garment of Heaven, ſo ſhe ſhould be deck'd with Earthly

(10) *Viſuque & auditu juxta venerabilis, cum magnitudinem, & gravitatem ſummæ fortunæ retineret invidiam & arrogantiam effugeret.* Tac. 2. Ann. (11) Heſt. 15. 9. (12) Exod. 28. 2. (13) Ibid. (14) Job 40. 4. (15) Pſalm 103. 2.

Pomp, and carried upon Mens Shoulders (16). The ſame has place in Princes, who are God's Vicegerents in Temporals (17).

Large and ſumptuous Palaces magnificently furniſh'd (18), a Noble and Eminent Family (19), Guards of Nations of approved Fidelity (20), the Splendor and Grandeur of a Court, and other Publick Oſtentations do alſo ſet out a Prince's Power to the beſt advantage, and give an additional Majeſty. Illuſtrious Titles of States Conquered or Hereditary, which are attributed to him, are alſo Manifeſtations of his Eminency. Thus, *Iſaiah*, by divers Names and Titles declares the Majeſty of the Supream Creator, and Prince of all things (21). By theſe therefore your Highneſs is to ſtudy to enhance the Luſtre of your Royal Perſon, provided however they be not aſcrib'd out of Levity or Flattery, but from an univerſal Applauſe founded upon Virtue and true Valour, ſuch as were thoſe of your Highneſs's Anceſtors, *Ferdinand* the Holy, *Alphonſo* the Great, *Sancho* the Brave, *James* the Warlike, *Alphonſo* the Noble, and many others.

The Excellency of Virtues, and in general all natural Perfections requiſite in a good Governor, procure a Prince Eſteem and Authority. One alone that ſhall ſhine in him, whether it reſpect Peace or War; abundantly ſupplies the defect of all others, as if he apply himſelf to Buſineſs, though not with abſolute ſufficiency; for to leave all to the Care of Miniſters infinitely diminiſhes the Force of Majeſty. This was *Salluſt*'s Counſel to *Livia* (22). Any one Reſolution the Prince ſhall have taken very opportunely without anothers Advice: One Reſentment, and to have once ſhewn the Extent of his Power, though upon the ſlighteſt Occaſion, make him fear'd and reſpected; as does Conſtancy of Mind in both Fortunes, for the

(16) Job 40. 5. (17) Pſalm 81. 6. (18) Eccl. 2. 4 (19) Prov. 22. 29. (20) Job 25. 2. (21) Iſaiah 9. 6. (22) *Neve Tiberius cum principatus reſolveret, cuncta ad ſenatum vocando.* Tac. 1. Ann.

People

People look upon it as supernatural, not to be puff'd up by Prosperity, or by Adversity dejected; they believe there is something more than Humane in such a Prince.

Equality in Actions is another thing that greatly advances a Prince's Character, it being a sign of a serene and prudent Judgment, if he dispence his Favours, or revenge Injuries out of Season, he will indeed be fear'd, but not esteem'd; as *Vitellius* experienc'd (23).

Farther to maintain Reputation, Prudence not to attempt what cannot be obtain'd, very much contributes. For so his Power will seem infinite, if the Prince engage in no War wherein he cannot Conquer, or demand nothing of his Subjects but what is just and feasible, not giving the least ground for Disobedience. To enterprize, and not accomplish, is in a Prince inglorious; in Subjects rash.

Princes are valued at the same Rate they set upon themselves. For altho' Honour consists in the esteem of others; yet this is generally form'd out of a preconceiv'd Opinion of every one, which (at least if prudent) is greater or less, according as the Mind gathers strength from the Valour it finds in it self, or loses it, if without Merit. The greatest Souls are most aspiring (24); the Cowardly dare attempt nothing, judging themselves unworthy the least Honour. Nor is this always a virtuous Humility and Modesty in this sort of Men, but a baseness of Mind, which renders them deservedly contemptible to every one, while they pretend they aim at nothing higher, because they are sensible of their want of Merit. *Blæsus* almost seem'd unworthy the Empire, merely for refusing the offer of it (25). Unhappy is that State, whose Head thinks himself undeserving the Title of Prince, or who pre-

(23) *Vitellium subitis offensis, aut intempestivis blanditiis mutabilem contemnebant metuebantque.* Tac. 2. Hist. (24) *Optimus quisque mortalium altissima cupere.* Tac. 4. Ann. (25) *Adeo non Principatus appetens, ut parum effugerat ne dignus crederetur.* Tac. 3. Hist.

ſumes he Merits more; the firſt is meanneſs of Spirit; this latter is accounted Tyranny.

In theſe Endowments of the Mind, Chance alſo has place; for a Prince happens often, even with them to be deſpiſed, when Prudence is unhappy, or Events anſwer not Deſigns. Some Governments, good in themſelves, are notwithſtanding ſo unfortunate, that nothing ſucceeds under them; which is not always the Fault of Humane Providence, but the Divine ſo ordains, when the particular Ends of this Inferior Government, agree not with thoſe that Superior and Univerſal one propoſes.

This I add withal, that all theſe good Qualities of Mind and Body, are not ſufficient to maintain the Prince's Reputation, if his Family be diſſolute; it is on that depends all his Authority, nor is any thing more difficult, than a regular Management of a Family. It uſually ſeems eaſier to Govern a whole Country than one Houſe; either becauſe a Prince intent on greater things is negligent of this, or Self-love is an Obſtacle, or for want of Courage, or out of a natural Slothfulneſs, or at leaſt, becauſe his Attendants ſo blind his Eyes, that his Judgment can't apply Remedies. It was none of the leaſt Commendations of *Agricola*, that he had curb'd his own Family, never ſuffering his Domeſticks to intermeddle with Publick Affairs (26). *Galba* was a good Emperor, but an ill Maſter of his Palace, no leſs Vices reigning there than in that of *Nero* (27). *Tiberius*, among other things, was commended for having modeſt Servants. No Government can be well inſtituted, where Courtiers Command, and Rob, or Proſtitute its Authority by their Pride and Vices (28). If they are good, they make the Prince the ſame; if wicked, he though really otherwiſe, will appear ſo

(26) *Primum domum ſuam coercuit, quod pleriſque haud minus arduum eſt, quam Provinciam regere; nihil per libertos, ſervoſque publicæ rei.* Tac. in Vit. Agr. (27) *Jam afferebant cuncta venalia potentes liberti ſervorum manus ſubitis avidæ tanquam apud ſenem feſtinantes.* Tac. 1. Hiſt. (28) *Modeſta ſenectus.* Tac. 4. Ann.

too.

too. From them the Prince's Actions have their value, on them depends his good or ill Character; in as much as others Virtues and Vices are wont to be imputed to him. If his Domeſticks are prudent, they conceal his Faults; nay, as much as poſſible vindicate every Action of his, and by extolling, render them more illuſtrious; they relate them with a Grace that challenges Admiration. Whatever comes from the Prince into Publick, is great in the Peoples Eyes. Princes in their Palaces are like other Men, but Reſpect makes them imagined greater, and their Retirement from common Converſation covers their Sloth and Weakneſs: Whereas, if their Servants are guilty of Imprudence or Infidelity, the People by them, as through Chinks diſcover it, and quit that Veneration they before had for them.

The Prince's Reputation redounds from that of the State, if this be provided with good Laws and Magiſtrates; if Juſtice be obſerv'd, and one Religion maintain'd therein; if it pay due Reſpect and Obedience to Majeſty; if Care be taken of Corn and Plenty, if Arts and Arms flouriſh, and one may in all things ſee a conſtant Order and Harmony proceeding from the Prince's Hands; and laſtly, if the States Happineſs depends upon the Prince himſelf: For if that can be injoy'd without this, they will ſoon deſpiſe him. The Labourers in *Egypt* regard not the Skies (29), for the *Nile* by its Inundations watering and making their Land fertile, they have no need of Clouds.

(29) *Aratores in Ægypto Cœlum non ſuſpiciunt.* Plin.

EMBLEM XXXII.

THE Oyſter conceives by the Dew of Heaven, and in its pureſt Womb, the Pearl, that moſt beautiful Embryo is born. No one would imagine its exquiſite Delicacy, to ſee ſo courſe and unpoliſh'd an outſide. It is thus, the Senſes are uſually deceiv'd in their Cenſure of Exterior Actions, when they judge only by the outward appearance of things, without ſearching the inſide. Truth depends not upon Opinion: Let the Prince deſpiſe that, if he be ſenſible he act agreeable to Reaſon. He will never dare enterprize any thing difficult or extraordinary, if Fear prompts him to conſult the Sentiments of the Mob. In himſelf he ſhould look for himſelf, not in others. The Art of Government ſuffers not it ſelf to be diſturb'd by thoſe thin Shadows of Reputation. The King has the greateſt, who

who knows perfectly how to manage Affairs both of Peace and War. The Honour of Subjects the leaſt thing blemiſhes, whereas that of Kings is inſeparable from the Publick Good; this continuing, that increaſes, failing, it periſhes. Beſides, Government would be too dangerous, had it no better Foundation than the Laws of Reputation, inſtituted by the giddy Rabble. Contempt of ſuch is Courage and Steddineſs in a Prince, whoſe Sovereign Law is the Peoples Safety. *Tiberius* heretofore gloried in having ſhewn himſelf fearleſs of Affronts and Scandal for the Publick Benefit (1). A great and lively Soul is nothing affraid of the uncertain Rumours of the Multitude and Common Fame. He who deſpiſes this imaginary, will thereby obtain real and ſolid Glory. This *Fabius Maximus* well knew, when he preferr'd the Publick Safety before the Clamours and Complaints of the People, accuſing his Delays; as did alſo the Great Captain in the Captivity of Duke *Valentin*, who, though he had ſurrendered, and intruſted himſelf to his ſafe Conduct; yet for ſome freſh Plots he was inform'd he had laid againſt his Catholick Majeſty, kept him Priſoner, thinking the Dangers his Liberty might cauſe more to be reſpected, than the Aſperſions were thrown upon him for the Breach of his Parole; from which, at that time, it ſeem'd by no means proper for him publickly to clear himſelf. King *Sancho* the Brave, was a Prince renown'd and warlike, yet Deaf to the Calumnies of his Subjects, he declin'd the Battel of *Xeres* †. 'Tis better for a Prince to be feared by his Enemies as Prudent, than as Raſh and Precipitous.

My Deſign by this Diſcourſe is not to make the Prince a very Slave to the Commonwealth, ſo that for any Reaſon, or upon the leaſt appearance of its Intereſt, he ſhould break his Word, or run Counter to all Treaties and Agreements: For ſuch a Violation can neither be of any advantage to him, nor his State, but

(1) *Offenſionem pro utilitate publica non pavidum.* Tac. 4. Ann.
† Mar. Hiſt. Hiſp.

will

will be rather the Ruin of both; what is diſhoneſt being never long ſecure: A remarkable Inſtance of which we have in the Kingdom of *Arragon*, which has been ſo often embroiled, toſs'd with ſo many Storms of Calamities and eminent Miſeries, becauſe *Peter* the Fourth, as well in times of Peace as War, had more regard to Intereſt, than Credit and Renown. Intereſt and Honour ſhould walk hand in hand, and the ſame pace; nor can I be reconciled to this Opinion, *That nothing is glorious but what is ſafe, and that whatever is done to maintain Dominion is honourable* (2). For what is baſe, can never be a good means to preſerve it; nor if it were, will it be therefore the more honourable or excuſable. My Deſign is only to raiſe the Prince's Mind above the Vulgar Opinion, and arm him with Conſtancy to withſtand the vain Murmurs of the Multitude; that he may know how to temporize, to diſſemble Injuries, to lay aſide Kingly Gravity, to deſpiſe empty Fame, having his Eyes fix'd upon that which is true and well-grounded. In a word, to take Counſel from the time and neceſſity, if the Conſervation of his State require it, and not ſuffer himſelf to be deluded with vain Shadows of Honour, eſteeming that more than the Publick Good. A Fault blam'd in King *Henry* the Fourth, who refus'd to take their Advice, who perſwaded him to apprehend *John Pachico*, Marquiſs of *Villena*, the Author of the Troubles and Commotions among the Grandees of the Kingdom: Saying he had made him a promiſe of a ſafe Paſſage to *Madrid*, which he ought not to violate. A frivolous Excuſe, to prefer an idle Proof of Faith and Clemency to his own Life, and the Publick Safety, eſpecially towards one, who would abuſe this his Favour to Plot againſt his Royal Perſon, which was the ſource of great Calamities to the King, and his whole Kingdom. *Tiberius* was not at all moved, that ſome blamed him for making ſo long a ſtay at the

(2) *Nihil gloriosum niſi tutum, & omnia retinendæ dominationis honesta.* Salluſt.

Iſle

Iſle of *Caprea*, and neither went to aid the *Gauls*, of whom a great part were already loſt; nor to appeaſe the Legions in *Germany* (2). Prudent Conſtancy hears, but does not much regard the Sentiments of the ignorant Multitude; knowing if things ſucceed well, Murmur will afterwards turn to greater Glory, and ſenſibly vaniſh of it ſelf. The Army diſtruſted *Saul*'s Election, and in Deriſion ſaid, *How ſhall this Man ſave us* (4)? *Saul* however took no notice of thoſe Words, but made as if he did not hear them, (nor indeed ſhould Princes hear every thing) and the Soldiers, condemning afterwards their Crime, recanted, nay, and made diligent ſearch for the Author of that Abuſe to put him to Death (5). It had not been prudent in *Saul* to expoſe his Election, by diſcovering his knowledge of the Peoples Diſſatisfaction. What Levity were it in a Traveller to be ſtopp'd by the importunate Noiſe of every Graſshopper? To be guided in ones Reſolutions by the prating Mob were folly (6); to fear them, and revoke what has been once reſolved, baſe and infamous. Scarce any Council would be ſecure, did it depend upon the Multitude, who are incapable of penetrating all the Motives upon which the Prince Acts, nor is it fit to make them publick; for that were to give them the Authority of the Scepter. All the Peoples Power is included in the Perſon of the Prince. It is his part to Act, theirs to Obey, with a firm Perſwaſion of the Equity and Reaſonableneſs of his Commands. *If every one had liberty to ask Reaſons of what is injoyned, there would be an end of Obedience and Empire* (7). 'Tis as neceſſary for a Subject to be ignorant of theſe things, as to know others. *The Sovereign Juriſdiction of things God has given to Princes, to Subjects is left the Glory of Obedience.* The only thing required of a Prince, is to

(3) *Tanto impenſius in ſecuritatem compoſitus, neque loco, neque vultu mutat, ſed ut ſolitum per illos dies egit.* Tac. 3 Ann. (4) 1 Sam. 10. 27. (5) 1 Sam. 11. 12. (6) *Non ex rumore ſtatuendum.* Tac. 3. Ann. (7) *Si ubi jubeantur, quærere ſinguli liceat; pereunte obſequio, etiam imperium intercidit.* Tac. 1. Hiſt.

acquit

acquit himſelf of his Duty in his Reſolutions and Decrees; if the Succeſs prove not anſwerable to his deſire, he ought not to be diſcouraged; for it is ſufficient that he has done nothing imprudently; the very beſt Counſel is weak and liable to abundance of Accidents. The greater a Monarchy is, the more expoſed it is to the unhappy Caſualties, which Chance brings with it, or Humane Underſtanding is unable to foreſee and prevent. Groſs Bodies uſually labour under great Diſtempers. Did not the Prince proſecute Affairs notwithſtanding all Obloquy and Detraction, with Courage and Conſtancy, he would lead but an unhappy Life. If he at any time chance to err, Courage is neceſſary, leaſt he be daſh'd, and become for the future ſlow and irreſolute. That Prince, who upon no grounds ſuſpects all he does will be diſapproved of, contracts too much the Limits of his Power, and ſubjects himſelf to a thouſand Terrors of Imagination, which generally ariſe from ſome private ſuperſtitious Perſwaſion, or Exceſs of Melancholy. Theſe Inconveniences *David* ſeems to have acknowledged, when he prayed God to take away the Reproach which he fear'd (8). Let the Prince therefore arm himſelf with Conſtancy to reſiſt any Events, and the Opinions of the Vulgar, and ſhew his Valour in the Defence of the true and real Reputation of his Perſon and Arms, ſeeing the loſs or ſtain of this brings the whole Empire into danger. King *Ferdinand* the Catholick, very well underſtood this, when he adviſed his Father, *John* the Second, King of *Arragon*, to adapt himſelf to the Times and Neceſſity, and endeavour to ſecure his Crown by gaining the Hearts of the Marquiſs of *Villena*, and *Alphonſo Carillo*, Archbiſhop of *Toledo* †. He did indeed all honourable means to effect it; but could never be oblig'd baſely to bend his Regal Authority to the Fury and Violence of his Subjects, thinking there to be more Danger in this, than Advantage in gaining their Affe-

(8) Pſalm 118. 39. † Mar. Hiſt. Hiſp.

ctions

ctions. Time is the beſt Maſter of theſe Arts, and ſuch a one may come as will make even mean Actions Heroick, and impute even baſe and ſervile Submiſſion to Fortitude. 'Tis an honourable and lawful End enobles them. *Tacitus* accuſes *Vitellius for being* Nero's *Aſſociate in his Debaucheries without any Neceſſity, which had made it very excuſable, but out of meer Luxury and Laſciviouſneſs* (9). To ſubmit to Neceſſity, requires no leſs Reſolution than to overcome it; and what is ſometimes thought Baſeneſs, is a deſire of Honour, as when to prevent the loſs of this, or at leaſt to preſerve it, Injuries are put up for a time. He that immediately runs to Revenge, ſuffers himſelf to be led more by Paſſion than Honour. Anger, 'tis true, has Satisfaction, but the Ignominy becomes more notorious and publick. How oft has Bloodſhed been a kind of Rubrick inſcribed with Injuries? How often have we ſeen in the Offenders gaſhed Face, the offended Perſon's Infamy written in Scars, as in ſo many Letters? Honour has been more frequently loſt by Revenge than Diſſimulation; this brings Oblivion, that Remembrance; and we more value a Perſon that has prudently taken an Affront, than one who has raſhly reveng'd one. He, who makes a true and prudent Eſtimate of the price of his Honour, weighs it againſt Revenge, which the former with the Addition of a Grain of publick Eſteem, out-weighs by much.

Although it is my Advice, that the Prince value not popular Diſcourſe; this, however, I would have limited to the Caſes mentioned, that is, when it is compenſated by the Publick Good, or obſtructs the Execution of any great Deſigns, which the People don't comprehend, at leaſt not well underſtand: For the Succeſs and Honour of the thing recovers afterwards the loſt Reputation with Intereſt. It will in the mean time be Prudence in the Prince at all times, as much as poſſible,

(9) *Sectari cantantem ſolitus, non neceſſitate, qua honeſtiſſimus quiſque, ſed in Luxu & ſagina mancipatus emptuſque.* Tac. 2. Hiſt.

to

to conform his Actions to the Inclinations of the People; their Approbation working almoſt the ſame Effect with real Glory; they both conſiſt in Men's Imagination, and the popular Voice, though falſe, ſometimes gains ſo much Credit, that neither Time, nor any contrary Action can ever after efface it.

EMBLEM XXXIII.

WHAT an entire Glaſs repreſents, the ſame when broken, each part of it exhibits. Thus the Lion views himſelf in both Pieces of that of the preſent Emblem, that Symbol of Fortitude and generous Conſtancy, which a Prince in all Accidents ought to maintain: In as much as he is a Publick Mirror, wherein the whole World views it ſelf, as King *Alphonſo* the Wiſe has

has well obſerved, ſpeaking of Kings Actions, and how they ought to be regulated. Whether therefore Succeſs preſerve, or Misfortunes break him, he ſhould ever appear with one Countenance; which indeed in Proſperity is of ſome difficulty, conſidering how apt the Paſſions are to break forth of themſelves, and that Reaſon vaniſhes with Glory. However, a truly noble Mind ſuffers not it ſelf to be tranſported, even, by the higheſt Happineſs, as one might ſee in *Veſpaſian*, who though he was by the unanimous Conſent of all ſaluted Emperor, was yet neither Proud nor Arrogant (1), nor could the Alteration of Affairs work any in him. That Man, who with his Fortune changes his Mind, confeſſes he did not deſerve it (2).

This modeſt Aſſurance was eminent too in *Piſo*, who when adopted by *Galba*, look'd ſo ſerene and unconcern'd, as if it had been in his Power to be Emperor, and not depending upon the Will of another (3). Valour alſo is wont to be endanger'd by adverſe Accidents, in that they generally find Men unprepared, there being ſcarce one who ſeriouſly thinks of all the Calamities incident to him. Which makes them ſurpriſe many unawares, and is the reaſon the Mind is then in ſo much Confuſion, which proceeds either from exceſſive Dotage on thoſe Happineſſes it falls ſhort of, or from fear of loſs of Life; the deſire of prolonging which is ingrafted in every Man's Nature. Let others harbour thoſe Paſſions, yet in a Prince's Breaſt they ought never to be entertain'd; whoſe Duty 'tis to Govern equally in both Fortunes, and to keep always a pleaſant compoſed Countenance and undaunted Speech. Thus *Otho* appear'd to his Friends, even after the loſs of his Empire, endeavouring to ſtop their unreaſonable

(1) *In ipſo nihil tumidum, arrogans, aut in rebus novis novum fuit.* Tac. 2. Hiſt. (2) *Frons privata manet, non ſe meruiſſe fatetur,*
Qui creviſſe putat. Claud.
(3) *Nullum turbati, aut exultantis animi motum prodidiſſe, ſerno erga patrem, Imperatoremque reverens; de ſe moderatus, nihil in vultu, habituque mutatum, quaſi imperare poſſet magis quam vellet.* Tac. 1. Hiſt.

Tears (4). In that bloody Fight at *Navas* of *Toulouze*, King *Alphonſo* the Ninth, continued in the Heat of the Engagement with the ſame Calmneſs of Mind and Looks. No Accident was ever able to diſcloſe the Paſſion of King *Ferdinand* the Catholick. Being once ſtruck by a mad Fellow of *Barcelona*, he ſeem'd to be nothing diſordered, only gave Command he ſhould be ſeized. The Emperor, *Charles* the Fifth, at the Siege of *Ingolſtadt*, changed neither his Looks nor Station, though the continual Fire of the Enemies Guns had tore his Tent in Pieces, and cut off ſome by his ſide. With no leſs Conſtancy the King of *Hungary*, (now the moſt Auguſt Emperor) and his Highneſs, *Ferdinand* the Infant, (both glorious Rivals of *Charles*'s Courage and Atchievements) ſtood undaunted at the Battel of *Nerlinguen*, not the leaſt terrified by the Death of a Colonel, who was kill'd by a Cannon-ſhot very near them. Nor ſhould I omit here the Example of *Maximilian*, Duke of *Bavaria*, and Elector of the Empire; the ſame, who was famous for the numerous Victories he obtain'd at the Head of the Catholick League. He was not puff'd up with them, nor ſuffer'd afterwards his great Soul to be broken by the contrary Succeſs, though he ſaw his States ruined, and the King of *Sweden*, and *Frederick*, Count *Palatine*, in his Palace of *Monaca*, (a Fabrick worthy ſo great a Prince) and tho' he found the Duke of *Frizeland* as much his Enemy as the other two.

Let Envy, and the fickleneſs of Times divide and daſh into never ſo many pieces, the Glaſs of Fates, yet in every of them, however ſmall, Majeſty will remain entire. Whoever is born to a Scepter, ought not to be chang'd at any Event or Accident whatever, nor think any ſo grievous and inſupportable as for it to abandon himſelf, and diſſemble the Perſon he bears. King *Peter*, even, when he fell into the Hands of his Bro-

(4) *Placidus ore, intrepidus verbis, intempeſtivas ſuorum lachrymas coercens.* Tac. 3. Hiſt.

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ther, and deadly Enemy, conceal'd not who he was, nay, when it was queſtion'd, if it were he or not, he cried out aloud, *It is I, it is I.* This very Conſtancy in preſerving a Grandeur and Majeſty in misfortunes, is ſometimes the beſt and only Remedy againſt them; as it was with *Porus*, King of the *Indies*, who being taken Priſoner by *Alexander* the Great, and demanded how he would be treated: Made anſwer, *Like a King.* And when *Alexander* ask'd him, whether he deſired nothing more: He replied, *That Word comprehends all.* Which Heroick Anſwer ſo affected *Alexander*, that he not only reſtored his Kingdom, but gave him other Countries beſides. To yield to Adverſity, is as it were to ſide with it. Valour in the Conquered pleaſes the Victor, either becauſe it renders his Triumph more glorious, or becauſe ſuch is the intrinſick Energy of Virtue. The Mind is not ſubject to Violence, nor has Fortune any Power over it. The Emperor, *Charles* the Fifth, uſed ſevere Threats to *John Frederick*, Duke of *Saxony*, to oblige him to Surrender the Dutchy of *Wirtemburg*. To which his Anſwer was, *His Imperial Majeſty may indeed do what he pleaſes with my Body, but ſhall never be able to ſtrike fear into this Breaſt.* Which he really ſhew'd on another occaſion of much greater Danger; for it happened, as he was playing at Cheſs with *Erneſt*, Duke of *Brunſwick*, he heard Sentence of Death was paſs'd upon him, which he receiv'd with no more Trouble, than if the News had not concern'd him, but chearfully bid the Duke play on; which generous Carriage wiped off, in ſome meaſure, the Infamy of Rebellion, and procured him Glory. One great Action even upon a forced Death, leaves a Luſter and Repute to Life. As has in our own time happned: *Rodrigo Calderon*, Marquiſs *de Sieviglias*, *or Seven Churches*, whoſe truly Chriſtian Valour and Heroick Conſtancy, were the whole World's Admiration, in ſo much as to turn Envy and Hatred, things common to one of his Fortune, into Pity and Commendations. None are delivered from violent Caſualties by

Timorouſneſs, nor does Confuſion any way leſſen Danger, whereas Reſolution either overcomes, or at leaſt renders it illuſtrious. The People gather what Peril they are in from the Prince's Countenance, as Mariners do the danger of the Tempeſt from that of their Pilot. For that Reaſon ought he to appear equally ſerene in Proſperity and Adverſity, leaſt Fear daſh, or Pride exalt him, and others be able to judge of the State of Affairs. This made *Tiberius* take ſo much care to hide every unſucceſsful Accident (5). All is in Diſorder and Confuſion, when in the Prince's Face, as that of Heaven, the Tempeſts which threaten the Commons are diſcernible. To change Colour at every Breath of Fortune, betrays a light Judgment and mean Spirit. Conſtancy, and an even Look, inſpire Subjects with Courage, ſtrike Enemies with Admiration. All Men fix their Eyes upon the Prince, and if they ſee Fear there, they fear. Thus 'twas with thoſe who were at *Otho*'s Table (6). Beſides, there can be no Fidelity where Fear and Diſtruſt find Entertainment (7). Which, however, I would have underſtood of thoſe Caſes, wherein it is convenient to diſſemble Dangers, and conceal Calamities; for in others to join in publick Expreſſions of Sadneſs, don't ill become the Prince, as that which manifeſts his Love to his Subjects, and engages their Hearts. The Emperor, *Charles* the Fifth, put himſelf in Mourning, and expreſs'd his Sorrow for the Sacking of *Rome*. *David* upon the news of the Death of *Saul* and *Jonathan*, *took hold of his Cloaths, and rent them* (8). The ſame did *Joſhua* for the loſs rec ived by the Men of *Ai*; *And he fell to the Earth before the Ark of the Lord* (9). And indeed, what can be more juſt, than in a common Calamity thus to ſubmit to God; 'tis a kind of Rebel-

(5) *Hæc audita, quanquam abſtruſum, & triſtiſſima quæque maxime occultantem Tiberium perturbarunt.* Tac. 1. Ann. (6) *Simul Othonis vultum intueri, atque eventi incinatio ad ſuſpicionem mentibus, cum timeret Otho timebatur.* Tac. 1. Hiſt. (7) *Fides metu infracta.* Tac. 3 Hiſt. (8) 2 Sam. 1. 11. (9) Joſ. 7. 6.

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lion willingly to receive Good only at God's Hands, and not Evil alſo (10). He that is humble under Correction, moves to Pardon.

Here it may be diſputed, whether this Steddineſs of Mind be commendable in an Inferior, when he needs the Aid of the more Potent; the Solution of which Doubt requires a peculiar Diſtinction. He, who is under Oppreſſion, and craves anothers Aſſiſtance, ſhould not do it with too much Cringing and Solicitude, leaſt he make his Fortune deſperate, there being no Prince, who out of pure Compaſſion will reach his Hand to a Man fallen, or undertake the Defence of one that has already abandon'd all hopes of himſelf and his Affairs. *Pompey*'s Cauſe loſt not a little in the Opinion of *Ptolemy*, when he ſaw ſo much Submiſſion in his Ambaſſadors. The King of the *Cheruſci* ſhewed much more Courage, when upon the loſs of his Kingdom, thinking it his Intereſt to procure the Favour of *Tiberius*, *He wrote to him not like a Fugitive or Beggar, but as one who remembred his former Fortune* (11). Nor is the Example of *Mithridates* leſs Illuſtrious, who being overthrown by *Eumon*, is ſaid, with a Reſolution truly Royal, to have thus beſpoke him, Mithridates *ſo many Years ſought by the* Romans *by Sea and Land, here voluntarily Surrenders himſelf, do what you pleaſe with the Offſpring of the great* Achemenes, *the only thing my Enemies cannot deprive me of* (12). Which Words prevailed with *Eumon* to intercede with the Emperor *Claudius* in his behalf (13). Let him, who hath faithfully ſerved his Prince, ſpeak boldly if he find himſelf injured; as *Herman Cortez* did to *Charles* the Fifth; and *Segeſtes* to *Germanicus* (14). In other Caſes prudence ſhould examine

(10) Job 2. 10. (11) *Non ut profugus aut ſupplex, ſed ex memoria prioris fortunæ.* Tac. 2. Ann. (12) *Mithridates terra marique per tot annos Romanis quæſitis, ſponte adium; utere, ut voles, prole magni Achæmenis, quod mihi ſolum hoſtes non abſtulerunt* Tac. 12. Ann. (13) *Interpretatione rerum & prece haud degenerare permotus.* Tac. 12 Ann. (14) *Statim Segeſtes iſte ingens vitæ, & memoriæ bonæ ſocietatis impavidus; vetus in hunc modum fuere.*

Neceſſity, Time, and the Things themſelves, having attentive Reſpect to the following Maxims. That a Superior takes boldneſs in an Inferior for an Affront, imagining he aſpires to be his equal, or diſparages him; and on the other ſide, is very apt to ſlight one he ſees too abject and ſubmiſſive. It was for this reaſon, *Tiberius* nominated none to be Senators, but ſuch as were of a ſervile Nature, and though ſuch Perſons were neceſſary for his Service, yet could he not endure that Baſeneſs of Mind (15). Thus we ſee Princes are competent Judges of every ones natural Vigour and Alacrity, and are apt to put Affronts upon thoſe whom they know will take them. *Vitellius* had not took the liberty to keep *Valerius Maximus* ſo long from the Conſulate, which *Galba* had conferr'd on him, but that he thought *his meek Temper would not reſent the Injury* (16). For this reaſon a reſolute kind of Modeſty, and a modeſt Courage will be highly requiſite in a Prince, who, if he muſt of Neceſſity be ruined, had better be ſo with a *Mind* great and noble, than baſe and degenerous. This *Marcus Hortalus* conſider'd, when *Tiberius* refuſed to aſſiſt him in the extremeſt Neceſſity (17).

When the more powerful denies another the Honour due to him, (eſpecially in Publick Actions) it is more adviſeable to ſnatch, and as I may ſay, ſteal, than diſpute them. He that doubts diſtruſts his Merit; the Diſſembler tacitly owns his want of it, and Modeſty is afterwards but laugh'd at. He, who handſomely aſſumes the Preference due to him, eaſily preſerves it afterwards. Thus it happened once to the *German* Ambaſſadors, who ſeeing thoſe of ſuch Nations as ſurpaſſed in Valour and conſtant Alliance with the *Romans*, ſeated among the Senators in *Pompey*'s Theatre, ſaid, *No Men in the World were preferable to the* Germans

(15) *Etiam illum, qui libertatem publicam nollet, tam projecta ſervientium patientia cedebat.* Tac. 3. Ann. (16) *Nulla offenſa, ſed mitem & injuriam ſegniter latarum* Tac 2. Hiſt. (17) *Avita nobilitatis & tam inter anguſtias fortunæ retinens,* Tac. 2. Ann.

for

for Arms and Fidelity (18), and immediately took Place with the Senators, *every one being taken with their generous Freedom and noble Emulation* (19).

As to Favours and Gratuities, which depend wholly upon the Prince's pleasure, although they seem due to Merit or Virtue, the Subject ought not to murmur if they be not conferr'd upon him: On the contrary, rather give thanks under some honest Pretext, following the Example of some Officers, who were displac'd in *Vitellius*'s time (20). For a discreet Courtier usually lets acknowledgments close all his Discourse with the Prince. This piece of Prudence *Seneca* shewed after his Conference with *Nero*, about the Crimes laid to his Charge (21). He that complains, declares he has been ill us'd; and Princes have very little Confidence in one they think dissatisfied; all of them affecting to be like God in that, of whom we never complain in our Affliction, nay, we rather give thanks for them.

In Accusations also Constancy is of very great Consequence; he that gives way to them, makes himself a Criminal. The Innocent Person, who disowns his Actions, does in a manner plead guilty. A good Conscience arm'd with Truth, triumphs over Envy: If that be degenerate and resist not the Stream of Misfortunes, their Waves will overwhelm him, as a River by the force of its Current throws down the weaker Trees, whereas the deeply rooted stand immoveable. All *Sejanus*'s Favourites fell with his Fortune; *Marcus Terentius* alone, who courageously acknowledged he had courted and esteem'd his Friendship, as that which procured him the Emperor *Tiberius*'s Favour, was acquitted (22); and all other Evidences either banished or

(18) *Nullos mortalium armis, & fide ante Germanos esse.* Tac 13. Ann. (19) *Quod comiter à visentibus exceptum, quasi impetus antiqui, & bona emulatione.* Tac 13. Ann. (20) *Atque insuper Vitellii gratiæ, consuetudine servitii.* Tac. 2. Hist. (21) *Seneca (qui finis omnium cum dominante fremmunt) gratias agit.* Tac. 14. Ann. (22) *Constantia orationis, & quia repentus erat qui efferret quæ omnes animo agitabant,* &c. Tac. 6. Ann.

executed. In ſome Caſes this firm aſſurance is abſolutely neceſſary, that Innocence defend not it ſelf by Excuſes, for fear of betraying Timorouſneſs; nor good Services be taken Notice of, leaſt they be thought to be upbraided. Thus *Agrippina* did when accuſed of having procured *Plautus* the Empire (22).

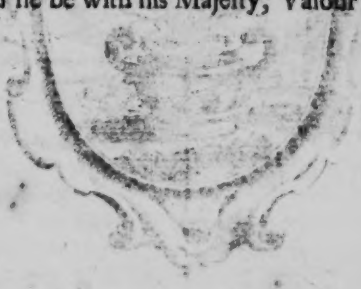
Nor ſhould the Prince's Perſon only be a Looking-Glaſs to his Subjects, but he is to ſhew himſelf ſuch by his State alſo, which is as it were his Picture, and ſo in that no leſs than his own Perſon, Religion, Juſtice, Clemency, and all other Imperial Virtues ought to be conſpicuous. And in as much as Councils, Seats of Juſtice, and Courts of Chancery, are Parts of this Glaſs, in them the ſame Qualities ſhould be found as are in the whole; nay, in all particular Miniſters who repreſent it; for it very much leſſens the Prince's Reputation to appear favourable to every Pretender to diſmiſs them with fair Promiſes, and give Incouragement to their Hopes; and on the other ſide, put off his Counſellors, and other Miniſters, to deter them by rough Uſage from purſuing their Petitions. An Artifice that will ſoon diſcover it ſelf to be unworthy a Generous and Royal Breaſt. The Miniſter is a piece of publick Coin, ſtamp'd with the Prince's Image, which, except it be of good Allay, and repreſent him to the Life, will be refuſed as Counterfeit (24). If the Head, which Governs, be of Gold, the Hands alſo which ſerve ſhould be ſo too; as were thoſe of the Spouſe in the Holy Scripture (25).

Farther, Ambaſſadors are alſo principal Parts of this Glaſs, as Perſons in whom the Prince's Authority is lodged. And certainly it would infinitely prejudice the Publick Faith to have his Words and Veracity not found in theſe: And as they are the Lieutenants of his

(23) *Ubi nihil pro innocentia, quaſi diffideret, nec beneficiis, quaſi exprobraret, diſſeruit.* Tac. 3. Ann. (24) *Præfectus niſi formam ſuam referat, mali ſati inſtar ſubditis efficitur.* Them. Orat. 17. (25) Cant. 5. 11, 14.

Power

Power and Courage, ſo ought they on all Occaſions to manifeſt them, as if the Prince were preſent in Perſon. Thus did *Anthony Fonſeca*, after he had propoſed to *Charles* the Eighth, in his Catholick Majeſty's Name, that the Kingdom of *Naples* ſhould not be invaded, till it had been judiciaſly determin'd whoſe Title was beſt, and ſaw it came to nothing; with ſingular freedom of Mind he openly declared his King had now ſatisfied his Conſcience; that he was at liberty to take which ſide he thought moſt juſt, and immediately in the preſence of the King and Council, broke the Treaties of Peace before made between the two Crowns. As the Miniſter is to be furniſhed with his Prince's Maxims, ſo alſo ſhould he be with his Majeſty, Valour and Magnanimity.



EMBLEM XXXIV.

WHoever looks on the Thorns and Prickles of the Roſe-Tree, will hardly be perſwaded a Daughter ſo beautiful as the Roſe could proceed from ſo deform'd a Mother. One had need be indued with a great Meaſure of Faith to water it, and wait till it be cloathed with Verdure, and bloſſom into that wonderful pomp of Flowers, of ſo delicate a Smell. Yet by Patience and long Expectation, we at length find the labour not loſt, nor that Care ill imployed which has produced ſuch Beauty and Fragrancy. The firſt Branches of Virtue are harſh and thorny to our depraved Nature, but after ſome time, its Flower of all other, the moſt beautiful begins to Bloom. Let not the firſt ſight of things diſcourage a Prince, for the outſide of very few in Government are pleaſant; they all ſeem full of Thorns and

and Difficulties, but Experience has found many easy which appeared much otherwise to Sloth. The Prince therefore should not be disheartned; for in lightly yielding to them, he will be overcome by his own Apprehension rather than any thing real Let him endure with Courage and Hope, with Patience and Perseverance, still keeping the means in his Hand. He that hopes has a good and faithful Companion on his side, I mean Time. Whence *Philip* the Second used to say, *I and Time against any two.* Precipitation is the effect of Madness, and generally the occasion of great Perils. *Theobald*, Earl of *Champagne*, put his Succession to the Crown of *Navarre*, very much in Question, by not having patience to wait for his Uncle, King *Sancho*'s Death, but underhand conspiring with the Nobles to possess himself of the Kingdom in his Life-time; for this put *Sancho* upon adopting *James* the First of *Arragon*, his Heir. Patience obtains many Trophies. This was *Scipio*'s Excellency, who though he had infinite occasions of Displeasure, was yet so patient, *as never to let a passionate Word fall from him* (1), which thing gave success to all his Designs. He that suffers with Expectation, vanquishes the slights of Fortune, and obliges her to take his Part, that Confidence among all her Vicissitudes like Flattery winning upon her. *Columbus*, not without great hazard, exposes himself to the Ocean's uncertain Waves, in quest of new Countries. Neither *Hercules*'s *Ne plus ultra*, at *Calpe* and *Abyla*; nor the Mountains of Waters, that seem to oppose his Enterprize deter him from it; he by Sailing tells the Sun's Steps, and steals from the Year its Days, from the Days their Hours; his Needle wants the Pole, his Charts the Lines, his Companions patience; all things conspire against him, but his Hope and Patience rub through all Difficulties, till at length a new World recompences his invincible Constancy. *Ferendum & Sperandum*, was a saying of *Empedocles*, and afterwards the Emperor

(1) *Ut nullum ferox verbum excideret.* Tit. liv.

Macrinus'

Macrinus's Motto, whence that of this Emblem is borrowed. Some Dangers are more eaſy to ſurmount than avoid: As *Agathocles* well knew, when being beaten, and beſieged in *Syracuſe*, he did not baſely Surrender to the Enemy, but leaving a ſufficient Body of Men for the Defence of the City, marched with the reſt of his Army againſt *Carthage*, and he who could not be victorious in one War, by this means obtain'd a double Triumph. Raſhneſs frequently overcomes a Danger, and deſpiſing it often confounds an Enemy. When *Hannibal* ſaw the *Romans* after the Battel of *Canna* ſend Succours into *Spain*, he began to fear their Power and Strength. No one ought to truſt Proſperity too much, or deſpair in Adverſity. Fortune lies between both, as ready to advance as depreſs. Let the Prince therefore keep in the one, and the other, a Conſtancy and Strength of Mind, prepared to encounter any Accident, and not ſuffer the Threats of the greateſt Tempeſt to diſturb him: For ſometimes the Waves have caſt a Man out of one Ship that is to be wreck'd, into another that is to be ſaved. A great and generous Soul Heaven it ſelf favours. Let not the Prince raſhly deſpair for anothers Dangers, or thoſe which Chance brings with it. *He that obſerveth the Wind ſhall not ſow, and he that regardeth the Clouds ſhall not reap* (2). Let him not imagine he obliges any one by his Afflictions. Tears are Womaniſh, nor is Fortune appeaſed with ſuch Sacrifices. A great Soul endeavours to give it ſelf Satisfaction or Comfort by ſome heroick and generous Action: *Thus* Agricola, when he heard of his Son's Death, *took not the Accident as generally Men do, ambitiouſly; nor in Tears like Women; but by War diverted his Grief* (3). To be wholly inſenſible, is either Vain-glory, or Exceſs of Conſternation.

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(2) Eccl. 11. 4. (3) *Quem caſum, neque, ut plerique fortium virorum, ambitioſè, neque per lamenta rurſus, ac terrorem multebrem tulit, & in luctu, bellum inter remedia erat.* Tac. in Vit. Agr.

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In ſuing for Offices and Honours, the Deſign of this Emblem is very uſeful. He that can bear and hope, knows how to get the better of his Fortune. Whereas one that impatient of delay, thinks it baſe to be beholding and ſubmit, ſhall be deſpiſed and abandon'd by the whole World. To look on it as a point of Honour not to obey any, is the way to command none. The means are to be meaſured by the end; if in obtaining this there be more Honour got, than is loſt by them, certainly they ought to be uſed. Impatience of Sufferings we take for Generoſity of Mind, when it is imprudent Haughtineſs. Honour once attain'd, the Tracks made in aſcending them, preſently wear out. To endure much in order to Advancement, is not baſe Degeneracy, but extraordinary Strength of a Mind elevated and aſpiring. Some Tempers there are which can't abide to wait, that would have all things ended in a Moment; deſiring now to exceed their Equals, by and by their Superiors; and in a little while, even their own Hopes. Theſe hurried by this Violence of Ambition deſpiſe the moſt ſecure means as ſlow, and chooſe to employ the ſhorteſt, though moſt hazardous. But it uſually fares with them, as with Buildings raiſed in haſte, before the Materials have had time to dry and ſettle, which immediately fall down again.

The Maſter-piece of Government conſiſts in hoping and enduring, in that theſe are the only means to do things in time, without which nothing can poſſibly come to maturity. Trees that at the Springs firſt warmth bear Flowers, ſoon loſe them for not waiting till the Winters cold was quite gone. He, who would ripen Affairs with the Hand, cannot have the Satisfaction of taſting the Fruit of them. Impatience is the cauſe of Miſcarriages and Dangers (4); it creates Perils, which by being uneaſy under, and too haſty to eſcape, we augment. Therefore for thoſe Evils, as well Internal as External, which have by our negli-

(4) Prov. 14. 17.

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gence been increas'd in the Commonwealth, 'tis better to let them take their Courſe, and be ſenſibly cured by Time, than precipitate a Remedy, wherein there is more Danger. If before we could not foreſee and prevent; at leaſt let us learn to bear them after: They are increas'd by Oppoſition. A Danger conceal'd or not taken notice of, thereby becomes publick, and lays greater Impediments in his way, who thought to ſtop it. Fear imprudently arm'd againſt a Superior Power, does but find it Exerciſe, and render it more powerful by the Addition of its own Spoils. This Method *Cerealis* took to compoſe the Minds of thoſe of *Treves*, leaſt they ſhould take up Arms againſt the *Romans*, ſaying, *A Fabrick, as that was, which had been the Product of Eight hundred years Succeſs and Induſtry, could not be pull'd down, but its Ruin muſt of neceſſity bury the Authors of it* (5). Many things would not ſucceed ſo ill, did not our Fear and Imagination act with too much Precipitation. Apprehenſion and Jealouſy of Tyranny, when once diſcovered, make it begin to be really, though it were not before. Whence in ſuch like Caſes, 'tis a piece of no leſs Courage to know how to diſſemble, than to be too raſh in remedying. The former is the genuine Effect of Prudence, this generally the Reſult of Fear.

(5) *Octogentorum annorum fortuna, diſciplinaque, compages hæc coaluit, quæ convelli ſine excidio convellentium non poteſt.* Tac. 4. Hiſt.

EMBLEM XXXV.

THE closer the Breath is preſſed in a Trumpet, with the greater Harmony and Variety it goes out of it; thus 'tis with Virtue, which is never more clear and harmonious than when ſuppreſſed by Malice (1). The Flame of Valour is apt to die, if the Wind of Adverſity don't revive it; that awakens the Mind, and makes it look about for means to amend it. Happineſs, like the Roſe, grows out of Thorns and Miſeries. *Alphonſo* the Fifth, King of *Arragon*, was vanquiſh'd and taken in a Sea-fight with the *Genoeze*; and that, which in all probability was like to retard his Expedition againſt the Kingdom of *Naples*, was the very thing that furthered

(1) *Multorum improbitate depreſſa veritas emergit, & innocentiæ defenſa intercluſa reſpirat.* Cicero.

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it with greater Happineſs and Power; for by making a League with *Philip*, Duke of *Milan*, who retain'd him Priſoner, he obtain'd both his Liberty, and Forces for the Conqueſt of that Kingdom. Neceſſity compell'd him to get his Hoſt of his ſide; for in Proſperity, indeed, every one lives to himſelf alone, but in Adverſity for himſelf and others. Thoſe diſcloſe the Paſſions of the Mind, otherwiſe forgetful of it ſelf: Whereas, by this it learns Caution, and arms it ſelf with Virtues, as means to attain real and laſting Happineſs (2). Whence it is not a little eaſier to eſcape bad, than be continued in good Fortune. In Priſon firſt appeared *Alphonſo*'s extraordinary Endowments and Ornaments of Mind, which till then had lain hid; and the Duke of *Milan* charm'd with them, was ambitious of his Friendſhip, and laid theſe Obligations upon him. He obtain'd more by loſing the Victory, than he could have expected had he been Victor. Fortune ſports between Extreams, and takes delight in ſhewing her Power, in skipping from one to another. There is no Virtue but will ſhine in Adverſity, as no Star but ſparkles with greateſt Luſtre in the darkeſt Night. Then the weight ſhews the Palm's Strength when this is raiſed higher under it. The Roſe preſerves its Leaves longer freſh among Nettles than Flowers. Did not Virtue exert it ſelf in Adverſity too; it would not deſerve Victories or Triumphs. 'Tis its Property to Conquer by ſuffering. Whence it evidently appears, how impious the Error (confuted by us in another place) of thoſe is, who adviſe the Prince not to be bigotted to Virtue, but to comply with Vice when neceſſity ſhall require; a time in which he ought more particularly to approve himſelf conſtant in it, with greater hopes of Succeſs: As it uſually happned to the Emperor, *Ferdinand* the Second of Bleſſed Memory; who in his greateſt Dangers would reſolutely affirm, *He'd rather*

(2) *Secunda res acrioribus ſtimulis animum exploravit; quia miſeris tolerantur, felicitate corrumpimur.* Tac. 1. Hiſt.

loſe

loſe the Empire, and all he had, and with his whole Family beg from Door to Door, than to commit an unjuſt thing to maintain his Grandeur. Words truly worthy ſo Pious a Prince, whoſe exemplary Piety and Faith were ſo acceptable to God Almighty, that he vouchſafed to take the Imperial Scepter, and perform his Office here on Earth, giving him ſeveral ſignal and miraculous Victories. In the greateſt Dangers and Diſtreſſes, when all hope fail'd, and humane Prudence and Valour were deſtitute of means, he always came off with moſt Succeſs and greateſt Triumph. The *Roman* Emperors of old lived in Affluence of Peace, and all manner of Delights, yet were tyrannized over by their own Paſſions, and rack'd by a thouſand Fears. But this Pious Hero found Repoſe and Tranquility of Mind amidſt the raging Tempeſts, which the Fury of Rebels raiſed againſt his Empire, and moſt Auguſt Houſe. The juſt ſings amidſt Misfortunes, and the wicked Man weeps in his Impiety. Thus the fiery Furnace was as a Choire to the three Children (3). Miſeries and Hardſhips are attended with great Advantages; they correct the Prince's Pride, and reduce him to Reaſon; with what fury does the Wind ſometimes ſtorm? How arrogantly does the Sea ſwell and rage, its foaming Billows like Mountains threatning Heaven and Earth! And yet a ſmall Shower compoſes and calms it. Thus Misfortunes raining from Heaven allay the Prince's Pride and Preſumption. They make a juſt Governor of a Tyrant, of a Prince careleſs and negligent of his Affairs, one careful and circumſpect. For, then even Neceſſity obliges him to take Care of his People, to eſteem Nobility, honour Valour, do Juſtice, and reſpect Religion. Power is never in greater Danger than when all things flow proſperouſly. For Cares being then laid aſide, too much Security is apt to ſtifle Counſel and Prudence. Eaſe and Idleneſs has been the Ruin of more Princes than Labour. 'Tis with them as with Bodies,

(3) Dan. 3. 50.

which are kept in Vigor by Motion, without which they languiſh and decay. Whence it appears farther, how erroneous we are in our Judgments of Good and Evil, ſcarce ever knowing what is moſt for our Advantage. Adverſity we look on as Rigour and Chaſtiſement, when it is really Warning and Inſtruction. The Preſent of Ear-rings and a Sheep, which *Job*'s Friends and Relations made him, ſeems to intimate, that he ſhould endure all things with a patient, even Temper (4), and that thoſe Afflictions were precious Admonitions of God whiſper'd in his Ear. God's afflicting us ſometimes is wonderful Mercy, and on the contrary his Recompences are Puniſhments; for by theſe he clears, as it were, the Bill of our Debts, and by paying for ſome of our Merits, remains Creditor to our Offences; whereas by afflicting us, he at once pays himſelf, and excites us to Amendment.

(4) Job 42. 12.

EMBLEM XXXVI.

THE expert and prudent Seaman is not always carried at the Pleaſure of the Wind, but rather by the Benefit of it, ſo diſpoſes the Sails of his Ship, that he arrives at the deſired Port, and with the ſame Wind lands at which he pleaſes of two oppoſite Shores, without endangering his Voyage.

But when the Heaven's calm, by the help of Sails and Oars he out ſtrips even the Wind it ſelf. With no leſs Care and Diligence the Prince ought to Steer the Veſſel of his State in the tempeſtuous Sea of his Reign, ſo attentively obſerving all Storms that he may with Prudence and Valour make uſe of the ſame in their time and place. He is a Pilot, to whoſe Conduct the Life and Safety of all is committed; nor is any Ship more hazardous than a Crown expoſed to ſo many Winds of Ambition,

ſo many Rocks of Enemies, and Storms of People. King *Sancho* the Brave needed all his Induſtry to arm himſelf againſt Fortune, and ſecure the Right of his Crown. Almoſt the whole Science of Politicks conſiſts in knowing how to diſcern Times, and make uſe of them: A Storm ſometimes bringing a Ship ſooner into Harbour than a Calm. He, who can break the force of ill Fortune, renders it favourable; and one that knowing a Danger yields to it, and gives it time, at length ſurmounts it. When the Sailor finds there is no contending with the Billows, he ſtrikes Sail and abandons himſelf to them; and becauſe his Reſiſtance would rather add force to the Wind, uſes ſome narrow Creek to reſt his Ship in, and ſhelter it from the Waves. Something muſt be granted Dangers, if one would eſcape them. *James* the Firſt, King of *Arragon*, was ſenſible of the Averſion his Nobles and People had to him, and that it was by no means convenient to increaſe their Fury by an untimely Oppoſition, but rather to give it time to ſink of it ſelf; as Rivers do, whoſe Waters in a Tempeſt ſwell and overflow their Banks, voluntarily ſuffer'd himſelf to be play'd upon, and as it were impriſoned, till he reſtored all things to their former Calmneſs and Tranquility, and reinſtated himſelf in the Throne. The ſame diſcreet Moderation Queen *Mary* uſed, when by ſiding with the Grandees, and ſatisfying their Ambition, ſhe preſerved the Crown of *Caſtile*, during the Minority of her Son, *Ferdinand* the Fourth †. Did the Sailor think it a diſhonour to yield to a Storm, and were reſolved with Sails and Oars to withſtand it, his Ruin would be inevitable. Conſtancy conſiſts not in unſeaſonable ſtruggling, but in hoping, and ſo enduring Danger, without letting Fortune get the upper hand of one. In ſuch Caſes the Glory is to eſcape ſafe. What ſeems Baſeneſs of Mind in them, is afterwards Magnanimity crown'd with Succeſs. When King *Alphonſo* the Wiſe, ſaw himſelf

† Mar. Hiſt. Hiſp.

deprived

deprived of his Kingdom, putting his whole Confidence in the King of *Morocco*'s Aſſiſtance, made no difficulty to beg of *Alphonſo de Guzman*, Governor of St. *Lucar de Barameda*, who upon ſome Diſguſt had retired to that Prince's Court, that forgetting all former Injuries, and remembring their ancient Amity, and his Nobility, he would ſtand his Friend, and endeavour to be an Inſtrument of that King's ſupplying him with Men and Money. Which Letters are to this Day kept in that moſt Illuſtrious and Ancient Houſe.

Nevertheleſs Kings ought not to yield to their Subjects violence, unleſs in Caſes of Extremity, for he very little conſults his Authority, who debaſes himſelf by too much Condeſcention. The diſhonourable Terms King *Ferdinand* the Holy, conſtrain'd by his Non-age, made the Houſe of *Zara*, no way appeaſed them. Nor could *Iſabella* reclaim *Alphonſo Carillo*, Biſhop of *Toledo*, though ſhe honour'd him with a Viſit at *Alcala*. I confeſs in deſperate Caſes, prudence is wont to try all ways that Chance can render poſſible. It is great Courage and Strength of Reaſon, on Occaſions of that Nature to reſtrain the Spirits, and weigh the preſent Neceſſity, and greatneſs of the Danger againſt ſuch means as may contribute more to the State's Preſervation. No one was ever more Jealous of his Grandeur than *Tiberius*, yet he diſſembled the Boldneſs of *Lentulus Germanicus*, who having the Command of the *German* Legions, was ſo audacious as to write to him with Threats, not to ſend him a Succeſſor, covenanting as 'twere to let his Prince enjoy the Empire, provided he were continued in his Province (1); and he, who could not put up the Emulation of his Sons, took this ſlight patiently. Not but he knew the ill Conſequence of letting ſuch Diſobedience go unpuniſhed, but if he oppoſed it, he conſider'd he ſhould incurr the publick Odium; that he was now in Years, and in a State where

(1) *Reputante Tiberio, publicum ſibi odium, extremam ætatem, magiſque famæ, quam vi ſtare res ſuas.* Tac. 6. Ann.

his Affairs depended more upon Reputation than Strength. Subjects would be little beholding to the Valour of the Prince who governs them, if he ſhould preſently in ill Fortune ſubmit to Neceſſity; and on the other ſide as little to his Prudence, if when that Fortune can't be overcome, he will however withſtand it. Courage ſhould be moderated by Prudence and Addreſs, and what cannot be effected by Strength, ſhould be the Work of Art and Induſtry. 'Tis no leſs glorious to avoid than to ſurmount a Danger. To fly it always is Sloth; to expect, Ignorance or Surprize; to deſpair Cowardice. Men of Courage make Head againſt Fortune her ſelf. The Prince's Duty and End is not lightly to conteſt with his State upon the Billows, but to conduct it to the Haven of Preſervation and Safety. That is eſteemed valiant Wiſdom, which draws Benefit out of Adverſity; as alſo, that which by ſtruggling compaſſes its Ends ſooner. Kings, the Maſters of Times and Things, are always followed, never led by them. There's no Building, but whoſe Ruins, with what Addition Induſtry is wont to make, may Erect a more ſtately Fabrick: Nor any State ſo intirely abandon'd by Fortune, that Valour cannot preſerve, and even advance, provided it conſult Prudence upon Events, and know how to make right uſe of them, or at leaſt to turn them to its Advantage. *Ferdinand* the Catholick, and *Lewis* the Twelfth of *France*, had divided between them the Kingdom of *Naples*; and the great Captain knowing the Circle of a Crown to have but one Center, and that Empire admits of no Companion, endeavoured immediately to get his Maſter's Share into his Hands; that in Caſe of after Diſputes, which he foreſaw would ariſe between thoſe two Kings, he might be the more at leaſure, and uſe them afterwards to diſpoſſeſs the King of *France* of his Part, as in Effect it happned Accidents, it is true, have ſome force; but we increaſe or diminiſh them according to our Carriage under them. Our Ignorance gives Divinity and Power to Fortune, in that

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we lightly reſign our ſelves to her Viciſſitudes. Did we change our Cuſtoms and Meaſures as oft as ſhe does the Times, ſhe would not be ſo powerful, nor we ſo ſubject to her Empire. The Make of our Cloaths we alter with the Mode, but neglect our Mind and Manners. What Wind does not the skilful Pilot make ſerviceable to his Voyage? As that veres he trims his Sails, and thus all conduce to the end he propoſes. We refuſe to ſhake off the ill Habits of our Nature, either out of Self-love or Imprudence, and afterwards lay the fault on Caſualty. We grow deſperate before we ſeek to remedy our Misfortunes, and through Obſtinacy or Inadvertency, let Deſpair get the Aſcendant over us. We cannot in Adverſity lay aſide that Pride, Anger, Vain-glory, Detraction, and thoſe other Vices which Proſperity bred in us; nor are without great difficulty induc'd to acknowledge them that have brought us into that unhappy Condition. Every moment in every Affair, with whomſoever of his Subjects the Prince ſhall have to do, he ought to differ from himſelf and change his Nature. Nor does this require any extraordinary Knowledge, but a certain Diſpoſition only, and Capacity to adapt one's ſelf to all Contingences, and Prudence to foreſee them.

Now, as we are loſt in Adverſity for want of furling the Sails of our Paſſions, and ſubmitting to it for a time; ſo alſo do we bring Deſtruction upon our ſelves and Princes, when we indiſcreetly and conceitedly go about to meaſure their Intereſt, Paſſions, and Inclinations, by our own Natures and Advantages: It being impoſſible for a Miniſter of a liberal Temper to exert his Generoſity under a Covetous, Griping Prince; or one Valiant and Active with one Slothful and Cowardly. Our Motions ſhould be regulated by the Activity of the Prince's Sphere. This was a fault in *Corbulo*, who ſerving *Claudius*, a puſilanimous, mean-ſpirited Prince, made many raſh Attempts, by

which he could not but be diſagreeable to him (4). In ſome Miniſters an imprudent Zeal is the cauſe of this Error; in others, which is moſt frequent, Self-love and Vain-glory, which makes them deſirous to appear prudent in the Eyes of the World, and ſhew their Ability, as if, ſo ſooth, by their means alone the Prince ſucceeded; but that whatever he undertakes by himſelf, or others, is faulty; and thus under Colour of Zeal they publiſh the Government's Defects, and diſcredit their Prince: Artifices which generally the Miniſter himſelf feels the Effect of afterwards by the loſs of his Prince's Favour. He that conſults his Intereſt, and would eſtabliſh his Fortune, muſt with all poſſible ſpeed fly ſuch Affectations, as odious to the Prince and whole World; he ſhould be more ſerviceable in Deed than in Word; he ſhould conform to the Prince's Nature and Condition, reducing him to Reaſon, and his Duty, under Colour of Service, with Humility and a quiet Induſtry, without Noiſe and Arrogance (5). It is the ruin of Valour and Virtue to be too nice Obſervers of Conſtancy, and to think that their whole Reputation depends upon it; for in the mean time others more various, who can transform themſelves into any Shape, and ſuit theirs to the Prince's Nature, carry away the Gratuities and Preferments.

But theſe are not to be uſed with *Sejanus*'s Deſign, to deceive; but to prevent being unadviſedly ruined at Court, or to render one more ſerviceable to the Prince, for there are ſome of ſuch a Make, that it is abſolutely neceſſary for the Miniſter to put on their Nature; and as I may ſay, to creep into them, to make them move and act; as Men, who neither will be directed by others Counſel, nor can diſpatch their own (6). And conſequently not always what is moſt

(4) *Cur hoſtem concitet? adverſa in Reſp. cuncta, ſin proſpere egiſſet, formidol ſua poſt unum infignem, & ignavo principi præpotens.* Tac. 2. Ann. (5) Tac. 2. Ann. (6) *Neque alienis conſilia regi, neque ſua expedire.* Tac. 3. Hiſt.

expedient

expedient is to be adviſed a Prince, but what he is in Duty oblig'd to execute. Thoſe courageous Counſels which were given *Vitellius*, though the beſt in the World, were uſeleſs becauſe he wanted Reſolution to put them in Practice (7); he was uſually deaf to them. Miniſters are as it were the Prince's Sails. Now, if they are large, and the Prince a ſhallow Veſſel, if they are always looſed without Conſideration of the Burthen of the Boat, they will certainly overſet it.

(7) *Sua ad fortia conſilia Vitellii aures.* Tac. 3. Hiſt.

EMBLEM XXXVII.

37

THAT the Prince may not eſcape the Storm without full Inſtructions in all Accidents that ill Fortune can throw him into; this Device repreſents the choice of the leſſer Evil, when the greater are inevitable. Thus the Pilot, when he has loſt all hopes of being ſaved by Oppoſition, or Compliance with the Tempeſt, endeavours to make the Land, and run his Ship aſhore; where, if he loſe his Ship, yet he ſaves his Life and Merchandize. It was very commendable in the *Romans*, that when they could not oppoſe Fortune, they provided for their own Security. The Prince's Valour conſiſts not only in reſiſting, but withal in weighing Dangers, and ſubmitting to the leſs, when the greater is inſuperable. For as it is the part of Prudence to prevent, ſo it is of Courage and Conſtancy

to

to bear patiently what is not in the power of Prudence to decline, a thing *Alphonſo* the Sixth was a great Maſter of; a Prince modeſt in Proſperity, valiant in Adverſity, never unprepar'd for any Accident. 'Tis a Vain-glory of a Prince, who with more Temerity than Valour, chooſes rather to die in the greater Danger, than eſcape in the leſſer. He conſults more his own Fame than the Publick Safety; or rather wants Courage to deſpiſe the Opinions of the Multitude, who inconſiderately, and without any knowledge of the Accidents, condemn prudent Reſolutions; and when in Danger, are againſt having recourſe to Remedies ſo dangerous and violent. That ſometimes looks like Courage is Cowardice; where preſence of Mind is wanting to hope in danger, the Confuſion of Fear caſts us into it. When Prudence and Fortitude go hand in hand, then Conſideration takes place; and if it find not ſafety in the leſſer, is not affraid to encounter the greater Danger. 'Tis a baſe weakneſs to die with fear. There is no Valour like what neceſſity inſpires. 'Tis commonly the laſt Remedy in deſperate caſes, neither to hope nor quite deſpair. Thus a Ship not daring to truſt the Shore, abandons it ſelf to the wide Sea, and by the force of its Billows eſcapes. One Peril is ordinarily the Remedy of another. Upon this, I conceive, was grounded the Counſel ſome gave *Galba* in a Conſpiracy againſt him, to oppoſe the firſt fury of it (1). *Garcias Gomez* defended the Fort of *Xerez*, (which he was Governor of in the time of *Alphonſo* the Wiſe) and although he ſaw all his Men kill'd or wounded, would not Surrender, nor accept the Terms, though honourable, which the Moors offer'd him; for having little Confidence in them, he choſe rather to die glorioufly in the Arms of his Fidelity, than thoſe of his Enemies; and what in all appearance was like to coſt him his Life, in a wonderful manner charm'd his Ene-

(1) *Proinde intuta quæ indecora; vel ſi cadere neceſſe ſit, occurrendum diſcrimini*, Tac. 1. Hiſt.

mies,

mies, who admiring his Bravery and Reſolution, by a Hook drew him out of the Citadel alive, uſing him with great Civility, and carefully dreſſing the Wounds he had receiv'd during the Siege †. Such is the force of Valour, that it captivates even Enemies. Courage has given life to more than Fear. I know not what Divinity attends and reſcues it from Dangers. When *Ferdinand*, the Holy, beſieg'd *Sevil*, *Garcias Perez de Vargas*, a Citizen of *Toledo*, with another, being ſeparated from their Company, were paſſing along the River *Guadalquivir*, when on a ſudden they ſpy ſeven *Mooriſh* Horſe making towards them: His Comerade adviſes him to retire, but *Garcias* not to incurr the Ignominy of Cowardice by a diſhonourable Flight, pulls down the Vizer of his Helmet, brandiſhes his Sword and advances by himſelf: The *Moors* knowing his Perſon, and admiring his Reſolution, let him paſs without attacking him. Thus his Heroick Valour ſav'd him; for had he fled with his Companion, the Enemy had in all probability purſued and took him Priſoner. It requires a Mind free and diſingag'd to examine Dangers; firſt in the Report, and afterwards in the Quality of them: In the Rumour, becauſe thoſe are generally eſteem'd greateſt which are fartheſt off. The People hear and tremble at them, and ſeditiouſly ſpread and increaſe them, rejoycing at their own Misfortunes becauſe unuſual, or out of Diſaffection to the preſent Government. It is therefore the Prince's part to appear firm, and to diſperſe ſuch idle Apprehenſions. As upon thoſe Reports which were ſpread in the time of *Tiberius*, of the Revolt of the Provinces of *France*, *Spain*, and *Germany*, he never betrayed the leaſt diſcompoſure, nor chang'd his Reſidence, nor way of living, as well knowing the levity of ſuch Reports (2). If once a Prince ſurrender to Fear, he will be ever

† Mar. Hiſt. Hiſp (2) *Tanto impenſius in ſecuritatem compoſitus, neque loco, neque cultu mutato, ſed ut ſolitum per illos dies egit; altitudine animi, an compererat, medica eſſe & vulgatis leviora?* Tac. 3. Hiſt.

after

after uncapable of resolving. For then prudent Counsels and popular Rumours will be receiv'd with equal credit. As they were by *Vitellius* in the Civil War with *Vespasian* (3). Dangers imminent appear greatest, being cloath'd by Fear with horror, and by Presence magnified; and we by endeavouring to escape them, fall into others abundantly greater, which though they seem at a distance, we afterwards find too near. 'Tis idle to imagine we can [illegible] them by interposing a little time. Many have vanished by being resisted, on the contrary, Opposition has encreas'd others, and they have prov'd real, which were only imaginary. As it happened to the *Syrians* Army before *Samaria* (4). Fear of danger has destroy'd more than Danger it self. What vain Apprehension can do? We have within these few Years seen at a publick Bull-fight at *Madrid*, when a suddain Bruit being rais'd of some danger in the place where they fought, struck Confusion and Terror into all, though not one knew the Reason. The confus'd Flight of some increased the Consternation, and because none would stay to know the certainty, many ran into the Jaws of Death by the same way they took to escape it; and the Consequence had been much worse, had not the Constancy of *Philip* the Fourth, whom every ones Eyes were upon, unmov'd at the Commotion and Rumour, rais'd the trembling Spirits of his Subjects, except the Prince in Dangers and Misfortunes of this Nature, can repress the Peoples fears, Counsels are confounded, all Command, and none Obey.

To be too cautious in avoiding Dangers, is sometimes the utter Ruin of States. *Frederick*, Count *Palatine*, had not lost his, and his Electorate, had not fear after his Defeat given Wings to him to abandon all: For he might easily have retired to *Prague*, or some

(3) *Quia in metu consilia prudentium, & vulgi rumor juxta audiuntur.* Ibid. (4) 2 Kings 6. 7.

other

other place, with the Remnant of his Forces, and compounded with the Emperor, ſo by making choice of the leſſer Evil have eſcap'd the greater.

We are oftentimes deluded by fear ſo diſguiſed, that we take it for Prudence, and Conſtancy for Raſhneſs. We ſometimes boggle, and are at a ſtand what to reſolve, and in the interim the Danger ſteals on us. All things are not to be fear'd, nor is Deliberation always required, for between Prudence and Precipitation, Valour often deſigns noble Actions. The Great Captain having entered the River *Garillan* with his Army, was reduc'd to ſuch Streights, that his Soldiers mutined and deſerted; and when his Officers adviſed him to Retreat, he anſwered, *This I have reſolv'd with my ſelf, rather to gain Ground, though but enough for a Grave, than give back a ſtep, might I live an hundred Years.* An Heroick Sentence, worthy the Courage and Prudence of ſo Great a Man. He well knew, that without Raſhneſs there was no hopes, in the Caſe he then was; but weighing the Danger againſt the Credit of his Arms, the only ſupport of his Faction in the Kingdom, which entirely depended upon the Succeſs of that Expedition, he choſe rather to put all to the riſque of one Battel, and maintain his Repute, than to loſe by degrees with diſhonour. How often for want of a timely Inciſion have we let Wounds feſter and ſpread.

Some Dangers vaniſh of themſelves, others are increaſed by negligence, and waſt Kingdoms inſenſibly, and make them periſh as it were by a Conſumption. Some are unknown; of theſe one can't be too Cautious, for that they ſurpriſe before a Remedy can be provided. Others are known but ſlighted, by theſe negligence, and too much confidence are uſually ſufferers. No Danger, though never ſo inconſiderable ſhould be deſpiſed, for Time, and other Accidents often augment them, and Valour conſiſts not ſo much in vanquiſhing,

vanquishing, as in diverting Dangers. To live in sight thereof, is as bad as to suffer them (5).

Nor is the Confidence we put in another's Clemency less treacherous, when to decline one Danger we fall into a greater, as when we surrender our selves at Discretion to an Enemy; we consider in him only the generosity of Pardon, not the force of Revenge or Ambition; we measure his Compassion by our Grief and Affliction, and are apt to persuade our selves that we can move him to relieve us. When *James* the Third, King of *Majorca*, was too weak for his Brother-in-Law, *Peter* the Fourth of *Arragon*, who upon I know not what pretence would dispossess him of his Dominions; he put himself into his Hands, thinking this Submission would obtain what his Arms could not; but that King was more influenc'd by Ambition than Clemency, so that he deprived him of his Kingdom and Title. Thus Dangers deceive us, and we find that to be the greater, which we chose as the lesser. There can be no assurance in Counsel grounded on Principles that depend on anothers pleasure. We deceive our selves in supposing others will act nothing but what is agreeable to Religion, Justice, Relation, or Friendship, or but what is consistent with their Honour and Interest. Not considering that Men are not always guided by their Advantage or Duty, but rather by their private Passions and Sentiments; and consequently their Actions are not only to be examined by the Rule of Reason, but also by that of Malice, and the Experience of the ordinary Injustices and Tyrannies of the World.

Dangers are a Prince's best Masters. The past teach how to remedy the present, and prevent the future: Those of others are, 'tis true, instructing, but they

(5) *Nemo mortalium juxta viperam securos somnos capit, quæ etsi non percutiat certe solicitat; tutius est perire non posse, quam juxta periculum non periisse.* Sanct. Hier.

are eaſily forgot. Our own leave in the Soul ſome Marks and Scars of the loſſes ſuſtain'd, as that which has once wounded the Imagination does fear. Let not then contempt or forgetfulneſs ever eraſe them, eſpecially when having eſcap'd a Danger, we fancy the ſame will never return, or if it does, will not annoy us; for though ſome one Circumſtance, which is very unlikely to happen a ſecond time, may remove Dangers, yet other ſucceeding new ones make them unavoidable.

EMBLEM XXXVIII.

38

FROM Nature, this univerſal Commonwealth of things, and Empire of mixt Bodies, derive their Original, the ſupreme Government of which ſhe lays claim to; and for the more firm eſtabliſhment, and more ſecure maintaining of it, has made her ſelf ſo loved by them, that the Elements, even in the midſt of their contrariety with an admirable conſent, conſpire to preſerve it. All things would be ſoon diſſolv'd, did they hate Nature their Princeſs and Sovereign, who with mutual ties of Love and Benevolence, as with the faſteſt knot, unites them. It is this Love which holds the Earth *in Æquilibrio*, and makes the Orbs of Heaven whirl round it. Let this Monarchy of things created, founded in their firſt Being, be a Leſſon to defend their Perſons and Subjects by affection,

the moſt faithfull guard they can have about them (1).

Claud. *Not Guards, nor Groves of Pikes defend like Love.* This is the only impregnable Fort (2). For which reaſon the Bees elect a King without a Sting, for he has no need of Arms, who is beloved by his Subjects. Nature would by no means have it in his power to hurt, whoſe duty 'tis to govern, leaſt he become odious, and promote his own ruin *The greateſt and moſt abſolute power a Prince can have* (ſays K. *Alphonſo*) *is when he loves his People, and they reciprocally love him.* The body defends the Head, upon account of the Love it bears it, in conſideration, that this directs and preſerves it: elſe would it not hold up its arm toward the threatning blow. Who would expoſe himſelf to Hazards, except he had a Love for his Prince? Who protect and defend his Crown? The whole Kingdom of *Caſtile* ſided with the Infant *Henry*, againſt K. *Peter* the Cruel, becauſe the one was beloved by all, the other as univerſally hated. The firſt Principle of the ruin of Kingdoms, and all the Revolutions in States is Hatred. The Kings *Ordoun* and *Fruela* the Second were ſo abominated by their Subjects, that the very name of King became odious; *Caſtile* was reduc'd into a Commonwealth, and the Government divided between two Judges, one of which adminiſtred affairs of Peace, the other thoſe of War †. *Portugal* never took up Arms againſt its Kings, nor revolted from its obedience; the reaſon is, it bears a ſincere affection towards them; and if at any time it has excluded one and admitted another, 'twas, becauſe one was belov'd, the other for Male-adminiſtration hated. It was the advice of *James* the Firſt of *Aragon* to *Alphonſo* the Wiſe, to ſeek rather the Love than Fear of his Subjects, and to ingratiate himſelf with the Clergy and Commons, that he might be the better able to grapple with the Nobility; which Counſel if he had followed he had never loſt the Crown. *Nero* no ſooner ceas'd to b

(1) *Corporis cuſtodiam tutiſſimam eſſe putatam in virtute amicum tum in benevolentia civium eſſe collocatam.* Iſocr. ad Nic. (2) *Salvum Principem in aperto clementia præſtabit, vivum erit inexpugnabile munimentum amor civium.* Sen. de Clem. lib. 1. ca. 19. † Mar. hiſt. Hiſ

lon

lov'd, than Conſpiracies were form'd againſt him, a thing which *Subrius Flavius* upbraided him with to his face (3). A King's Power and Majeſty conſiſt not in his own Perſon, but in the Affection and good Will of his Subjects. If they be diſaffected, who will oppoſe his Enemies? 'Tis Preſervation makes the people want a King, but that can never be expected from one, who makes himſelf hated. The *Arragonians* prudently foreſaw this, when having call'd to the Crown *Peter Altbarez* Lord of *Borgia*, from whom the moſt ancient and illuſtrious Family of the Dukes of *Gandia* is deſcended, they afterwards repented, and would not have him for their King, becauſe they ſaw he us'd them with Auſterity and Rigour, even before his Election. Contrary to what *Ferdinand* the Firſt, King of *Arragon* did, who by Love and Benevolence, engag'd the hearts of all in that Kingdom, as alſo in *Caſtile* during his Reign there. We have ſeen many Princes ruin'd by Fear, none ever by Love. If therefore a Prince would be formidable, let it be to his Enemies, but let him endeavour to be belov'd by his Subjects; without which, though he come victorious over them, he will at laſt fall by the hands of theſe. As it befell *Bardanus* King of *Perſia* (4). Love and Reſpect may be joyned, but not Love and ſervile Fear. He who is fear'd is hated, and he who is hated is by no means ſecure.

Quem metuunt, oderunt.
Quem quiſque odit periiſſe expedit. Enn.

He who is fear'd by many, alſo fears many. And what greater misfortune is there, than to command thoſe who obey through Fear, and govern Bodies rather than Minds? The difference between the juſt Prince and the Tyrant is, That one uſes Arms to maintain his Subjects in Peace, the other to protect himſelf againſt them. If the ſtrength and

(3) *Nec quiſquam tibi fidelior militum fuit, dum amari meruiſti, odiſſe cœpi poſtquam parricida Matris & Uxoris, auriga, hiſtrio, & incendiarius extitiſti.* Tac. 15. ann. (4) *Clavitudine pauces inter ſenatum Regum, ſi perinde amorem inter populares, quam metum apud hoſtes quæſiviſſet.* Tac. 11. ann.

power of a Prince hated, be ſmall, he is much expoſed to danger from his Subjects; if great, yet much more. For the greater their fear is, the more ſollicitous are they to provide for their Security, as apprehending his cruelty will encreaſe with his Grandeur, as in *Bardanus* King of *Perſia*, whoſe Glory made him more ſevere and inſupportable to his Subjects (5) If not for fear of danger, at leaſt in gratitude, a Prince ſhould avoid being terrible to thoſe by whom he reigns. Whence that was a very unworthy ſaying of *Caligula*, *Let them hate me, ſo they fear me*; as if the ſecurity of Empire conſiſted in Fear: Whereas no power can be laſting where fear bears the ſway. And though *Seneca* ſaid, *He knows not how to govern, who is too fearfull of Hatred*; *Fear defends Kingdoms*: 'Tis a Tyrannick Maxim, or is to be underſtood of that vain Fear which ſometimes Princes are in of offending others, even when their Commands are juſt, which doubtleſs is dangerous, and not a little derogatory from their Authority. He can never reign, who wants Conſtancy and Courage to deſpiſe the Hatred of ill men, to preſerve the good. Nor is *Caligula*'s Sentence juſtifi'd by that of the Emperor *Tiberius*; *Let them hate me, ſo they approve me.* For no action of a perſon hated is ever approv'd. Hatred blames all, and puts the worſt Conſtruction on every thing. When once a Prince is hated, his good actions as well as bad are interpreted againſt him. It ſeems neceſſary for a Tyrant to keep his Subjects in awe, in as much as his Empire being violent, muſt be ſupported by violent means, there wanting thoſe two Obligations of Nature and voluntary Subjection, which, as *Alphonſo* the Wiſe ſays, *are the greateſt Debts a man can owe his Lord.* And the Tyrant ſenſible, that without theſe bands 'tis impoſſible there ſhould be real Love between him and his Subjects, endeavours by force to make Fear effect what ought to proceed from natural Affection; and as his diſturbed Conſcience fears Cruelty againſt it ſelf, it exerciſes it upon others (6). But the lamentable examples of all Tyrants abundantly ſhew

(5) *Ingens gloria, atque eo ferocior, & ſubjectis intolerantior*, Tac. 11. ann. (6) Wiſd. 17. 11.

how

how ſhort-liv'd this method is. For though we ſee the Empires of the *Turks*, *Muſcovites* and *Tartars* have been continued for many Ages by Fear alone, yet theſe barbarous Nations ought not to be made a Precedent: Their Manners are ſo ſavage, that they ſeem to have more of the Brute than the Man, being commonly led more by Puniſhment than reaſon, and conſequently by that only can be kept in ſubjection, as Brutes are not tamed but by Force and Fear. Yet generous Spirits ſuffer not themſelves to be compell'd or cheated into Obedience, but are induc'd thereto by ſincerity and reaſon. *For*, ſays King *Alphonſo*, *our people being loyal and couragious, their Loyalty ought to be maintain'd by truth, and their Courage by right and juſtice.*

There is uſually 'twixt the Prince and his Subjects ſuch a kind of inclination and natural Sympathy, as renders him amiable without any more care; for a Prince who deſerv'd Hatred is ſometimes lov'd, and on the contrary one hated who merited Love. And though eminent Vertues and Accompliſhments of Mind and Body are wont of themſelves to challenge Love, yet they have not always this effect, unleſs accompanied with an agreeable kind of Humour, a ſweet, obliging Air, which through the Eyes, as Windows of the Mind, ſhews the inward Goodneſs, and engages mens Affections. Beſides that, accidents which could not be prevented, or ſome ſiniſter apprehenſion may ſo break this Love and good Will between the Prince and Subject, that it can never after be re-united; yet much may be done in that caſe by skill and addreſs, in knowing how to govern to the ſatisfaction of the Nobles and Commons, avoiding giving them any occaſion of diſpleaſure, and behaving himſelf in all particulars, ſo as to create a good opinion of his Government. But ſince the means whereby the Affections of Subjects may be procur'd, are every where ſcatter'd through this Book, I ſhall only ſay here in general, that nothing contributes more to the obtaining it, than Religion, Juſtice and Liberality.

But becauſe without ſome Species of Fear, Love would be ſoon turn'd to Contempt, and the edge of Regal Autho-

rity blunted (7), it is highly requisite, that Subjects entertain such an awe as arises from Respect and Veneration, not that which is the result of danger from Injustice and Tyranny. So necessary it is for a Prince to make himself feared by not suffering Indignities, maintaining Justice, and abhorring Vice, that without such an awe in Subjects, 'twould be impossible to be long secure: For all naturally desire Liberty, and the inferior part of man rebells against Reason, and is incorrigible but by Fear. The Prince must therefore tame his Subjects as the Horse-courser breaks his Colt, (the figure of the present Emblem) who with the same hand strokes and curries him and threatens him with the Whip. Both the Rod and the Manna were kept in the Ark of the Tabernacle, to intimate, as I imagin, that Rigour and Clemency should be joyn'd in the Prince's person. God's Rod and Staff comforted *David*; for if that wounded, this supported him (8). When God gave the Law of the Decalogue to the *Israelites* on Mount *Sinai*, he at once terrified them with Thunder and Lightning, and pleasing, allur'd them with Heavenly Musick; both the one and the other is necessary to preserve a Love and Veneration in Subjects. Let this therefore be the Prince's Study, to make himself at once lov'd and fear'd: lov'd, as the Protector of his People; fear'd, as the Soul of the Law, upon which all their Lives and Estates depend: lov'd for his Rewards, fear'd for his Punishments: lov'd for his Goodness, fear'd for his Authority: lov'd as a Promoter of Peace, fear'd as Arbiter of War. So that the good in loving him may find cause to fear: the Bad in fearing him may find something to love in him. This Fear is as necessary to the preservation of the Sceptre, as that which proceeds from the Pride, Injustice, and Tyranny of the Prince, is prejudicial and dangerous to it, in leading to Despair (9). The one procures his Liberty with the Prince's Ruin; God breaking the Staff of the wicked, and the Sceptre of such as rule with too much severity (10).

(7) *Timore Principi aciem auctoritatis suæ non patitur hebescere.* Cæs. 1. Cat. (8) Ps. 22. 4. Exod. 19. (9) *Ita agere in subjectis, ut magis timeantur severitatem, quam ut sævitiam ejus detestentur.* Colum. (10) Lu. 1. 4. 5. &c.

Where

Whereas the other by conforming himſelf to Reaſon, ſtudies to avoid his Anger and Puniſhment. This Fear is of the ſame brood with Love. For there can be no Love without fear of loſing the Object lov'd, and care to continue in its favour. But ſince 'tis not ſo much in the Prince's power to beget Love as Fear, 'tis better for him to ground his ſecurity on this than that alone, which as the product of the Will is various and inconſtant; nor is any artificial Flattery, any forc'd Complaiſance ſufficient to gain the Hearts of all. That Prince I take for a great Governour, who alive is fear'd, and dead, lov'd by his Subjects; as *Ferdinand* the *Catholick* was, for if he be not lov'd, 'twill ſuffice that he is eſteem'd and fear'd.

EMBLEM XXXIX.

THere is an ancient Medal to be ſeen, upon the Reverſe of which is engraven a flaſh of Lightning upon an Altar, to ſignifie, that a Prince's ſeveri-

ty ought to yield to Prayers: an Emblem offenſive to the Eyes, the Lightning of Puniſhment being repreſented ſo lively and ſo near to Pardon, that fear may be apt to daſh all hope in the goodneſs of the Altar. And though it be fit ſometimes, that the looks of the Prince before whom the criminal bends, ſhould at once repreſent the Terror of Juſtice, and Mildneſs of Mercy; yet this is not always proper, for that were contrary to the advice of the H. Spirit, who would have Life and Clemency ſhine in a King's Countenance (1). In this Emblem therefore, inſtead of the Lightning I have plac'd upon the Altar the Golden Fleece, introduc'd by *Philip* the Good Duke of *Burgundy*, not to ſignifie, as many imagin, the fabulous Fleece of *Colchos*, but that of *Gideon*, which for a token of Victory was moiſtned with the Dew of Heaven, when all the Country about it was dry (2). A Symbol whereby Meekneſs and Humility is expreſs'd, as the ſame is ſignified by that immaculate Lamb the Son of God, offer'd for the World's Salvation. The Prince is a Victim devoted to Fatigues and Dangers for the common good of his Subjects. A precious Fleece, rich in Dew and other Bleſſings of Heaven. Here they ought at all times to find wherewithal to quench their Thirſt, to redreſs their Grievances; let him be always affable, always ſincere and benign towards them, which will be more effectual than ſeverity. Upon the ſight of *Alexander*'s pleaſing Looks, the Conſpirators immediately threw down their Arms. The ſerenity of *Auguſtus* tied the hands of the *Gaul*, who went to throw him down a Precipice in the *Alps*. The modeſt and ſweet Temper of King *Ordonno* the firſt ſtrangely won the Hearts of his Subjects. *Sancho* the Third was called the *Deſired*, not ſo much for the ſhortneſs of his Life, as for his Affability. And the *Arragonians* received *Ferdinand* the Infant, King *Martin*'s Nephew to the Crown, upon a liking they took to his obliging Demeanour. Modeſty and good Humour all muſt love. Obedience is ſufficiently heavy and odious of it ſelf; let not the Prince add Rigour to it; for that is a File, wherewith natural Liberty generally

(1) Prov. 16. 15. (2) Jud. 6. 37.

cuts

cuts the chains of Slavery. If Princes in Adverſity think Complaiſance and Humanity to be uſed for a remedy, why ſhould it not as well in Proſperity for a Preſervative? The benign Aſpect of the Prince gains a pleaſing Empire over mens minds; 'tis a diſſimulation of Sovereignty.

By Complacency, I do not here mean that which is ſo vulgar, that it begets Contempt, but which has ſo agreeable a mixture of Gravity and Authority, as leaves room for Love, but a Love attended with reſpect: for where this is wanting, that is apt to turn too familiar and aſpire to an Equality. And if the auguſt part of Majeſty be not maintain'd, there will be no difference between the Prince and Subject (3). Some ornament of the Perſon (as has been before hinted) and a well temper'd Gravity is requiſite to ſupport the Royal Dignity; for I can by no means approve of a Prince's making himſelf ſo familiar with every one, that it may be ſaid of him as it was of *Agricola*, who was ſo plain in his dreſs, ſo condeſcending and familiar, that many fought his Fame in his perſon, but few found it (4). For what is common, no one admires, and reſpect is the genuine effect of admiration. Some grave ſeverity muſt appear in the Prince's face, and ſomething extraordinary in his Carriage and Royal Port to ſhew ſupreme power; but this ſeverity ſhould be ſo qualified by Sweetneſs, that jointly they may beget Love and Reverence in the Subject, not Fear (5). The Sword has been often drawn in *France* againſt the Regal Majeſty, for being too familiar. Affability muſt not diminiſh Authority, nor Severity Love; a thing *Tacitus* admir'd in *Agricola*, (6.) and commended in the Emperor *Titus*, who appear'd affable to his Soldiers without deroga-

(3) *Comitas facile fauſtum omne atterit, & in familiari conſuetudine agre cuſtodias illud opinionis auguſtum.* Herod lib. 1. (4) *Cultu modico, ſermone facili; adeo ut plerique, quibus magnos viros per ambitionem eſtimare mos eſt, viſo aſpectoque Agricola, quærerent famam, pauci interpretarentur.* Tac. in vit. Agr. (5) *Et videri velle non aſperum, ſed cum gravitate honeſtum, & talem, ut eum non timeant obvii, ſed magis reverentur.* Ariſt. Pol. lib. 5. c. 11. (6) *Nec illi quod rariſſimum eſt, aut facilitas authoritatem, aut ſeveritas amorem diminuit.* Tac. in vit. Agr.

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ting from his Authority as General (7). Let the Prince compoſe his Looks, that they may at once aſſert Authority and invite Love; let him appear grave, not auſtere; animate, not drive into Deſpair: looking always with a gracefull, agreeable Smile, uſing words complaiſant, and gravely courteous. Some think themſelves no Princes, except they ſhew ſomething irregular in their Expreſſions, Looks and Port, contrary to the common way of other men: ſo ignorant Statuaries think the art and perfection of a Coloſs, conſiſts in having bloated Cheeks, blubber Lips, lowring Brows and ſquint Eyes.

True Greatneſs doth not conſiſt in mighty State, †
In loſty Mein and Words, or haughty Gate.

King *Abaſuerus* was of ſo terrible an Aſpect, that Queen *Heſter* coming into his preſence fell into a Swoon (9), and had not recovered, but that the King, his Spirit being changed by a divine Impreſſion (10), held out the Scepter (11), to ſhew her it was but a piece of gilded Wood, and himſelf a Man, not a Viſion as ſhe imagined (12). If Majeſty too ſevere and diſorderly could produce this Effect in a Queen, what will it in a private perſon oppreſſed with Poverty and Affliction? The Holy Scriptures call a Prince Phyſician (13), and Father (14), and neither this cures nor that governs with Inhumanity.

But if upon occaſion, the Prince frowns upon a Subject, let his Reprimands begin with an Encomium on his Virtues, afterwards laying before him the Deformity of his Crime, and thus ſtrike him with a generous Fear, in as much as the ſhadow of Vice is moſt conſpicuous when oppos'd to the light of Vertue; care alſo ſhould be taken, that the reproof be not ſo harſh and publick, that the Subject loſing his Reputation, ſhall withal, loſe all hopes of retrieving it,

(7) *Atque ipſe, ut ſuper fortunam crederetur, decorum ſe, promptumque armis oſtentabat, comitate & alloquiis officia provocans, ac plerumque in opere, in agmine, in gregario militi mixtus, incorrupto ducis honore.* Tac. 5. hiſt. † Claud. (9) Heſther 15. 11. (10) Ibid. (11) Ibid. (12) Ibid. (13) Iſai. 3. 7. (14) Eccl. 4. 10.

and

and ſo obſtinately perſiſt in his fault. Let Anger therefore and Mildneſs, Puniſhment and Rewards be ſo intermixed, as in the Golden Fleece, the Steels and Flints are knit together, and between them Flames of Fire, to ſignifie that the Prince's Heart ſhould reſemble the Fire-ſtone or Flint, which keeps the ſparks of its Anger ſhut up, leaſt they ſhould hurt any one raſhly; yet in ſuch a manner, that if it happen to be ſtruck by Injury or Contempt, it immediately breaks out into fire of Revenge and Juſtice, yet thoſe not ſo quick in execution, but it has the Dew of the Fleece at hand to extinguiſh, at leaſt to moderate them. God ſaid to *Ezekiel, as Adamant and Flint have I made thy fore-head* (15), ſignifying by that the conſtancy of Juſtice, and by this the fire of Piety. But if the Prince cannot break his rough and ſavage Nature, let him at leaſt keep an obliging Family to ſupply his place, giving a courteous reception to all Buſineſs and Petitions. A Prince is often beloved or hated upon account of his Servants; they very much cloak their Maſter's roughneſs, if they have the skill to moderate it, or to excuſe it by their Affability and Diſcretion.

Some Nations hide the Royal Majeſty behind Veils and Curtains when he gives Audience, without expoſing him to the people. A Cuſtom inhumane to the Prince, ſevere and cruel to the Subjects, who uſually find comfort in their Prince's preſence, if not in his hands. This Retreat may make the Prince more fear'd, but never more beloved. 'Tis through the Eyes and Ears that Love ſtrikes the Heart. What we neither ſee nor hear, we can't love. A Prince who refuſes the ſight and ſpeech of his Subjects, refuſes to hear their Neceſſities and to remedy them; the Tongue is an eaſie inſtrument, that ought to reconcile the Minds of all: let not the Prince make it harſh and diſ-agreeable. King *John* the Firſt, becauſe he was ſhort, and had an impediment in his Speech, loſt the *Portugueſe* in his Pretenſion to that Crown, upon the death of King *Peter*.

'Tis not ſufficient for the Prince to diſpatch buſineſs by Memorials and Petitions, for by them the Sentiments are

(15) Ezek. 3 9.

not

not ſo well expreſs'd. They not being attended with Sighs and other moving Actions, they are but dry Tears, and have not that force upon the Prince.

The doors of Temples are always open, ſo alſo ſhould be thoſe of Palaces; for Princes are God's Vicegerents, and the Altars (as we have ſaid) which the people fly to in their Afflictions and Calamities. 'Twould be a ſcandalous thing for a Soldier to find it more eaſie to charge through a Squadron of Pikes, than to come to the preſence through the midſt of *Swiſs* and *Dutch* Guards, who, like armed Hedghogs, are neither gain'd by Prayers nor Civility. *Let people come to me*, ſays the Emperor *Rodolphus*, *for I am not Emperor to be ſhut up in a box.* This retirement makes the mind ſavage (16). Attention to Government, and Communication ſoften the temper and render it eaſie. Princes, like Hawks, are tam'd by the aſſiduity of Affairs, and by familiarity with Men. The Kingdom of *Leon* rebell'd againſt King *Ramirez* the Third, for his difficulty of Acceſs. King *Ferdinand* the Holy was deny'd to none, and every one had admittance even to his moſt private Apartment: The Kings *Alphonſo* the Twelfth, and *Henry* the Third, gave publick Audience three times a Week, as did alſo their Catholick Majeſties, *Ferdinand* and *Iſabella* †. Nature has put doors to the Eyes and Tongue, but has left the Ears open, that they may be ready to hear at all times. Let not a Prince then ſtop 'em, but hearken favourably to thoſe that would ſpeak to him. Let him comfort either by Reward or Hope, for that is one kind of ſatisfaction which ſupports Merit. Let him not always uſe ſet Forms and general Anſwers; for thoſe which are given to all ſatisfie none, nor is it a ſmall trouble to the Petitioner to receive an anſwer that he knew before: Let him not always hear, let him ask ſometimes (17), for he who does not enquire, will never be well inform'd. Let him throughly know the ſtate of affairs, and let his Audiences be inſtructive, not merely ceremonial; as were thoſe of *Ferdinand* the Holy, *Alphonſo* King

(16) *Etiam fera animalia ſi clauſa teneas, virtutis obliviſcuntur.* Tac. 4 Hiſt. † Mar. hiſt Hiſp. (17) Eccl. 23. 12.

of

of *Arragon*, King *Ferdinand* the Catholick, and the Emperor *Charles* the Fifth, by which they were beloved and reſpected by their Subjects, and eſteem'd by Strangers. As the Audience ſhould be eaſie, ſo it ought alſo to be ſpeedy; for the delay of a benefit diminiſhes the Obligation. Tho' there are ſome affairs of that Nature, that 'tis better to let time undeceive them, than either the Prince or his Miniſters. For all had rather be entertain'd with Hope, than be diſpatch'd with Deſpair, which in prudent Courts is found, not given.

I don't approve of the Prince's expoſing himſelf in the Streets and publick Places, for the People; 'tis true, admire him the firſt time, obſerve him the ſecond, and ſlight him the third (18). That which is not ſeen is reſpected moſt (19), and the Eyes often deſpiſe what the opinion eſteem'd. 'Tis not convenient the people ſhould know whether the chain of their Slavery be of Iron or of Gold, paſſing judgment upon the parts and qualifications of the Prince. We reſpect that moſt which is fartheſt diſtant (20). Some Nations take the Prince's Affability and Complaiſance for a Vice. Others diſlike his reſervedneſs, and would have him mild and courteous, as the *Portugueſe* and the *French*. The Extreams in one and t'other are always dangerous, and he will be beſt able to moderate them, who in his Actions and Government, remembers that he is both Prince and Man.

(18) *Continuus aſpectus minus verendos magnos homines ipſa ſocietate facit.* Liv. (19) *Arcebantur conſpectu, quo venerationis plus ineſſet.* Tac. 4. hiſt. (20) *Cui major e longinquo reverentia* Tac. 1. ann.

EMBLEM XL.

THE Scriptures call Princes Mountains, and the reſt of Mankind, Hills and Valleys (1). This compariſon comprehends the great Affinity between them; for Mountains are Princes of the Earth, as being nearer Heaven, and ſuperiour to the other works of Nature, alſo for their Liberality, by which from their own generous Bowels, they ſupply with continual Streams the droughty Plains and Vallies beneath, cloathing them with Flowers and Verdure, this being the true property of Princes. By this vertue more than any is a Prince ally'd to God, who is ever giving to all plentifully (2); 'tis this renders obedience more prompt, for a Preſent from him who could command, forces Obligation. Subjection is agreeable when 'tis beneficial.

(1) Ye Mountains of *Iſrael*, hear the word of the Lord God, thus ſaith the Lord God to the Mountains, and to the Hills, to the Rivers, and to the Valleys, *Ezek.* 6. 3. (2) James 1. 5.

King

King *Charles* of *Navarre*, call'd the Noble, gain'd the Love of all by his Liberality. King *Henry* the Second did thereby wipe out the Murder of his Brother King *Peter*, and eſtabliſhed his Right to the Crown. What cannot a liberal Prince do? What can't a golden Scepter oblige to? Even Tyranny (3) is conniv'd at and born with, when the Prince knows how to give, eſpecially when it gains the Applauſe of the people, by ſupplying the publick Neceſſities, and rewarding perſons of Merit. This vertue, in my opinion, maintain'd *Tiberius* in the Empire, for this he always practis'd (4). But there is nothing more pernicious to a Prince, than Liberality and Goodneſs (for they uſually go together) if not uſed with Moderation. *Liberality*, ſays King *Alphonſo* the Wiſe, *becomes all men of power, but principally a King, when he uſes it to purpoſe, and as he ſhould. Garcias Sancho*, King of *Navarr*, loſt his Subjects affections, by the ſame Liberality with which he hop'd to have gain'd them; for to maintain it, he oppreſt them with Taxes and Impoſitions. Prodigality is little diſtant from Rapine or Tyranny; for when the Treaſury is drain'd by Ambition, it muſt of neceſſity be recruited by ill and indirect means (5). *He who gives more than he is able*, ſays *Alphonſo* the Wiſe, *is not liberal but prodigal; and when his own ſtock fails, he will be obliged to make uſe of others; ſo that if on one ſide he makes Friends by what he gives, he on th'other ſide makes Enemies by what he takes away.* *Diego d'Arias*, Treaſurer to King *Henry* the Fourth, leaſt he ſhould fall into this inconvenience, repreſented to him the Extravagance of his Liberality, and that 'twas convenient, that his Retinue ſhould be reduc'd to a leſſer number, and that the Salaries allow'd to ſuch as did not actually ſerve, or were any ways incapacitated, might be taken off: to whom the King made this Anſwer, *I too, were I* Arias, *ſhould more reſpect my Money than my Liberality; you ſay well as to your ſelf, but as for me, I'll act as becomes a King, without fear of poverty, or expoſing*

(3) Prov. 19 6. (4) *Quam virtutem diu retinuit, cum coeptas exueret.* Tac. 1. ann. (5) *Ac vebut perfungare avaritiam: quod ſi ambitione exhauſerimus, per ſcelera ſupplendum erit.* Tac. 2. ann.

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my ſelf to the neceſſity of raiſing new Taxes. 'Tis the duty of a King to give, and to meaſure his Authority by the publick Good, not his own particular, which is the true fruit of Riches. To ſome we give becauſe they are good, to others, that they mayn't be bad. Words truly worthy a King, if he had been guided by theſe conſiderations, but his gifts were always exceſſive and without order, without the leaſt regard to the Merit of the Party, as his Brother-in-law King *Ferdinand* obſerved in one of his Laws, ſaying, *That he gave Rewards for Shew not for Merit.* Whence we may obſerve the circumſpection a Prince ought to obſerve in his Liberality, for fear of giving occaſion to his Subjects to acknowledge his Authority, only to receive from him, not to obey him. An extravagant Subject ruins only himſelf. But a Prince, himſelf and State too The Treaſury would be ſoon at an ebb, if the Prince ſhould be extravagantly liberal, without conſidering, that they are the Magazines for publick Neceſſities. The Mountains don't ſquander away the Snow which the Vapours of the Fields and Valleys heap upon its top, but on the contrary, preſerve it againſt Summer, and then in gentle Streams returns it upon the ſame grounds it was attracted from. They don't deſcend all at once, for ſo they would not anſwer their deſign, and would be ſlighted as uſeleſs, for Liberality is the greateſt Enemy to Liberality; nor do they immediately mix with the Rivers leaving the Plains and Vallies dry, as Princes uſually do, who give to the Rich what ought to be diſtributed among the Poor, and drain the thirſty ſands to ſupply the brimfull Lakes, which have no need of it. 'Tis a great fault to gain the favour of the Rich at the expence of the poor; and by vain extravagance to oppreſs the body of the State, whoſe ruin is always promoted by the pride and vanity of a few. The people cannot brook to ſee that power vainly ſquander'd away, which ought to be employ'd to the preſervation of them, and the Prince's dignity. The rewards of a Prodigal are not eſteem'd, becauſe they are common, and proceed from the vice of Extravagance, not the vertue of Liberality, and by giving all to a few he offends many; that which is given to ſome particular ones, being wanted in general by all. He who

gives

gives without care or choice, enriches indeed, but rewards not: to give to thoſe who deſerve, 'tis neceſſary to be ſparing to others. So that a Prince ought to uſe great Prudence and Judgment in the Diſtribution of Rewards (6). For when they are well diſtributed, though they fall on but few, they affect many. The Scriptures command all Offerings to be made with Salt, which is the ſame as Prudence (7), equally diſtant from Prodigality and Avarice. But becauſe a Prince ought to be generous to all, let him imitate *Aurora*, which, as it paſſes, always leaves ſomething, tho' but Dew and Flowers. Nay often ſatisfies only with its Beauty and Pleaſantneſs. Let him give to all, but with ſuch Moderation, that without putting it out of his power to give more, he may content them. Some by Preſents, ſome by Words, and ſome by Affability (8); for oftentimes the Eyes give more than the Hands. Liberality is the only Vertue, which ſhould be ſometimes in the opinion of others, more than in the perſon of the Prince; Experience teaching us, that 'tis ſufficient that he expreſs ſome Demonſtrations, with ſuch Addreſs, that he may be generally eſteem'd liberal; ſo that he muſt avoid Refuſals, for 'tis a great trouble to receive them from a Prince. What he cannot give to day, he may give to morrow; and if he cannot, 'tis better to let time diſcover it than to tell it himſelf. He who refuſes, either does not diſtinguiſh Merit, or ſhews his want of Power or Will, and neither of theſe Declarations become a Prince, whoſe Power and Grandure the Petitioner acknowledges.

Let a Prince be generous in the Reward of Vertue, but let it be with Offices and Imployments, and other Revenues already allotted to Liberality, not with the Crown-Rents, and Treaſury reſerv'd for greater uſes. King *Ferdinand* the Catholick was very liberal, but not to the Prejudice of the Crown. He was (at his firſt coming to the Crown) ſlow in the Diſtribution of Offices, the better to gain mens minds, and to reward thoſe who had followed his Party. He knew with great Prudence to mingle Liberality with Frugality.

(6) Pſal. 98. 4. (7) Levit. 2. 14. Eccl. 35. 11. (8) Eccl. 35. 11.

Of which he has not only left us an Example but alſo a Law, in theſe words: *Kings ought not to be ſo generous and bountifull, as that it may be term'd Extravagance; for this vertue of Liberality ought to be uſed with order and meaſure, without Detriment to the Crown and Royal Dignity* †. To lay up the better to employ, is not Avarice, but premeditated Liberality. To give inconſiderately, is either Vanity or Folly. By this Parſimony King *Alphonſo* the Wiſe rais'd the Monarchy, and loſt the Crown by his profuſe Extravagance; one of the principal Complaints the Kingdom made againſt him, was, That he had given the Empreſs *Martha* thirty thouſand Marks of Silver, to redeem her Husband *Baldwin*, whom the Sultan of *Ægypt* retain'd Priſoner; in which he was more vain than prudent. King *Henry* the Second found the damage of having weakned the power of his Crown by his too great Bounty, and therefore revok'd it by his laſt Will. Time and Opportunity ought to guide Princes in their Liberality; ſometimes it ought to be moderated, when the Expences of War, and the publick Neceſſities are great, and to be apply'd to avert Dangers, and to facilitate Deſigns; in which he ſaves moſt, who ſpends moſt: for he who gives by little and little, ſpends his Money, without attaining his end. War is avoided, and Victory and Peace purchaſed by Liberality (9).

The Prodigality of a Prince may be corrected by committing the management of his Treaſures to thrifty frugal Miniſters, as may his Avarice by generous ones. 'Tis neceſſary ſometimes to let a Prince ſee the ſumm of his Liberality; for Grants are made ſometimes without conſideration; and if the Prince kept an account of his Expences he would doubtleſs moderate them; and 'tis not always Liberality to grant Gratuities, for Avarice is often vanquiſh'd by Importunity, or ſometimes weary with contending, grants them through Deſpair.

'Tis natural to all Princes to give to thoſe who have moſt; I know not whether through Fear or Eſteem of Power. This that great Courtier *Joſeph* well underſtood, when ca-

† L. 3. tit. 10. lib. 5. Recop. (9) Prov. 22. 9.

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ling his Father and Brothers into *Ægypt*, and offering them in *Pharaoh*'s name all the Good of that Kingdom (10), he bid them bring with them all the Riches and Goods that they had (11); knowing, that if they came rich, the King would be more liberal to them; ſo that he who expects Bounty from a Prince, muſt not repreſent to him his Poverty and Miſery. There are no more ready means to have, than to have (12).

(10) Gen. 45. 18. (11) Ibid. ver. 20. (12) Luke 19. 26.

EMBLEM XLI.

THE Motto of this Emblem has been famous to all Antiquity. Some attribute it to *Bias*, to *Pythagoras*, *Thales* and *Homer*; but I think 'tis more reaſonably aſcrib'd to the *Delphick* Oracles, for it ſeems rather a Divine than Humane Sentence, fit to be engraven on all the Crowns, Sceptres, and Rings of Princes. To this

is reduc'd the whole Science of Government, which conſiſts in avoiding Extreams, and loves the middle, where Vertue keeps its Sphere. 'Twas ask'd *Socrates*, Which was the propereſt Vertue for a young Man, and he anſwer'd, *Nothing to Exceſs*, by which he comprehended all. To this Motto the body of the preſent Emblem ſeems well ſuited; Corn lay'd by the violence of unſeaſonable Rain, when gentle Dews were ſufficient (1). Honours by being too great ſuit ill with Subjects, and rather diſgrace than adorn them. There are ſome favours ſo out of ſeaſon, that they paſs for Injuries; What avails it for the Prince to do a benefit, if by his auſtere Looks and rugged Words, he ſeems, as 'twere, to throw it at one, or does it ſo unſeaſonably, that it does no kindneſs. The Benefit and Favour is loſt, and the hand abhorr'd that gave it. Which made King *Alphonſo* the Wiſe ſay, *That Rewards ſhould be given ſo* à propos, *that they may be beneficial to the Receiver* †.

As there are errors in Exceſs of Rewards and Favours, ſo there is alſo in Puniſhments. Such an exact Rigour better becomes a Miniſter of Juſtice than a Prince; he is not at his Liberty, but the Prince has the Keys of the Law in his own hand. 'Tis not Juſtice which is too ſevere, nor Mercy which is not moderate, and ſo of other Vertues.

The ſame Moderation a Prince out to obſerve in the arts of Peace and War, ſo guiding the Chariot of the Government, as they did in the Games of old, that the Wheels may not touch the Goals, for ſo they would be broken; the art of the ancient Racers conſiſted, in meaſuring the diſtance ſo exactly, as to paſs as near as poſſible, without touching either end.

What a Prince ought to take moſt care of, is the Moderation of his Paſſions, governing them with ſuch Prudence, that he may neither deſire, hope, love or fear with too much Ardour and Violence, rais'd by the Will not by

(1) *Magni animi eſt magna contemnere, prudentis eſt mediocria malle, quam nimia; iſta enim utilia ſunt; illa quòd ſuperfluunt nocent. Sic ſegetem nimia ſternit uberta, ſic Rami onere franguntur, ſic ad maturitatem non pervenit nimia fœcunditas*, Sen. Epiſt. 39. † L. 1. tit. 21. p. 3.

Reaſon

Reaſon. The deſires of private perſons may be eaſily accompliſh'd, but thoſe of Princes not, for thoſe are proportion'd to their conditions, and theſe are uſually greater than the force of their Grandure, tending always to Extreams. Almoſt all Princes either ruin themſelves, or run into great inconveniences, through Exceſs of Ambition, mans deſire being unlimited, and the poſſibility of things very narrow, it rarely happens that the firſt are meaſured by the latter, or that there is any Juſtice between them. Hence Princes ſeek pretences to rob their Neighbours, nay their greateſt Friends, aſpiring ever at the enlargement of their State, without meaſuring their bodies with their Strength, and their Government with Humane Capacity, which cannot maintain all that may be acquired. The Grandure of Empires lies upon their own Shoulders, and are always ready to fall; oppreſs'd with their own weight. Let Princes therefore endeavour to maintain their States, which either Succeſſion or Election has given them; and if any juſt occaſion ſhall offer of enlarging them, let them make uſe of it a God's name, but with ſuch caution, as the Event ſhall ſhew to Prudence.

Ambition is not leſs dangerous in the Exceſs of its Fears than of its Deſires, eſpecially in that which is acquired by Violence. Fear ſuggeſts no means which are not immediately made uſe of for its preſervation. There is none of the line of the party wrong'd, or any one who has the leaſt pretenſion to the State, though never ſo remote, but is fear'd. Tyranny uſually propoſes nothing leſs than a general ruin. Thus *Mucianus* practis'd, killing the Son of *Vitellius* (2). The ſame alſo is taught in the School of *Machiavell*, whoſe Scholars forgetting the Example of *David*, who ſought out *Saul*'s Relations, that they might partake of his Mercy (3), follow that of ſome Tyrants, as if all were not ruin'd by theſe pernicious practices; and if any one has been preſerv'd (as we ſhall obſerve) 'twas by changing them for the better. Moſt Kingdoms are augmented by Uſurpation, and after-

(2) *Manſuram diſcordiam obtendens, ni femina belli reſtrinxiſſet.* Tac. 4 ann. (3) 2 Sam 9 3.

wards maintain'd by Juſtice, and legitimated by time. Extreme violence is extreme danger. *Cyrus* invaded *Lydia*, and diſpoſeſs'd King *Craſus*. But had he had any of our Politicians, they would have adviſ'd him, for his greater Security, to have taken him off. Yet *Cyrus* reſtor'd him one City, by which he might ſupport his Royal Dignity; and 'tis certain, he had provok'd the Hatred and Arms of all *Greece*, if he had ſhew'd himſelf cruel (4). Tyranny is equally hateſull to God and Man; nor are there wanting in ſuch caſes, ſome mild means, by which the mind may be diverted, from ſhedding Blood, from breaking the Line of Succeſſion, from diminiſhing, or transferring the greatneſs of States, and taking off thoſe who may aſpire to the Crown; which had they been obſerved in *Portugal*, that people had never revolted.

When the danger is ſo evident, that it obliges to Defence and natural Preſervation, the Prince ought to ſtrike at the Root, that it may not ſprout again, keeping a watchfull Eye upon it, leaſt it ſhould happen, as it did to the *Philiſtin* Princes, who having cut off *Sampſon*'s hair, wherein lay all his Strength, began to ridicule him, not conſidering that it might grow again, as it afterwards did (5), when he pull'd the Temple upon their Heads (6), killing more Enemies dying than he had done living (7).

Inordinate Ambition moreover perſwades the Oppreſſion of the liberty of the people, the humbling of the Nobility, the weakning of the potent and rich, and the reduction of all to the Royal Prerogative, thinking that the more abſolute, the more firm it is; and that the lower the people are reduc'd, the higher its Glory riſes; an error by which Flattery gains the Hearts of Princes, and leads them into great dangers. 'Tis Modeſty that preſerves Empires, ſo correcting the Prince's Ambition, that it may maintain it within the bounds of Reaſon, the power of his Dignity, the honour of the Nobility, and the liberty of the people, for no Monarchy is laſting which is not mixt, that is com-

(4) *Hæc clementia non minus utilis victori quam victo fuit.* Tac. 2. hiſt. (5) Judg 16. 21. (6) Ibid (7) Ibid.

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pos'd of Ariſtocracy and Democracy (8). Abſolute Power is Tyranny. Whoever promotes that promotes his own ruin. A Prince ought not to govern as the Lord, but as the Father, the Protector and Governour of his States (9).

Theſe diſorders of Ambition proceed from a long uſe and abuſe of Dominion, which covets all for it ſelf; in which 'tis neceſſary Princes ſhould conquer themſelves, and ſubmit to reaſon, however difficult the attempt appear; for many can conquer others, few themſelves. This Victory is of Force, that of Reaſon. 'Tis not Valour to conquer in Battle, but to ſubdue the Paſſions. Obedience and Neceſſity make Subjects humble and modeſt; Superiority and Power render Princes proud; Pride has deſtroy'd more Kingdoms than the Sword; more Princes have ruin'd themſelves than have been undone by others. The remedy conſiſts in the Prince's knowledge of himſelf, by retiring within himſelf, and conſidering, that though the Scepter diſtinguiſhes him from his Subjects, they much exceed him in endowments of Mind, more noble than his Grandure. That if Reaſon might take place, the moſt accompliſh'd man would be King. That the hand with which he governs the World, is of Clay, and Subject to the Leproſie, and all other human Miſeries, as God gave *Moſes* to underſtand (10), that knowing his own Miſeries, he might pity thoſe of others (11). That a Crown is a very unſafe Poſſeſſion, for between the utmoſt height, and the loweſt fall, there is no Interpoſition (12). That he depends upon the Will of others, ſince if they would not obey, he would be but like other men. The greater the Prince ſhall be, the more he ought to eſteem this Modeſty, ſince God himſelf does not

(8) *Quæ ex pluribus conſtat reſp melior eſt* Ariſt. 2 Pol. c 4. (9) *Hæc enim ſunt omnia reducenda, ut iis qui ſub imperio ſunt, non Tyrannum, ſed patrem-familias, aut regem agere videatur*, &c. Ariſt. Pol 5. c. 11. (10) Exod. 4. 6. (11) Hebr. 5. 2. (12) *Quid regnum eſt, cui parata non ſit ruina, & proculcatio, & dominus, & carnifex? Nec iſta intervallis diviſa, ſed hora momentum intereſt inter ſalutem, & aliena genua.* Senec.

diſdain it (13). Modeſty which hides Greatneſs under it, is like rich Enamel upon Gold, which gives it the greater Value and Eſteem. *Tiberius* had no Artifice more cunning, than to appear modeſt to gain Eſteem. He ſeverely reprehended thoſe who call'd his Occupations Divine, and him Lord (14). When he went into the Courts of Juſtice, he would not ſuffer the Preſident to quit his ſeat, but ſat down upon one corner of the Bench (15). He who is gotten to the higheſt ſtep among men, cannot riſe but by ſtooping. Let all Princes learn Modeſty of the Emperor *Ferdinand* the Second, who was ſo familiar and affable to all, that he made himſelf lov'd rather than reverenc'd. In him Goodneſs and Modeſty were conſpicuous, and Majeſty found but by Attention: He was not the Imperial Eagle with a ſharp Beak, and bare Talons, threatning all, but the tender Pelican, continually digging his own Intrails to feed his people as his own young. It coſt him no pains to humble his Grandure and make himſelf equal to others. He was not the Maſter but Father of the World, and the exceſs of Modeſty often cauſes Contempt to the ruin of Princes, to him it created more Reſpect, and oblig'd all Nations to his Service and Defence. See the force of true Goodneſs, and of a great Soul, which triumphs over it ſelf, and is ſuperiour to Fortune! He has left us in the preſent Emperour his Son, the lively Portraicture of all theſe qualities, with which he ſteals the Hearts both of Friends and Enemies. There is no vertue more agreeable to a Prince than Modeſty, all others would be fooliſh in him, if that did not adjuſt his Looks and Actions, not permitting them to exceed themſelves.

In Government 'tis very convenient not to touch upon Extremes, for too great Condeſcenſion is not leſs prejudicial than a haughty Grandure. Monaſtick Communities may perhaps ſuffer the Rigour of Obedience, but not popular ones. Such rigid Diſcipline may keep a few in awe, but

(13) *Modeſtiæ fama, quæ neque ſummis mortalium ſpernenda eſt, & à diis æſtimatur.* Tac. 15. ann. (14) *Acerbéque increpuit eos qui divinas occupationes, ipſumque Dominum dixerunt.* Tac. 2. ann. (15) *Aſſidebat in cornu Tribunalis.* Tac. 1. ann.

not

not many. Civil Happineſs conſiſts in vertue, which conſiſts in the middle, as does civil Life and the Government of States, for the nature of Empire is ſuch, that the people may take it away, without being ruin'd by too much Licence, or render'd obſtinate by too much Rigour. In Government we ought not to conſider what ſhould be, but what may be (16). Even God adapts himſelf to human Frailty.

Between theſe Extremes alſo the body of the Commonwealth ſhould be conſtituted, care being taken that there mayn't be too great difference in the conditions of the Citizens; for exceſs or inequality of Riches or Nobility, if it be much, creates in ſome Pride, and in others Envy, and from thence proceed Enmity and Seditions (17). For there can be no Friendſhip or civil Agreement among them who are ſo unequal in their Conditions and Fortunes, for all hate equality, and covet more, either to govern as Lords, or obey as Slaves (18). Some too haughty contemn the Laws, and deſpiſe Obedience; Others too ſervile, know not how to bear it, and have neither Fear of Infamy nor Puniſhment, hence there would become a Community of Lords and Slaves, but without reſpect between themſelves, ſince neither would know how to meaſure themſelves by their own condition. Thoſe of the loweſt quality pretend to be as thoſe of higher. Thoſe who are equal or ſuperiour in one thing, think they are in all. Thoſe who have the advantage in all, can't contain themſelves, and deſpiſing every one would proudly lord it over them, without Obedience to him who commands, or adapting themſelves to the Conſtitutions and Cuſtoms of the State, whence proceeds its ruin and converſion into other Forms (19), for all ſigh and are

(16) *Non enim ſolum reſpublica, quæ optima ſit, conſiderari debet, ſed etiam quæ conſtitui poſſit, præterea quæ facilior & cunctis civitatibus communior habeatur.* Ariſt. lib. 4 Pol. 6. c. 2. (17) *Præterea ſeditiones non modo propter fortunarum, ſed etiam propter honorum inæqualitatem exiſtunt.* Ariſt lib. 2. c. 5. (18) *Sed jam hæc conſuetudo in civitatibus invaluit, ut homines, æqualitatem odio habeant, & malint, aut imperio potiri, aut ſi victi fuerint, imperio ſubeſſe* Ariſt. lib 4. Pol. c. 11. (19) *Nam qui virtute præſtant, iniquo animo ſibi indigniores æquari patentur: quamobrem ſæpè conſpirare, & ſeditiones commovere norunt.* Ariſt. Pol. 2. c. 5.

uneaſie

uneaſie under it. And though it be impoſſible intirely to remedy this contention in States, becauſe of the difference of condition of the parts of which they conſiſt, yet are they preſerv'd if it be moderate, and ruin'd if exceſſive. As it happens in the four Humours of the Body, though the Blood be the moſt noble, and the Choler the moſt potent, yet do they mutually preſerve one another, while there is no great Inequality between them; ſo that State will continue long, which conſiſts of moderate parts, and not much unequal between themſelves. 'Twas the extravagant Riches of ſome of the Citizens which caus'd the ruin of the State of *Florence*, and is at preſent the cauſe of the troubles of *Genoua*. Becauſe in *Venice* they are better divided, it has continued ſo many Ages, and if there happen any danger or inconvenience in the Government, 'tis through the too great poverty of ſome of its Magiſtrates. If any Republick has been preſerv'd for all theſe diſorders and exceſs of its parts, 'tis through the Prudence and Induſtry of the Governour, who keeps it in its Devoir, by the fear of the Laws, and other diſcreet means, ſuch as not to wrong any one, nor violate the Privileges and Conveniencies of the Poor, to employ the great ones in the Adminiſtration, and in Offices; in fine not to oppreſs, but rather to encourage the hope of thoſe who are of an high and enterpriſing Spirit. But this will continue no longer than it has prudent Governours; and becauſe States can't be ſufficiently provided for by theſe temporal Remedies, which depend upon chance, 'tis neceſſary in their firſt Inſtitution, to provide means to correct theſe Exceſſes, before they happen.

EMBLEM XLII.

I Am indebted, for the body of this Emblem, to the Civility of the preſent Pope *Urban* the VIIIth. his Holineſs having been pleas'd to ſhew me upon a precious Stone, engraven in the time of the *Romans*, two Bees drawing a Plough, which was found in his time; a Preſage of the riſe of his noble and ancient Family, his Arms being joyn'd to the triumphant Yoak of the Church. Which upon Reflection put me in mind of a Prodigy of King *Wamba*, when being anointed by the Archbiſhop of *Toledo*, there was ſeen to ſpring from his head a Bee, which flew ſtreight towards Heaven, prognoſticating the ſweetneſs of his Government: from whence I infer, that the Ancients would ſhew by this Emblem, how neceſſary 'twas to mingle, Profit with Pleaſure, the art of making Honey, with that of *Agricultura*. For a Motto to which, I thought the beginning of that Verſe of *Horace* would not be amiſs.

Omne

Omne tulit punctum, qui miſcuit utile dulci. Hor.

Who mixes gain with Sport gains ev'ry point.

In this conſiſts the main art of Government; this was the firſt piece of Policy in the world; this the ancient Philoſophy taught us, feigning that *Orpheus* made Beaſts follow him, and that the very Stones danc'd to *Amphion's* Harp, with which he built the Walls of the City of *Thebes*, to ſignifie that the mild inſtruction of thoſe great perſons were ſufficient to reduce men, not leſs ſavage than Brutes, and more inſenſible than Stones, to the Harmony of the Laws, and civil Society †.

Theſe Arts all States have uſed to inſtruct the people, mingling Inſtruction with Sport and publick Games. All *Greece* flock'd to Mount *Olympus*, to be preſent at the *Olympian*, *Pythian*, *Nemæan* and *Iſthmian* Games; ſome out of curioſity to ſee them, others to obtain the propos'd Rewards, and upon this occaſion they exercis'd their Strength, ſacrific'd to the Gods, and treated of the moſt important affairs of the Government of thoſe Provinces. Comedies and Tragedies were alſo invented to purge the Affections. The Gladiators of the *Romans*, and the Bull-fights of the *Spaniards*, (who alſo are diverted with terrible and deſperate Enterprizes) were to confirm the Mind that it might not be daunted at the ſight neither of Blood nor Death. Wreſtling, Tilting, Horſe-races *, and other ſuch Sports, are ſo many Schools in which Arts military are learn'd, and the Mind at the ſame time recreated and diverted. The people muſt be drawn by Flattery and Mildneſs, to the Conveniencies and Deſigns of the Prince; they are like a Horſe which being gently ſtroak'd into Temper takes the Bitt, and afterwards ſubmits to Burthens and the Laſh. They can't

† *Silveſtres homines ſacer interpreſque Deorum,*
Cædibus & fœdo victu deterruit Orpheus,
Dictus ab hoc lenire Tigres, &c.

* Juego de las Cannas.

bear

bear too much Rigour, or too much Gentleneſs. Exceſs of Liberty is as dangerous to them as Exceſs of Slavery (1). Princes who have wanted this conſideration have felt the rage of the incenſed Multitude. Inveterate diſtempers are not always to be cured by the Knife and Fire. They require ſoothing Medicines, and when there is need of bitter Pills, they ſhould be well gilt, to deceive the Sight and Taſt. 'Tis not neceſſary that the people ſhould know the Ingredients of the Prince's Reſolutions and Counſels, 'tis ſufficient that they ſwallow them upon any Pretext.

The Dangers and Hardſhips of War are ſweeten'd by the mildneſs of the Prince. Thus *Germanicus* to keep the *German* Legions in obedience, and more ready for Battle, us'd to viſit the wounded Soldiers, and taking notice of their Wounds, commend their Actions, gaining ſome by hope, others by good words, and ſo made them eager to fight (2).

This goodneſs alone is not effectual, there is need alſo of ſome eminent Vertue in the Commander, that if he be beloved for that he may be reſpected for this. Many times a Prince is beloved for his extraordinary goodneſs, and deſpiſed for his Inſufficiency. Reſpect proceeds not from Love, but Admiration. He obliges all, who having courage to make himſelf fear'd, makes himſelf beloved; who knowing how to execute Juſtice, knows alſo to be mercifull. Goodneſs is often interpreted Softneſs and Ignorance, in him who has no other Vertues to recommend him. Theſe are of ſuch force in a Prince, that they ſoften his Severity and Rigour, being recompenc'd by them. Even great Vices are excus'd, or at leaſt conniv'd at in him who is Maſter alſo of great Vertues.

In Negotiations 'tis very convenient to mingle Sweetneſs with Gravity, and Jeſts with Truth, provided it be *à propos*, without Offence to good Manners, nor the Gravity of the Subject, in which the Emperor *Tiberius* was well skill'd (3).

(1) *Imperaturus es hominibus, qui nec totam ſervitutem pati poſſunt, nec totam libertatem.* Tac. 1. hiſt. (2) *Circumire ſaucios, facta ſingulorum extollere, vulnera intuens, alium ſpe, alium gloria, cunctos alloquio & cura, ſibique & prælio firmabat.* Tac. 1. ann. (3) *Tiberius tamen ludibria ſeriis permiſcere ſolitus.* Tac. 6. ann.

There's

There's none can endure a melancholy roughness, a look always set to business, a grave Speech and a formal Behaviour. 'Tis Prudence sometimes to mix a little folly in Counsels (4), when 'tis well apply'd 'tis Wisdom (5). A happy thought and a word in season gains peoples Minds, and most difficult Affairs to the end proposed, and sometimes discovers the Intention, deceives Malice, diverts Offence, and prevents a positive Answer where 'tis not convenient.

We ought also in Negotiations to mingle the advantage of those whom we would perswade, shewing them that 'tis their interest as well as ours; for all are mov'd by self-interest, few by Obligation and Glory. *Sejanus*, to incite *Drusus* to the Murther of his Brother *Nero*, set before him the hopes of the Empire. The skill of a prudent Minister consists in facilitating affairs with others interests, disposing the Treaty so, that theirs and his own Prince's may seem to be the same. To desire to negotiate affairs by self-interest only, is to bring water in broken pipes; where one receives it from another, all receive Assistance and Advantage.

(4) *Misce stultitiam consiliis brevem.* (5) Eccl 10. 1.

EMBLEM XLIII.

ALL things as well animate as inanimate are Leaves of this great Book of the World, the Work of Nature, wherein divine Wiſdom has written all Sciences, to teach and inſtruct us how to act. There is no moral Vertue, which is not found in Animals. Practick Prudence is born in them; in us 'tis not acquired but by Inſtruction and Experience. We may learn from them without Confuſion and Shame of our Ignorance, for he who informs them, the ſame is Author of all things. But to put on their Nature, or deſire to imitate them in acting like them irrationally, hurried by the Appetite of our Affections and Paſſions, would be giving an affront to Reaſon, the proper Gift of Man, by which he is diſtinguiſhed from other Animals, and merits the command over them. They for want of Reaſon are without Juſtice, each aiming at nothing but its own Preſervation, without reſpecting Injuries done to others.

thers. Man juſtifies his Actions, and meaſures them by Equity, doing nothing to others, which he would not have done unto himſelf. Whence may be inferr'd how impious and inhuman is the deſign of *Machiavel*, who forms his Prince upon another Suppoſition, of the Nature of the Lion and the Fox, that what he can't attain by reaſon he may by force and fraud, in which he was inſtructed by *Lyſander* General of the *Lacedæmonians*, who adviſ'd a Prince, that where the Lion's skin fail'd, he ſhould put on that of the Fox, making uſe of his Tricks and Artifices. This Doctrine is of long ſtanding. *Polybius* reprehends it in his own and the foregoing Ages (1). In this King *Saul* may be a Leſſon to all (2). This Maxim has encreas'd in time, there being no Injuſtice nor Indecency, but appears honourable to Policy, provided it be in order to Dominion (3), thinking that Prince lives precariouſly, who is tied up to Law and Juſtice (4). Whence they regard not Breach of Treaties, Faith, or Religion it ſelf, when for the Preſervation or Augmentation of Empire. Upon theſe falſe foundations Duke *Valentine* endeavour'd to raiſe his Fortune, but before he had finiſh'd it, it fell with that violence upon him, that the very Fragments and Ruins of it were loſt. How can that laſt which is founded upon Deceit and Lyes? How can that ſubſiſt which is violent? What force can there be in Contracts, if the Prince, who ſhould be their ſecurity, is himſelf the firſt that breaks them? Who will put any confidence in him? How can his Empire ſtand, who truſts more to his own Artifices than to divine Providence. Nor for all this, would I have a Prince ſo mild, as never to uſe force, nor ſo candid and ſincere, as not to know how to diſſemble, nor provide againſt Deceit, for ſo he would live expoſed to Malice, and be play'd upon by all. My deſign in this Em-

(1) *Quo Leonis pellis attingere non poteſt, principi aſſumendam Vulpinam.* Plut. (2) *Fuit, cui in tractandis negotiis dolus malus placeret, quem Regi convenire ſane nemo dixerit, etſi non deſunt, qui id tam crebro uſu hodie doli mali, neceſſarium eum eſſe dicant ad publicam rerum adminiſtrationem.* Polyb. 13. hiſt. (3) *Nihil gloriоſum niſi tutum, & omnis retinendæ dominationis honeſta.* Sal. (4) *Ubicunque tantam honeſto dominanti licet, precario regnatur.* Sen. in Trag. Thyeſt.

blem

blem is, that he ſhould be indued with Valour, but not with that brutiſh and irrational Courage of Beaſts, but that which is attended by Juſtice, ſignified by the Lyon's Skin, the Emblem of Valour, and therefore dedicated to *Hercules*. Sometimes 'tis neceſſary for a Prince to cover his Face with a Frown, and to oppoſe Fraud. He ſhould not always appear mild. There are occaſions when he muſt put on the Lion's Skin, that his Subjects and Enemies may ſee his Claws; and that he may be thought ſo ſevere, that Fraud may not have the boldneſs to attack him with Flattery, which way it uſes to tame the minds of Princes. This, it ſeems the *Ægyptians* would intimate, by putting a Lion's Skin upon their Prince's head. There is no Reſpect nor Reverence, where there is no fear. The People perceiving their Prince can't be angry, and that nothing can alter his mild Temper, always deſpiſe him; but this Severity need not immediately come to Execution. 'Tis not neceſſary for a Prince to be really angry, but only to appear ſo. The Lion without diſcompoſing himſelf, or thinking of hurting any other Animals, with his very Looks infuſes dread into all; ſuch is the Majeſtick force of his Eyes(5). But becauſe 'tis convenient ſometimes to gild force with craft, and indignation with mildneſs, to diſſemble a little, and accommodate himſelf to the times and perſons: therefore in the preſent Deviſe, the Lion's head is not crown'd with the little tricks of the Fox, which are mean and baſe, and below the Generoſity and Magnanimity of a Prince, but with Serpents, the Emblem of carefull and prudent Majeſty, and in the ſacred Writs the Hieroglyfick of Prudence, for their cunning in defending their heads, in ſtopping their Ears againſt all Inchantments, and in other things only tending to their own preſervation, not the prejudice of others. For the ſame reaſon, and the like accidents, I have made uſe of theſe words as a Motto to the preſent Deviſe, *that he may know how to reign*, taken from the Motto of *Lewis* the Eleventh King of *France*, *who knows not how to diſſemble, knows*

(5) A Lion which is the ſtrongeſt among Beaſts, and turneth not away for any. *Prov.* 30 30.

not how to reign. In which the whole art of Government is briefly comprehended; but there is need of great Prudence and Circumſpection, leaſt this Power ſhould turn to Tyranny, and this Policy to Fraud: Theſe Mediums nearly bordering upon Vices. *Juſtus Lipſius* defining Fraud in matters of Policy, ſays, *'tis ſhrewd Counſel, deviating from Vertue and the Laws, for the good of the King and Kingdom*; by which avoiding the Extremes of *Machiavel*, and finding alſo, that 'tis impoſſible for a Prince to govern without ſome Fraud and cunning, he adviſes a little, tolerates Mediocrity, but forbids Extremes; bounds very dangerous to a Prince. For who can exactly deſcribe them? there ought not to be ſuch Rocks ſo near politick Navigation. The malice of Power, and ambition of Rule, act ſufficiently in many; if Fraud be vicious, 'tis vicious in its leaſt parts, and therefore unworthy of a Prince. The worth and dignity of the Royal Purple, diſdains the leaſt ſpot. The minuteſt Atom is viſible, and blemiſhes the Rays of theſe terreſtrial Suns. And how can it be ſuffer'd that his actions ſhould deviate from Vertue and the Laws, who is the very Soul thereof? There is no Fraud without a mixture of malice and falſhood, both oppoſite to Royal Magnanimity; though *Plato* ſays, *That Falſhood is ſuperfluous in the Gods, they having no need on't, but not in Princes who have great occaſion for it, and that therefore it may be allow'd them ſometimes.* That which is unlawfull ought not to be allow'd, nor ought we to make uſe of means in their own nature wicked, to obtain juſt and honourable ends. Diſſimulation and Cunning are then only lawfull, when they don't drive to Knavery, and prejudice the Authority and Reputation of the Prince; in which caſe I don't eſteem them as Vices but Prudence, or the Daughters thereof, being both advantageous and neceſſary to a Commander: which would be, if Prudence reſpecting its own preſervation, would make uſe of Fraud according to the different circumſtances of time, place, and perſons, ſo as the Heart and Tongue, the Mind and Words may ever agree. That Diſſimulation ought to be avoided, which with fraudulent intentions belyes the things deſigned. That which would make another underſtand that

which

which is not, not that which would make him not understand that which is. For this end one may sometimes use indifferent and equivocating words, not with a design to cheat, but to secure ones self, and prevent being cheated, and for other lawfull ends. Thus we see the Master of truth himself pretended to his Disciples, who were going to the City *Emmaus*, that he was going farther (6). The counterfeit folly of *David* before King *Achis* (7); the pretended Sacrifice of *Samuel* (8); the Kids skins fitted to *Jacob*'s hands (9), were all lawfull Dissimulations, the intent not being to cheat, but only to hide another design, nor are they the less allowable, because one foresees that another will thereby be deceiv'd, for that knowledge proceeds not from malice, but a kind of caution.

And these arts and practices are then chiefly to be made use of, when we treat with designing and crafty Princes; for in such case, Distrust, Cunning, Hypocrisie, ambiguous Replies, prudent Equivocation, least a Prince should be insnared, and give occasion for others Plots and Machinations, defending himself with these arts, and not offending or violating his publick Faith, what is this but being upon his Guard? That Ingenuity is foolish, which frankly discovers its secret Sentiments; and the State would be in danger without some caution. 'Tis a dangerous sincerity to speak truth always, since secrecy is the chief instrument of Government. Whatever Prince intrusts a secret to another, at the same time intrusts his Sceptre too: It does not become a Prince to lye, but it does to be silent, or to conceal truth; not to trust or confide in any one rashly, but to be wary and circumspect, that he mayn't be cheated. This caution is extremely necessary for a Prince, without which he would be expos'd to many and great dangers. He

(6) And he made as though he would have gone farther. *Luke* 24. 28. (7) And he changed his behaviour before them, and feign'd himself mad in their hands, and scrabbled on the doors of the gate, and let his Spittle fall down upon his Beard, 1 *Sam.* 21. 13. (8) And the Lord said, take a Heifer with thee and say, I am come to sacrifice to the Lord, 1 *Sam* 16. 2. (9) And he put the skins of the Kids of the Goats upon his hands, and upon the smooth of his neck, *Gen.* 27. 16.

who knows and ſees moſt, believes and truſts leaſt, becauſe either Speculation, or Practice and Experience renders him cautious. Let a Prince's mind therefore be ſincere and pure; yet skill'd in the arts and practices of others. Experience will ſhew in what caſes it becomes a Prince to uſe theſe arts, that is, when he ſhall obſerve that the Malice and Stratagems of thoſe with whom he deals requires it.

In all other actions a Prince ought to diſcover a Royal Candor, ſometimes even to thoſe who would deceive him; for if they interpret it favourably, their deſigns are broken and begin to flag: beſides no Fraud is ſo generous as Truth, of which, if they can be ſure, they make him Maſter of the moſt private ſecrets of their Souls, without arming themſelves with the like practices for the future. What Nets are not ſpread, and what Stratagems contrived for the Cunning and Subtilty of the Fox? who ever ſet ſnares for the tame innocence of the Swallow?

Thoſe Princes whom the world admires for their Prudence and Conduct can't make uſe of this art; for none will believe that their actions are guided by chance or ſincerity; the demonſtrations of their truth are taken for counterfeit: In them Caution is accounted Malice; Prudence, Diſſimulation; and Circumſpection, Deceit. Some charge his Catholick Majeſty with theſe Vices, becauſe that by the natural Vivacity of his Judgment, and his continual experience in War and Peace, he was well acquainted with the treacherous dealing, unſincerity of the times, defending himſelf with ſo great Prudence, that his Enemies were either taken in their own Snares, or wholly broken by Counſel and Time. For this reaſon ſome Princes feign Sincerity and Modeſty, the better to palliate their intentions, or that Malice may not ſo eaſily trace them. So *Domitian* did (10). A Prince who would be thought wiſe in all things, is for that reaſon not ſo. To know how to be ignorant ſeaſonably is the greateſt Prudence: there's nothing more advantageous, nothing more difficult than to be wiſe with Moderation.

(10) *Simul ſimplicitatis, ac modeſtiæ imagine conditus, ſtudiumque liberarum, & amorem carminum ſimulans, quo velaret animum.* Tac. 4. hiſt.

this *Tacitus* commends in *Agricola* (11). All conſpire againſt the moſt knowing, either through Envy, or to defend their own ignorance; or perhaps, becauſe they ſuſpect that which they cannot comprehend. *Saul* ſeeing that *David* was too wiſe, he began to be cautious of him (12).

Other Princes appear diverted in their actions, that they may be thought to act caſually and without deſign. But ſuch is the Malice of Policy now a days, that it not only penetrates thoſe arts, but cavils too at the moſt plain ſincerity, to the great prejudice of Truth and Publick Tranquility. There being nothing that is interpreted rightly; and Truth conſiſting in one point, and thoſe in the circumference, from whence Malice may take aim, being infinite, they fall into great errors, who will wreſt from anothers words and actions a different ſenſe from what they appear; and interpreting others Deſigns in the worſt ſenſe, cauſe both parties to arm themſelves, and ſo to live in continual Diſtruſt and Jealouſie of each other. He who is moſt ingenious in theſe Suſpicions is fartheſt from Truth; for by the acuteneſs of his wit he penetrates farther than what is generally comprehended; and we are often poſitive of that in others which is only a deceit of our own imagination. So to a Sailor the Rocks ſeem to run, when 'tis only the Ship that is in motion. The ſhadows of Policy are uſually greater than the Body it ſelf, and ſometimes this is neglected, and this made uſe of, ſo that there often ariſes greater Damage from the prevention, than could arrive from the thing fear'd. How oft has a Prince, through a groundleſs Jealouſie, declared War againſt him who never thought of offending him? and both taking arms, that which was at firſt but a ſlight and ill-grounded preſumption, ends in a bloody War: 'tis the ſame with ſuch, as with ill built Ships, which the more they ſally from ſide to ſide, are the ſooner loſt. I don't blame Diffidence, when 'tis the Daughter of Prudence, as we ſaid elſewhere; but a total defect of good faith, with-

(11) *Retinuitque quod difficillimum eſt, ex ſapientia modum.* Tac in vit. Agr. (12) Wherefore when *Saul* ſaw that he behaved himſelf very wiſely, he was afraid of him, 1. *Sam.* 18. 15.

out which, neither Friendſhip, Society nor Covenants can be laſting. The Law of Nations would be invalid, and all things would be expos'd to Fraud and Deceit. All things are not acted with an ill intention. The greateſt Tyrant ſometimes propoſes juſt and honourable ends.

EMBLEM XLIV.

UNcertain and dubious is the motion of the Serpent winding it ſelf firſt one way then another, with ſuch uncertainty, that its very body knows not where it will erect its head. You'd think it made this way, and immediately it moves contrary, without leaving any tract of its paſſage, nor can the intention of its motion be diſcover'd (1). So occult ſhould be the Counſels and Deſigns of Princes. None ought to know whither they tend; they ſhould imitate God the great Governour of all things,

(1) But canſt not tell whence it cometh, and whither it goeth. *Joh.* 3. 8.

whoſe

whoſe ways are paſt finding out (2): for which reaſon the Seraphim cover'd his feet with his wings (3). Princes ought ſo carefully to conceal their deſigns, that their Miniſters themſelves ſhould not penetrate them; nay, that they ſhould be the firſt that ſhould believe otherwiſe and be deceiv'd, thereby the more naturally and effectually, without the danger of Diſſimulation, which is eaſily diſcover'd to confirm and ſecure their real intentions, inſtilling the ſame error into others, that ſo it may paſs current, and be believed on all ſides. Thus *Tiberius* did, when ſome murmur'd that he did not go to pacifie the mutinous Legions in *Hungary* and *Germany*, he pretended he would go with all ſpeed, by which deceiving the prudent, he deceiv'd alſo the People and Provinces (4). The ſame alſo did King *Philip* the Second, who conceal'd his deſigns from his own Ambaſſadors, pretending others, when 'twas convenient for them to believe them, and perſwade others to do ſo. A Prince can by no means uſe theſe arts, if his ingenuity be not ſo cautious and circumſpect, as not to diſcover the real motions of his mind by his manner of Government, and let his Rivals and Enemies penetrate his heart and thoughts; that he may ſlip out of their hands, when they think they have him ſecure. This method by which another is deceiv'd is rather a ſort of ſelf defence than malice, where it is uſed according to reaſon, as the greateſt Heroes have always done. What neceſſity is there of diſcovering the heart, which nature has on purpoſe hidden within the breaſt? even in the moſt ſlight and frivolous affairs, 'tis pernicious to divulge them, becauſe it gives occaſion by way of diſcourſe to diſcover farther. Yet though the heart be hid within the breaſt, its ails and diſtempers are diſcover'd by the Arteries. Execution loſes its force, not without loſs of the reputation of a Prince's prudence, if he divulges his deſigns to the people. Secret and unknown deſigns threaten all, and diſtract and puzzle an Enemy. Secrecy in War is more neceſſary than in other

(2) And who is able to diſcover his ways? *Eccl.* 16. 19. (3) And with twain he covered his feet. *Iſai.* 6. 2. (4) *Primo prudentes, dein vulgum, diutiſſimè Provincias fefellit.* Tac. 1. ann.

Affairs. Few Enterpriſes unſeaſonably detected ſucceed well. How is he ſurpriz'd who receives the Wound before he ſees the Weapon; he who will not ſtir till he hears the claſhing of Arms!

This I would have underſtood of Wars againſt Infidels, not of thoſe between Chriſtians, which ought to be proclaim'd, that there may be time for ſatisfaction, by which the effuſion of Blood may be avoided, this being required to render a War lawfull and juſt. In this the *Romans* were to be commended, who inſtituted a College of twenty Prieſts whom they call'd Heralds, whoſe buſineſs it was to proclaim War, to make Peace, and to eſtabliſh Alliances: Theſe were alſo Judges in ſuch caſes, and took care that the party injur'd ſhould receive ſatisfaction, appointing a term of thirty-three days for an amicable compoſition; in which time, if the diſputes were not ended, they declar'd War by throwing a Spear into the Enemies Country (5), from which day commenc'd acts of Hoſtility and Incurſions. Of theſe declarations there are divers examples in the Scriptures. *Jephtha* being choſen Prince of the *Iſraelites*, did not take up Arms againſt the *Ammonites*, before, by Ambaſſadors, he had enquir'd into the reaſon which mov'd them to the War. (6). The method of our times is not ſo humane and generous. We experience the effects of War before we know the cauſe thereof. An unexpected and ſudden Invaſion makes the Injury the greater, and renders the minds of the parties implacable, this generally ſprings hence, that they take up arms not to ſatisfie Injuries, or atone for Damages receiv'd, but only from a blind Ambition to enlarge their Dominions: in which, without reſpect to Religion, Conſanguinity or Friendſhip, they trample upon the moſt ſacred Laws of Nature and Nations.

If a Prince ſuſpects any of Infidelity, let him not immediately change the ſerenity of his Looks, or ſhew any ſign of his ſuſpicion, but rather by new Flattery and Honours endea-

(5) *Et baculum interquent emittit in auras, Principium pugnæ.* Virg. (6) And *Jephtha* ſent Meſſengers unto the King of the Children of *Ammon*, ſaying, What haſt thou to do with me, that thou art come againſt me to fight in my Land? *Judg.* 11. 12.

vour to confirm their Minds and oblige them to Fidelity. Rigour is not always the beſt and ſafeſt remedy. Branches lopt off die, and revive not again. Thus *Marcellus* conniv'd at *Lucius Bancus* of *Nola*, a very rich, and withal very factious perſon, and though he well knew he ſided with *Hannibal*, he call'd him to him, told him, how his Vertue and Valour were eſteem'd by all, particularly by the *Roman* Generals, who were Witneſſes of his Bravery at the Battle of *Cannæ*: he honour'd him with words, ſupported with hopes and promiſes; gave him at all times free acceſs to his preſence, and by this courteous uſage ſo oblig'd him, that from that time the *Roman* State had not a more faithfull Friend than he. This Diſſimulation requires great care and prudence, for if the Offender ſhould miſtruſt it, he would interpret it a deſign to bring him to Puniſhment, and ſo would ſooner fire his Mines, or endeavour to preſerve himſelf by other violent means. Which is chiefly to be fear'd in Tumults and Crimes of the Multitude. Thus *Fabius Valens*, though he would not puniſh the Authors of a certain Commotion, yet did he permit ſome of them to be tried (7). But ſince 'tis very difficult to purge the mind of Treaſon once conceiv'd, and ſince ſuch crimes ought not to go unpuniſhed, 'tis then only fit to connive, when greater danger attends the declaration, or the number of Offenders makes the puniſhment impracticable. This *Julius Cæſar* conſider'd, when he commanded ſome Letters from *Pompey* to the *Roman* Nobility againſt him, which he had intercepted, to be burnt unopen'd, thinking 'twas the mildeſt method of pardoning, not to know the crime. A piece of true Generoſity and ſingular Prudence, ſince 'twas impoſſible to puniſh all, not to oblige himſelf to the inconveniencies of connivance. Thoſe of mean condition may be made examples, and the great ones conniv'd at, till a more convenient opportunity. But where the Delinquents may be puniſhed without danger, 'tis ſafer, by puniſhing them, to conſult ſelf-ſecurity, than to truſt to Diſſimulation; for this often emboldens great Spirits. *Hannibal* plotted to poiſon the *Carthaginian* Senate, and upon

(7) *Ne diſſimulans ſuſpectior foret.* Tac. 2. hiſt.

the

the diſcovery of the Treaſon, the Senators thought it ſufficient to make a Law to regulate the Exceſs and Expences of Feaſts, which gave *Hannibal* occaſion to plot afreſh againſt them.

That Art and Cunning moſt becomes a Prince, and that Diſſimulation is moſt allowable and neceſſary, which ſo compoſes and forms the Looks, Words and Actions towards him whom it would deceive, as that he mayn't miſtruſt that his deſigns are diſcover'd: for by that means there will be time to ſearch farther into them, and either to puniſh or elude them, while the party is not ſo ſollicitous in the concealment of them; but if he once find himſelf betray'd, he begins to tremble, and thinks himſelf not ſecure, till he has put his deſigns in execution. This oblig'd *Agrippina* to pretend not to underſtand the Murther which her Son *Nero* deſign'd her (8). This Diſſimulation or feign'd Simplicity is very neceſſary for Miniſters who ſerve cunning and deſigning Princes, who make it their care to conceal their intentions; in this *Tiberius* was a great Maſter (9). The ſame artifice the *Roman* Senate us'd, when the ſame *Tiberius*, after the death of *Auguſtus*, let them know, to try their thoughts, that he would not accept of the Empire, it being a burthen too heavy for him; they by a ſtudied ignorance and forc'd tears begg'd he would pleaſe to accept it, all being afraid to ſeem to underſtand his meaning (10). Unjuſt Princes hate thoſe who they think underſtand their ill practices, and take them for Enemies. They claim an abſolute Authority over mens minds, not ſubject to anothers underſtanding, they will have their Subjects Intellects at as much command as their Bodies, eſteeming it part of their duty and reſpect not to underſtand their deſigns (11). Wherefore 'tis diſallowable and dangerous to pry into the privacies and ſecret thoughts of Princes (12). *Tiberius* complaining

(8) *Solum inſidiarum remedium eſſe ſi non intelligerentur.* Tac. 14. ann. (9) *Conſulto ambiguus.* Tac. 13. ann. (10) *Quibus uſus metus ſi intelligere viderentur.* Tac. 1. ann. (11) *Intelligebantur artes: ſed pars obſequii in eo ne deprehenderentur.* Tac. 4. hiſt. (12) *Abditos Principis ſenſus, & ſi quid occultius parat exquirere illicitum, anceps, nec ideo aſſequare.* Tac. 6. ann.

that

that he was in danger from ſome of the *Roman* Senators, *Aſinius Gallus* deſir'd to know who they were, that they might be brought to Juſtice, which *Tiberius* took very ill, that he ſhould deſire to know what he had a mind to conceal (13). *Germanicus* acted more prudently, who though he well underſtood *Tiberius*'s meaning, and that he was recall'd from *Germany*, only to ſtop the progreſs of his Glory, readily obey'd without ſeeming to underſtand (14). Since Princes commands can't be declin'd, 'tis prudence to obey them chearfully, pretending ignorance of the motives, to avoid danger. Thus *Archelaus*, though he knew he was call'd to *Rome* by *Tiberius*'s Mother through Craft and Treachery, yet he diſſembled it, and fearing violence if he ſhould be thought to underſtand it, made what haſt he could thither (15). And this Diſſimulation is yet more neceſſary in the Errors and Vices of Princes, for they eſteem them as enemies, who are acquainted therewith. In the Banquet at which *Germanicus* was poiſon'd, ſome ran for't, but the more prudent ſat ſtill looking upon *Nero*, that they might not be thought to miſtruſt the Murther, but rather to believe that it was natural (16).

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(13) *Eo egrius accepit recludi quæ premeret.* Tac 4. ann. (14) *Haud cunctatus eſt ultra Germanicus; quanquam fingi ea ſeque per invidiam parto jam decori abſtrahi intelligeret.* Tac. 2. ann. (15) *Si intelligere videretur, vim metuens, in urbem properat.* Tac. 2. ann. (16) *Trepidatum à circumſedentibus, diffugiunt imprudentes, at quibus altior intellectus, reſiſtunt defixi, & Neronem intuentes.* Tac. 13. ann.

EMBLEM XLV.

THE Lion, the body of this deviſe, was among the *Ægyptians* the Emblem of Vigilance, and us'd to be ſet in the Frontiſpieces and Porches of their Temples. Hence *Alexander* the Great was engraven upon his Coin with a Lion's skin upon his head, to intimate that he was not leſs carefull and vigilant than valiant; for if at any time affairs requir'd that he ſhould not ſpend much time in ſleep, he was us'd to lie with his arm out of bed, holding a Silver ball in his hand, that if he ſhould fall aſleep, that falling into a braſs Baſon ſet underneath for that purpoſe, might waken him. He had never conquer'd the world, had he been ſleepy and lazy, he ought not to ſnore away his time, who has the Government of People committed to him †.

† *Non decet ignavum totâ producere ſomnum*
Nocte virum, ſub conſilio, ſub nomine cujus
Tot populi degunt, cui rerum cura, fideſque
Credita ſummarum eſt.

Thus

Thus the Lion knowing himſelf to be King of Beaſts, ſleeps but little, or if he does, 'tis with his Eyes open: he does not confide ſo much in his Empire, nor relie ſo much on his Majeſty, as not to think it neceſſary to ſeem to be awake even while he ſleeps. The Senſes do indeed require reſt ſometimes, but even then 'tis neceſſary Princes ſhould be thought to be awake. A ſleeping King differs not from another man: This Paſſion he ought to conceal from Friends as well as Enemies; he may ſleep, provided others think him waking. Let him not depend ſo much upon his Authority and Power, as to ſhut his Eyes to Care and Circumſpection. 'Tis a cunning Diſſimulation in the Lion to ſleep with his Eyes open, not with a deſign to deceive, but only to hide his ſleepineſs. And if any one deſigning againſt him be deceiv'd, finding him awake whom he thought he had ſeen ſleeping, 'tis his own fault not the Lion's. Nor is this pretence below the greatneſs of his Mind, no more than that other piece of cunning, of ſmoothing over the Tract of his feet with his Tail to deceive the Huntſmen. There is no Fortreſs ſecure unleſs guarded by Vigilance. The greater the Prince is, the greater care he ought to be crown'd with, not with the Sincerity of innocent Doves, but the prudence of ſubtle Serpents. For as when the Lion enters the Field, the other Beaſts lay aſide their natural Enmity, and give over fighting, and with joint force combine againſt him, ſo among men all arm and unite againſt the ſtrongeſt. Nothing is more pernicious to the Kingdom of *England*, than the greatneſs of the *Dutch*, for they take from them the Dominion of the Seas; nothing more prejudicial to *France*, than the Grandure of thoſe ſame Rebels, who once breaking down the Dikes oppos'd by *Spain*, would, like an Inundation ſoon o'erwhelm the Kingdom of *France*, as King *Henry* the Fourth wiſely obſerv'd: and yet what weigh'd more with both theſe two Crowns than their danger, their hatred, I mean, and fear of the *Spaniſh* Monarchy, rais'd that people to that Grandure and Power, which upon alteration of affairs they may fear againſt themſelves. We are more ſollicitous and carefull to avert preſent dangers than future ones, though theſe are often greater. Fear obſtructs the

Senſes,

Senſes, nor permits the Mind to ſurvey things at a diſtance. A groundleſs Fear is often of more force than the greateſt reaſon of State. The power of *Spain* in *Italy* is a preſervative againſt the diſtempers of the *Genoeſe* liberty; the ſame alſo preſerves the Dukedom of *Tuſcany*, augments the Spiritual Empire of the Church, maintains the Authority of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, and ſecures the *Venetians* from the Tyranny of the *Turks*; yet I know not whether the Miniſters of theſe Princes will acknowledge this, or act conformable to this their Intereſt. Such Jealouſies as are not guided by reaſon, work their own ruin. They who thought they ſhould be ſafe in diſarming the Emperour *Ferdinand* the Second, found afterwards that they had need of thoſe arms which they had caus'd him to disband. Many Provinces, which for Reaſons of State ſought the ruin of the *Roman* Empire loſt their own liberty with its ruin.

Let not a Prince put much confidence in exterior reſpect and ceremony, for 'tis all feign'd, and far from what it appears to be; Complaiſance is Flattery; Adoration, Fear; Reſpect, Force; and Friendſhip, Neceſſity. The good opinion which a Prince conceives of others, they make uſe of to circumvent and betray him. All watch his motions, to make a prey of him; all ſtrive to overcome him by Stratagem whom they can't by force; few or none act ſincerely with him; for he who is fear'd, ſeldom hears truth; and therefore he ought not to ſleep in confidence of his own power. Let him oppoſe Stratagem with Stratagem, and Power with Power. A generous mind cloſely and cautiouſly prevents, or couragiouſly reſiſts dangers.

But though in the preſent Emblem we allow of the arts of Diſſimulation, nay and think them neceſſary with the aforeſaid reſtrictions, yet does it more become the Miniſters than the Princes themſelves, for in them there is a certain occult Divinity which is offended at that care: Diſſimulation is uſually the Daughter of Fear and Ambition, neither of which ought to be diſcover'd in a Prince. The conveniences of Diſſimulation he ought to ſupply by ſilence and reſervedneſs. A Prince is more belov'd for being prudent and wary, provided he act with a Royal Sincerity. All hate Artifice,

and

and on the contrary, a natural and open freedom is agreeable to all, as *Tacitus* remarks in *Petronius* (1).

(1) *Dicta factaque ejus quanto ſolutiora, & quandam ſui negligentiam præferentia, tantò gratius in ſpeciem ſimplicitatis accipiebantur.* Tac. 16. ann.

EMBLEM XLVI.

AN Oar under Water appears crooked and broken, which is caus'd by the refraction of Species: ſo in many things our opinion deceives us. For this reaſon the Sceptick Philoſophers doubted of all things, and durſt affirm nothing for certain. A wary piece of Modeſty and prudent Diſtruct of humane Judgment, and not without ground: for to a certain knowledge of things, there are required two diſpoſitions, that which is to know, and that which is to be known; the firſt is the Underſtanding, which uſes the external and internal Senſes to form Imaginations; the

the external are variously chang'd according to the abundance or defect of humours. The internal are also subject to changes, either from the same cause, or from the different Affections of the Organs. Whence proceed such different Opinions and Judgments, one judging differently of the same things from another, and both with equal uncertainty; for things change their shape and colour with their places, by being near or at a distance, or because none are purely simple, or because of natural Mixtures and Species which interpose between them and the Senses; so that we can't affirm things are so and so, but that they seem such, forming an Opinion not certain Knowledge. *Plato* found a yet greater incertainty in them, when he consider'd that there was nothing of so pure and perfect nature as God; and that in this life we could have no perfect knowledge of any thing, but saw only things present, and those too, Reflections and Shadows of others, so that 'twas impossible to reduce them to a Science. Not that I would have a Prince a Sceptick, for he who doubts all determines nothing; nor is there any thing more pernicious to Government, than Hesitation in resolving and executing. I only advise that he would not be too positive in his opinions, but believe that he may easily be deceiv'd in his Judgment, either through Affection, or Passion, or false Information, or Flattery and Insinuation, or because he don't care to hear truth which prescribes bounds to his Authority and Will, or because of the uncertainty of our own apprehension; or lastly, because few things are really what they appear, especially in Policy, which is now a-days nothing but the art of cheating, or not being cheated; wherefore they ought to be viewed in different lights, and a Prince ought carefully to consider and weigh them not slightly to pass them over, least he shou'd give credit to appearances and groundless Stories.

These Cheats and politick Tricks can't be well known, unless the nature of man be also known; for the knowledge of him is absolutely necessary for a Prince, that he may know how to govern and beware of him. For tho' Government be an invention of men, 'tis in no danger but from them; for Man has no greater Enemy than Man. The Eagle hurts

not

not the Eagle, nor the Serpent the Serpent; but man is continually plotting againſt his own kind. The Dens of Beaſts are open and unguarded, but three of the four Elements are not ſufficient for the guard of Cities, *viz.* Earth caſt up into Walls and Entrenchments, Water confin'd to Ditches, and Fire enclos'd in Artillery. That ſome may ſleep, the reſt muſt watch. What inſtruments are there not invented againſt Life, as if it were not of it ſelf ſhort enough, and ſubject to the infirmities of Nature; and tho' the Seeds of all Vertues and Vices are in man as their proper Subject; 'tis with this difference, that thoſe can't grow and increaſe without the Dew of celeſtial and ſupernatural Grace; but theſe do ſpontaneouſly bud out and flouriſh, which is the effect and puniſhment of man's firſt Sin; and as we always ſuffer our ſelves to be led by our Inclinations and Paſſions, which hurry us to ill, and as there is not the ſame danger in Vertue as in Vices, we therefore will lay before a Prince a ſhort deſcription of deprav'd human Nature.

Man is then the moſt inconſtant Animal in the Creation; pernicious both to himſelf and others; Changes with his Age, Fortune, Intereſt and Paſſion; nor does the Sea vary ſo oft as his condition. He is deluded by empty appearances, and through ſelf-conceit perſiſts in his Errour. Revenge and Cruelty he eſteems praiſe-worthy and honourable. Is well vers'd in Hypocriſie, and can diſſemble his Paſſions a great while. With Words, Laughter and Tears he conceals his Thoughts. Veils his Deſigns with Religion. Confirms and maintains Lyes with Oaths. Is a Slave to Hope and Fear. Favours make him ungratefull. Dominion proud. Conſtraint vile and abject. Law fearfull. Benefits he inſcribes on Wax; Injuries receiv'd on Marble; and thoſe he offers on Braſs. He is ſubject to Love. not out of Charity, but an appearance of good. A mere Slave to Anger. In Adverſity proſtrate and cringing. In Proſperity arrogant and proud. What he commends in himſelf, and affects, he wants; calls himſelf a true Friend, but knows not what Friendſhip means. Slights his own and covets others goods. The more he has, the more he deſires. The good Fortune and Proſperity of others kills him with En-

vy. Under shew of Friendship, he is the greatest Enemy. Loves the Rigour of Justice in others, but hates it in himself.

This is a description of humane nature in general, nor are all these Vices in one person, but dispers'd in several. And though a Prince think that some one is wholly free from them, let him not therefore be less cautious of him, for there is no certainty in the Judgment which is made of the condition and nature of men. Vice often puts on the Mask of Vertue, the better to deceive, and the best of men may be deficient sometimes, either through human frailty, or the inconstancy of the times, or necessity, or interest, or appearance of publick or private good, or over-sight, or want of knowledge; whence it happens that the good are not less dangerous than the bad; and in case of doubt, 'tis more prudent for a Prince to avoid the danger, remembring (not to offend, but to defend) that, as *Ezekiel* said, *Briars and Thorns are with him, and he dwells among Scorpions* (1), whose Tails are always ready to strike (2). Such generally are Courtiers, they all advance their own pretensions by deluding the Prince, or by removing his best and most deserving Favourites, by means of his own power. How often have waves of Envy and Jealousie been interpos'd between the Eyes of the Prince, and the Minister's actions, making those appear crooked and disloyal which are drawn by the rule of Justice and his Service. Thus Vertue suffers, the Prince loses a good Minister, and Malice triumphs in its Practices; which that he may practically know, and not suffer Innocence to be wrong'd, I will here set down the most usual.

There are some Courtiers so subtle and cunning, that while they seem to excuse their Rival's faults, they then most accuse them. So *Augustus* reprehended the Vices of *Tiberius* (3).

(1) Ezek. 2. 6. (2) *Semper cauda in ictu est, nulloque momento meditari cessat, ne quando desit occasioni.* Plin. lib. 11. c. 25 (3) *Quanquam ipsa oratione, quædam de habitu, cultuque & institutis ejus fecerat, quæ vitæ exsulando exprobraret.* Tac. 1 ann.

Others

Others there are, who to cover their Malice, and gain credit under pretence of Goodneſs, begin under the title of Friendſhip, with the praiſes of him whom they would remove, extolling ſome little inſignificant Service, and at the ſame time by a feign'd zeal for the Princes intereſt, which they pretend to prefer before all Friendſhip and Relation, gradually diſcover his faults, which may procure his Diſgrace or loſs of Place. But if their Ambition and Malice can't procure this, they at leaſt eſtabliſh their own Reputation by carping at their Friends faults, and gain themſelves Glory by his infamy (4). *Alphonſo* the Wiſe King of *Naples* was well acquainted with all theſe practices; wherefore when he heard one full of the praiſes of his Enemy; *Obſerve*, ſays he, *the Artifice of that man, and you will find that the drift of theſe commendations is only to do him more miſchief.* And ſo it fell out, when he had for ſix Months endeavour'd to gain credit to his intentions, that he might afterwards the ſooner be believ'd in what he ſhould ſay againſt him. Mines are always ſprung at a diſtance from the Walls where they are to do execution. Thoſe Friends who praiſe you are worſe than Enemies who murmur at you (5). Others, that they may cheat more ſecurely, praiſe in publick, and in private ſcandalize (6).

Nor is their ſubtilty leſs malicious, who ſo adorn their Calumnies, that they look like praiſes; as *Aleto* did in *Taſſo*.

Gran fabro di calumnie adorne in modi
Novi, che ſono accuſe e payen lodi.

Theſe the Pſalmiſt meant, when he ſaid, *They were turned aſide like a deceitful bow* (7).

Or as *Hoſea* the Prophet ſays, *like a deceitfull bow, which aims at one place and hits another* (8).

Some extoll their Rivals to that degree, that it may

(4) *Unde amico infamiam parat, inde gloriam ſibi recipere.* Tac. 1. ann. (5) *Peſſimum inimicorum genus laudantes.* Tac. in vit. Agric. (6) *Secretis cum criminationibus infamaverat, ignarum, & quo cautius deciperetur, palam laudatum.* Tac. 1. hiſt. (7) Pſal. 78. 57. (8) Hoſ. 7. 16.

plainly appear they don't speak seriously and really, as was observ'd in *Tiberius* when he prais'd *Germanicus* (9).

Others make use of these commendations to raise their Enemy to such posts as may at last ruin them, or at least procure their removal from Court, though to his greater advantage; which I believe was among others, the reason why *Ruigomez* caus'd *Ferdinand* Duke of *Alba* to be sent into *Flanders*, when those Provinces revolted. With the same intention *Marcian* prais'd *Anthony* in the Senate, and propos'd for him the Government of the Neither *Spain* (10); and to facilitate it, he divided his Offices and Honours among his Friends. 'Tis scarce credible, how liberal Envy is, when it would remove him who eclipses its Glory or obstructs its Rise: 'tis a wave which drives him who can't swim, upon the Shore of Fortune.

Sometimes Commendations are us'd with a design of creating Envy to the party prais'd; a strange way of striking, with others Vices. Many endeavour to introduce their own Creatures with such Artifice, as no one can penetrate their designs; and to that end, they first carp at some trivial faults committed by others in the same Offices, then praise and cry up others as more fit for those places, and sometimes they entertain them as if they had no knowledge of them, as *Lacon* did *Piso*, that he might be adopted by *Galba* (12).

Others, the better to conceal their Passion, lay their Plots at a distance, and instill their hatred gradually into the Prince's Mind, that being at last full, he may burst upon their Enemies. These means *Sejanus* us'd to alienate the Mind of *Tiberius* from *Germanicus* (13). And these the Holy Spirit seems to condemn under the Metaphor of plowing Lyes (14). Which is the same as sowing Tares in the

(9) *Multaque de virtute ejus memoravit, magis in speciem verbis adornata quam ut penitus sentire crederetur.* Tac. 1. ann. (10) *Igitur Marcianus quia propalam opprimi Antonius nequibat, multis in senatu laudibus cumulatum secretis promissis onerat, Citeriorem Hispaniam ostentans discessu Cluvii Rufi vacuam.* Tac. 4 hist. (12) *Sed callidè ut ignotum fovebat.* Tac. 1. ann. (13) *Odia in longum jacens, quæ revocaret, sulloque promeret.* Tac. 1. ann (14) Devise not (Lat. *nolo arare*) a lye against thy Brother, *Eccl.* 7. 53.

Mind

Mind, that they may afterwards reap the fruit of Wickedneſs (15).

Some, not with leſs cunning, firſt deceive thoſe Miniſters in whom the Prince has moſt confidence, by inſinuating into them ſome Falſhoods, which they afterwards imprint in the Prince. This was the art of that lying Spirit of the Prophet *Micaiah*, which propos'd to deceive King *Achab*, by being in the Mouth of all his Prophets, and God permitted it as the moſt effectual means (16).

There are others, who make advantage of the injuries the Prince has receiv'd, and perſwade him to revenge, either that they may themſelves be thereby reveng'd of their Enemies, or elſe cauſe him to be turn'd out of Favour and Truſt. By this Artifice *John Pacheco* perſwaded King *Henry* the IVth. to apprehend *Alphonſo Fonſeca* Archbiſhop of *Sevil*, and afterwards adviſ'd him privately to provide for his own ſafety.

Theſe are the uſual practices of Courts, and though they are oft diſcover'd, yet they never want Patrons, nay, there are thoſe who will ſuffer themſelves to be cheated twice; whence we often ſee bare-fac'd Impoſtors remain at Court ſo long; an effect of the weakneſs of our deprav'd Nature, which is more taken with Lyes than Truth. We are more apt to admire the Picture of a Horſe than a real one, that being but a Lye of th'other. What is Rhetorick with all its Tropes and Figures, but a kind of Falſhood and Cheat? From all which we may ſee, how much danger there is of a Prince's being deceiv'd in his opinion, unleſs he with great application and diligence examine things, ſuſpending his belief, untill he not only ſees the things themſelves, but alſo as it were, feels them, thoſe eſpecially which he has only by hear-ſay. For the Breath of Flattery, and the Winds of Hatred and Envy enter at the Ears, and raiſe the Paſſions and Affections of the Mind, before there can be any Certainty of the truth of the thing. 'Twould therefore be very convenient for a Prince to have his Ears near his

(15) Ye have plowed wickedneſs, ye have reaped iniquity, ye have eaten the fruit of Lyes. *Hoſ.* 10. 13. (16) And he ſaid, I will go forth and be a Lying Spirit in the mouth of all his Prophets, 1 *Kin.* 22. 22.

Thoughts and Reason. As are the Owl's (for that reason perhaps sacred to *Minerva*) upon the top of its head, the Chamber of the Senses, all of which we have need of in hearing, least our ears should deceive us. Let a Prince therefore take great care thereof, for when the ears are once free from affections, and reason sits there as judge, every thing is well examin'd; all things relating to Government depend upon the relation of others: therefore what *Aristotle* said of Bees seems improbable; that is, that they are deaf; for that would be a great inconveniency for that prudent and politick little Animal, since those two Senses, Hearing and Seeing, are the Instruments through which we draw Wisdom and Experience; both these we have need of to prevent our being deceiv'd by Passion, Nature or Inclination. The prepossess'd *Moabites* thought the Waters upon which the Sun shone, were Blood (17). The same noise of the people, to the Ears of Warlike *Joshua*, seem'd their Shoots to Battle; and to those of gentle *Moses* a Harmony of Musick (18). For which cause, God, though omniscient, would verifie with his Eyes what he had heard of *Sodom* and *Gomorrha* (19). When therefore a Prince shall have seen, heard, and felt things, he can't be deceiv'd, or if he be, 'twill not be his fault. From all which we may see how ill contriv'd was that image of the *Thebans*, by which they express'd the qualifications of their Princes, for it had ears, but no Eyes, these being full as necessary as those: the Ears to know things, and the Eyes to believe them, in which the Eyes are most trusty, for truth is no farther distant from a Lye than the Eyes from the Ears.

(17) And they rose up early in the Morning, and the Sun shone upon the Waters, and the *Moabites* saw the water on the other side as red as Blood, 2 *Kings* 3. 22. (18) And *Joshua* heard the noise of the people as they shouted, he said unto *Moses*, There is a noise of war in the camp. And he said, it is not the voice of them that shout for Mastery, neither is it the voice of them that cry for being overcome: but the noise of them that sing, do I hear. *Exod.* 32. 17, 18. (19) I will go down now, and see whether they have done altogether according to the cry of it, which is come unto me; and if not, I will know, Ge. 18. 21.

Not

Nor has a Prince need of leſs diligence and attention in diſcuſſing the Counſels and Propoſals of his Miniſters, before he puts them in execution; ſuch as concern raiſing Money, regulating the Government, and other matters relating to Peace and War, for their uſual aim is their own particular intereſt, and effects don't always correſpond to our expectations. Ingenuity often approves Counſels which Experience afterwards rejects. Yet is it imprudence wholly to ſlight them, for the ſucceſs of one only makes amends for the vanity of the reſt. *Spain* had never obtain'd the Empire of the new world, if their Catholick Majeſties had not gave more credit to *Columbus* than other Princes. Yet to be over credulous or confident to act whatever is propos'd, is either Levity or Folly. *Firſt*, The condition of the Propoſer is to be conſider'd, his Experience in the matter; what end he may have in deceiving; what intereſt if he ſucceeds; alſo the means and time by which he thinks to accompliſh it: *Nero*, for want of theſe conſiderations, was much diſappointed about a Treaſure which one told him he had found in *Africk* (20). Many Projects at firſt ſeem conſiderable, which prove at laſt vain and uſeleſs. Many ſeem light and frivolous, from whence reſult great advantages. Many which have been ſucceſsfully experienc'd in ſmall matters, in affairs of greater moment ſucceed not. Many ſeem eaſie to reaſon, which are difficult in the operation. Many are prejudicial at firſt, and advantageous afterwards, and ſo on the contrary; and many have different effects from what were at firſt propos'd.

The lazy and blind Vulgar don't know truth, unleſs they light on it by chance, for they fooliſhly form opinions of things before Reaſon foreſees the inconveniences, and promiſe themſelves a more certain knowledge from the ſucceſs, the guide of the ignorant, and ſo if any one ſhould go about to argue theſe people out of their opinions he would loſe his time and pains. There are no better means, than to make them ſee and feel their Errors; ſo ſtartling Horſes uſe to be

(20) *Non auctoris, nan ipſius negotii fide ſatis ſpectata, nec miſſis viſcribus per quas noſceret an vera aſſererentur.* Tac. 16. ann.

whip'd and spur'd to make them go forwards to see the vanity of the shadow which frightned them. This means *Pacuvius* us'd to appease the people of *Capua*, who rose against the Senate: he first shut all the Senators by their own consent, into a certain Hall; then calls the people together, tells them, that if they have a mind to take off or punish the Senators, now is their time, for they are lock'd up without Arms; but withal tells them, it would be necessary to take them one by one, and immediately to elect another in the room of him whom they took off, for that without those heads the State could not subsist a Moment. He puts all their Names in a Pot, draws out one, and asks the people what they would have done with him; they all cry out, let him die; then he advises them to elect another; this confounds them, and they don't know who to propose; and so a second and third time they could not agree upon their choice. At last their confusion taught them, that 'twas better to bear with an ill already experienc'd, than to attempt a remedy, and so they immediately commanded the Senators to be releas'd. The people is very furious in its opinions, and 'tis often, especially upon any imminent danger, a piece of great management in a Prince to govern it with his own hand, keeping pace with it in its ignorance. The people are often reduc'd to their duty, by laying before them the inconveniences which have hapned in the like cases; for they are more mov'd by Example than Reason (21).

(21) *Plebeia ingenia exemplis magis quam ratione capiuntur.* Macrob.

EMBLEM XLVII.

EVEN Vertues have their Dangers; they ſhould be always in a Prince's Mind, but not always in exerciſe. Publick intereſt ought to dictate when and where to uſe them. Us'd without Prudence, they either become Vices, or are not leſs hurtfull than them. In a private perſon they reſpect only him; in a Prince both him and the State too. They ought to ſuit with the common intereſt of all, not with that of particular perſons. Civil Science preſcribes certain limits to the Vertue of him who commands and him who obeys. Juſtice is not in the power of the Miniſter, but ought always to be directed by the Laws. In the Prince, who is the Soul thereof, it has certain conſiderations, which reſpect the Government in common. In the Subject Commiſeration can never be exceſſive; in a Prince 'tis often dangerous. To demonſtrate this in the preſent Emblem, I have made uſe of that method, which according to

to *Sanazaro* and *Garcilazo*, the Shepherds us'd to catch Crows. Which ſhews Princes with how much circumſpection they ought to intereſt themſelves in the misfortunes and dangers of others. They faſtned a Crow by the Pinions of its Wings to the ground, this ſeeing others fly by, would, by making a grievous noiſe, excite them to pity, and come down to its aſſiſtance.

Cercavanla, i alguna mas piadoſa
Del mal ageno de la companera.
Que del ſnyo à viſada, ô timeroſa, &c.

For that which was faſtned to the ground, catches hold of another with its Claws, thereby to free it ſelf, and that again of another, which the ſame Compaſſion brought to their aſſiſtance; ſo that for the ſake of one another, they are all caught. In which ſomething may be attributed to the Novelty of the accident, for ſometimes that appears Compaſſion which is only a motion of natural Inquietude. I allow the Eyes and Heart to be mov'd with Compaſſion, at the Misfortunes and Complaints of foreign Princes. But not to arm upon every ſlight occaſion for their Defence. For a private perſon to expoſe himſelf to dangers to ſerve his Friend, is brave and commendable, but in a Prince blameable, if he hazzards the publick ſafety for the ſervice of a Foreigner, without good grounds and reaſons of State; nor are thoſe of Conſanguinity or private Friendſhip ſufficient. For a Prince is born more for his Subjects than his Relations and Friends; he may indeed aſſiſt them, but without incurring any damage or danger. When aſſiſtance renders the danger ſo common, that the ruin of one draws after it that of the other, there is no tie of Obligation or Piety can excuſe it: but when intereſts are ſo interwoven and united, that one muſt follow the fate of th'other, who-ever aſſiſts in that caſe acts his own cauſe; and 'tis more prudence (as we have ſaid) to oppoſe dangers in a foreign State than to expect them at home. Alſo when 'tis the publick intereſt to aſſiſt the oppreſſed; the Prince who is moſt potent, is, without doubt, obliged to it. For between Princes Juſtice can't have recourſe to the common Tribunals;

'tis

'tis in the Authority and Power of the ſtrongeſt, that it finds Refuge. In ſuch caſe 'twould be a kind of Tyranny to be an idle Spectator only, and give way to that Policy which aims to imbroil other Princes, that themſelves may be more ſecure through their diſſenſions, and raiſe their own fortunes upon the ruin of others, for ſuch as theſe the ſupreme Judge of the intentions ſeverely puniſhes.

Theſe caſes require great Prudence, to weigh the ingagement with the intereſt, leaſt we ſhould entangle our ſelves in others Misfortunes, and make their danger ours, for we muſt not afterwards expect the ſame return. *Spain* pitied the Misfortunes of the Empire, and aſſiſted it with its Blood and Treaſures, from whence proceeded the Invaſions which *France* made in *Italy*, *Flanders*, *Burgundy* and *Spain*, the whole War lying at preſent upon this Monarchy, yet won't ſome in *Germany* acknowledge this, or believe that it is for their ſakes.

Experience therefore in our own and others Misfortunes ought to make us more cautious in our Commiſeration and Aſſiſtance. How often, by aſſiſting the Misfortunes of our Friends, have we loſt both our ſelves and him, being afterwards ungratefull for the benefit! How often have theſe incurr'd the hatred of a Prince by thoſe very means by which they have endeavour'd to ſerv'd him. *Germanicus* was adopted by *Tiberius*, appointed to ſucceed him in the Empire, and ſo faithfull in his Service, that he took it as an affront, that the Legions ſhould offer him the Empire(1), and when they preſs'd him to it would have ſtabb'd himſelf (2); and the more faithfully he behav'd himſelf, the leſs gratefull he was to *Tiberius*. His care in appeaſing the Legions with Donatives was diſtaſtfull (3). His Piety in gathering and burying the Relicts of *Varus*'s Army, he interpreted Ambition (4). The Compaſſion of his Wife *Agrippina* in cloathing the Soldiers, ſeem'd a deſire of rule (5).

(1) *Quaſi ſcelere contaminaretur.* Tac. 1. ann. (2) *At ille moriturum pectus quam fidem exueret, clamitans, ferrum à latere diripuit, elatumque deferebat in pectus.* Id. ibid. (3) *Sed quod largiendis pecuniis & miſſione feſtinata favorem militum que ſiviſſet, bellicaque Germanici gloria augebatur.* Id. ibid. (4) *Quod Tiberio haud probatum.* Id. ibid. (5) *Id Tiberii animum altius penetravit.* Id. ibid.

In

In a word, all *Germanicus*'s actions were misinterpreted (6). *Germanicus* knew this Hatred, and that he was call'd upon pretence of Honour, from his true Glory in *Germany*, and endeavour'd to oblige him more by Obedience and Observance (7); but this made him still more odious, till Gratitude, oppress'd by the weight of Obligation, he sent him to the Eastern Provinces (8), where he caus'd him to be poison'd by *Piso*, rejoycing in the death of him, who was the support of his Empire (9). Some Princes are Idols, whose Eyes are, (as *Jeremiah* says) blinded with the dust of those who enter in to worship them (10). They acknowledge no Services, and what is worse, won't be convinc'd of them, nor that their liberty is subject to desert, and therefore take great care to disengage themselves from it. Him who has perform'd signal Services they charge with some Crime or other, that his pretension to reward being reduc'd to a defence, he may take his Pardon for a sufficient Recompence. They seem dis-satisfied with those very Services which they inwardly approve; to avoid being oblig'd, or they attribute them to their own orders, and sometimes that very thing which they desir'd and commanded to be done, they repent of afterwards, and are angry with him who facilitated it, as if he had done it from his own motive. The Heart of a King is unsearchable (11). 'Tis a deep Sea which is to day boisterous and raging, from the same cause which made it yesterday calm and serene. The Goods of Fortune and Mind, and also Riches and Honours, they sometimes esteem meritorious, sometimes injurious and criminal (12).

The most officious diligence often displeases them. That of *Uzzah* to God, in putting forth his arm to support the

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(6) *Cuncta Germanici in deterius trahenti.* Id. Ibid. (7) *Quanto summe ipsei propior, tanto impensius pro Tiberio niti.* Id. ibid (8) *Novisque provinciis impositum, dolo simul & casibus objectaret.* Tac. 2. ann. (9) *Nam Germanici mortem inter prospera ducebat.* Tac. 4. ann. (10) Their eyes be full of dust, through the feet of them that come in. *Baruc.* 6. 17. (11) Prov. 25. 3. (12) *Nobilitas, opes, omissi gestique honores pro crimine & ob virtutes certissimum exitium.* Tac. 1. hist.

falling

falling Ark, coſt him his life (13). Princes uſually recompence negligence rather than care, and reward the leaſt Services with greateſt Honours. To be oblig'd they reckon ſervile and mean, and chuſe Ingratitude rather than Acknowledgment. The prompt zeal and liberality of *Junius Blæſus* towards the Emperor *Vitellius* got him his Hatred inſtead of Thanks (14). The renown'd *Roger* of *Catalonia*, being at *Conſtantinople* to aſſiſt *Fadricus* King of *Sicily*, was recall'd by the Emperor *Andronicus* to defend the Empire; he did things beyond belief; with a ſmall number of his valiant *Catalonians*; he repell'd the *Turks*, and when he expected a reward for his Services, the Emperour upon ſome ſlight pretence, put him to death. And very often ſome frivolous pretence is more regarded than the greateſt Services; for Gratitude is eſteem'd a burthen to the mind, but Revenge diſcharges the Bile. There is this Misfortune in the Service of Princes, that no man knows when he obliges or diſobliges them (15). And if we would form any method of Policy from the light of Hiſtory, and the Misfortunes which we incur through our over officiouſneſs, we had need diſtinguiſh between Vertues, that we may know how to uſe them, by conſidering that though they are all in us as their proper Subject, yet do they not all operate within us. Some are practiſed externally, others internally. Theſe are Fortitude, Patience, Modeſty, Humility, Religion, among which, ſome are only ſo far for us, that thoſe external ones contribute no more thereto, than the ſecurity of humane Society, and an eſteem for their own Excellence, as are Humility, Modeſty, and Humanity. So that the more perfect theſe Vertues are, the more they work upon the Minds and Approbation of others, provided we can keep a

(13) And *Uzzah* put forth his hand to the Ark of God, and took hold of it, for the Oxen ſhook it. And the anger of the Lord was kindled againſt *Uzzah*, and God ſmote him there for his error, and there he died by the Ark of God, 2 *Sam.* 6. 6. (14) *Lugdunenſis Galliæ rector, genere illuſtris, largus animo, & par opibus, circumdaret Principi miniſteria, comitaretur liberaliter, eo ipſo ingratus quamvis, odium Vitellius humilibus blanditiis velaret.* Tac. 2. hiſt. (15) And no man knoweth either Love or Hatred, by all that is before them, *Eccl.* 9 1.

Deco-

Decorum. Other of thoſe Vertues, though they are internal, yet their Operation depends upon external Actions, as Valour and Magnanimity. In theſe there is no danger, if they be govern'd by Prudence, which preſcribes time and manner to all Vertues. For exceſſive and imprudent reſervedneſs uſually obſtructs our intereſt; we loſing our ſelves under a Notion of Reputation and Glory, while thoſe who ſuit themſelves to the Times, Neceſſity and Flattery, obtain the Rewards and Commendations. In the exerciſe of thoſe Vertues which reſpect the good of others, ſuch as Liberality and Compaſſion, there is always ſome danger, becauſe neither the Rewards of Princes, nor the acknowledgments of Friends are anſwerable to them; we perſwade our ſelves that our Services will be acceptable, and that to aſſiſt our Misfortunes, they will reciprocally expoſe their own Lives and Fortunes. Into this error we are led by our own Senſe of Gratitude, which often makes us heedleſs of our own ruin, to ſatisfie for Obligations receiv'd. But if we fall into any Calamity they withdraw and deſert us. There were but three of *Job*'s Friends who viſited him in his Afflictions, and they too by God's Command (16): nor did they aſſiſt him but with Words and ſevere Advice, which he had need of all his Patience to bear. But after God again ſmil'd upon *Job*, and began to heap on him Riches in abundance, then came flocking to him, not only his Brethren and Relations, but thoſe too who knew him not but by ſight, and ſat down at Table with him, that they might partake of his Proſperity (17).

This error, under pretence of mutual aſſiſtance and obligation has been the ruin of many, who have reap'd nought but Ingratitude and Hatred from their benefits and kindneſſes, and created Enemies of thoſe who before were their Friends, ſo that they die friendleſs and miſerable. The Ho-

(16) Now when *Job*'s three Friends heard of all this evil that was come upon him, they came every one from his own place, *V. Lat. venerunt ſicut locutus eſt dominus ad eos*, Job 2. 9. (17) Then came there unto him all his Brethren, and all his Siſters, and all that had been of his acquaintance before, and did eat Bread with him in his houſe, *Job* 42. 11.

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ly Spirit has cautioned us of this: *My Son*, says he, *if thou be surety for thy Friend, if thou hast stricken thy hand with a stranger; thou art snar'd with the words of thy mouth, thou art taken with thine own words* (18). He advises us to deliver our selves from the hand of a Friend, as a Roe from the hand of the Hunter, and as a Bird from the hand of the Fowler (19). Do good but look about ye, is a *Spanish* Proverb drawn from Experience. Those are not subject to these Misfortunes who live only to themselves, nor suffer themselves to be mov'd by Compassion or Charity, to assist the calamities of others, being deaf to their Tears and Groans, avoiding all occasions of intermedling with them, whence they live free from cares and troubles, and if they gain not new Friends, they however keep those they have; not being esteem'd for the good they do, but for the ill they don't do, this being in them accounted Prudence. Besides we naturally esteem them most, who have least need of us, who without being beholden to us, live content with their own. Whence considering the usual custom of Mankind, it may perhaps seem adviseable to be an idle Spectator of others Calamities, and minding only our own interests, not to engage our selves in their dangers and troubles. But this policy would be against our duty as Christians, Charity, and generous Vertues, which gives us a nearer access to God. This would dissolve all civil Society, which wholly consists in the mutual assistance of one another. Vertue needs no outward acknowledgments; being to it self a fair reward. Nay, 'tis then most perfect and glorious, when it expects the least return; for 'tis a kind of Avarice to do good in hopes of a Retaliation, which if not obtain'd creates a lasting resentment. Let us therefore be guided by the consideration of what we owe our selves, and also by the example of God Almighty, who bestows his Blessings even on the Ungratefull. Yet 'tis Prudence to have respect to the time when and where acknowledgments may be expected, for 'tis too hard for a man, after great Expences, great Hazards and Hardships undergone for another, to meet with nothing

(18) Prov. 6. 1. (19) Ibid.

but

but Ingratitude in return. To him who underſtands the nature and uſual ways of Mankind, this will not ſeem at all new; but foreknowing it, will ward the blow, and avoid being hurt.

We ſhould alſo well conſider, whether it be really our Friend's intereſt for us to undertake his aſſiſtance: for ſometimes we do him an injury by our diligence, becauſe 'tis either unſeaſonable or imprudent, by which we ruin both our ſelves and him too. This officiouſneſs *Thraſeas* check'd in *Ruſticus Arulenus*, though in his own behalf, knowing that kindneſs would be prejudicial to the Interceſſor, and of no advantage to the criminal (20).

Nor is it leſs imprudent and dangerous to be over zealous for the publick good and welfare of the Prince, then eſpecially, when without obligation of duty, or certain proſpect of remedy, we intermeddle with their concerns to our own apparent ruin. I don't mean, that we ſhould be inſenſible at the ſight of others ſufferings, or that for our own eaſe and quiet we ſhould baſely truckle to the Times and Tyranny. But that we ſhould not fooliſhly ruin our ſelves, and that we ſhould follow the example of *Lucius Piſo*, who in difficult and deplorable times, knew how to preſerve himſelf with ſuch Prudence, that he was never the Author of any ſervile propoſition, and upon abſolute neceſſity, did it with great Moderation (21). Oftentimes we are forward in giving our advice in things which don't concern us, perſwaded that therein conſiſts the remedy of the publick ills: not conſidering how eaſily we are deceiv'd with a conceit of our own opinions, without particular knowledge of the motives upon which Princes act. Nothing is more dangerous than to adviſe; even he who is oblig'd in duty to it, ought to avoid it if not ask'd; for Advice is judg'd by the event, and that depends upon future accidents, which no Prudence can foreſee, and that which falls out ill is attributed to the Counſellor, but not that which ſucceeds well.

(20) *Ne vana, & reo non profitura, interceſſori exitioſa inciperet.* Tac. 16 ann. (21) *Nullius ſervilis ſententiæ ſponte author, & quoties neceſſitas ingrueret, ſapienter moderans.* Tac. 6. ann.

EM-

EMBLEM XLVIII.

HOW are Princes arm'd againſt foreign Enemies! and how unprovided againſt domeſtick ones! who follow them even through the midſt of their Guards, yet do they take no notice of them. Theſe are Flatterers and Paraſites; nor is there leſs danger from their Fawns than from an Enemy's Sword. Flattery has ruin'd more Princes than force. What Royal Purple has not this Moth eaten? What Sceptre has not this Worm gnaw'd? It inſinuates it ſelf into the talleſt Cedars, and preying upon the root ſoon brings them to the ground. 'Tis a damage not diſcern'd, but by entire ruin; the effect is ſooner ſeen than the cauſe. 'Tis a falſe Silk-worm which inhabits the gilded Roofs of Palaces. The preſent Emblem compares it to a Lizzard, with a gay ſtarry back and poiſon'd Breaſt. It appears to the Prince under the ſhining Cloak of Zeal, the better to conceal its perni-

cious deſigns (1). Let a Prince know, that all brightneſs does not denote the Excellence of the Subject; for in the Scripture it is a ſign of a Leproſie (2); and rotten wood gives a kind of light in the dark. There are ſome glimmerings of good, even in the blackeſt Soul. Sometimes in the very bowels of Severity, the Aſſertor of Liberty, and Oppoſer of the Prince. Flattery baſely diſcovers it ſelf; as when *Valerius Meſſala* propos'd the adminiſtring the Oath of Allegiance to *Tiberius* each year, and being ask'd by whoſe order he did it, he reply'd, That 'twas from his own proper motive; for that in all matters of publick concern, he would follow the Dictates of his own reaſon, even though he ſhould offend by it (3). Not unlike this, was that of *Ateius*, who when *Lucius Ennius* was accus'd of having deſtroy'd the Silver Statue of *Tiberius*, to make houſe Plate on, and *Tiberius* being willing to wave the Accuſation, openly oppos'd it, ſaying, That the Senators ought not to be depriv'd of the power of judging, nor ſhould ſuch a Crime go unpuniſh'd; that he might indeed forgive his own Grievances, but ſhould not be prodigal of the Injuries done the State (4).

The Lizzard changes its skin every year, ſo alſo does Flattery, as oft, I mean, as the Prince changes his mind. The Miniſters of King *Alphonſo* the Tenth, adviſ'd him to Divorce Queen *Violante*, for Barrenneſs, arguing, that the Marriage was void, which they afterwards declar'd valid, and perſwaded the King to retake her to his Bed †

There is no Animal more cunning than the Lizzard, whence the Lawyers call all falſe practice *Crimen Stellionatus.* Who uſes more cheats than the Flatterer, impoſing

(1) Wo unto them that call evil good and good evil; that put darkneſs for light, and light for darkneſs; that put bitter for ſweet, and ſweet for bitter, *Iſai.* 5. 20. (2) When a man ſhall have in the skin of his Fleſh, a riſing, a ſcab, or bright ſpot, *Levit.* 13. 2. (3) *Sponte dixiſſe, Reſpondit; neque in iis quæ ad remp. pertinerent, conſilio niſi ſuo uſurum, vel cum periculo offenſionis, ea ſola ſpecies adulandi ſupererat.* Tac. 1. ann. (4) *Palam aſpernante Ætio Capitone quaſi per libertatem. Non enim debere eripi patribus vim ſtatuendi, neque tantum maleficium impune habendum; ſane lentius in ſuo dolore eſſet; reipub. dolores ne largirentur.* Tac. 3. ann. † Mar. hiſt. Hiſp.

upon

upon the Will, the nobleſt faculty of man; ſo much above the other Senſes, that without it the reſt would be inſlav'd.

The Lizzard does not kill him whom it wounds, but only benumbs him, and puts him, as it were, beſide himſelf, by raiſing divers paſſions in him. The proper quality of a Flatterer, who with ſpecious pretences charms the Eyes and Ears of Princes, and put them ſo beſide themſelves, that they can't ſearch the truth of things. The Lizzard is ſo inveterate againſt man, that when it caſts its skin, it eats it up, leaſt it ſhould be uſefull in the cure of the Falling-ſickneſs. A Flatterer deſires a Prince may not recover from his errors; for Diſabuſe is the Son of Truth, which is an utter Enemy to Flattery. Flatterers envy the proſperity of Princes, and hate them as thoſe who by their power, and a certain neceſſity oblige them to the Slavery of Diſſimulation and Flattery, and force them to ſpeak one thing and think another.

A Prince has need of great Prudence to diſtinguiſh Flattery: for it conſiſts in Praiſe, which he will find from thoſe who are far from that Vice. This is the difference that a Flatterer promiſcuouſly commends all, honourable or baſe, good or bad; but the other only that which is juſt and good. When therefore a Prince ſees things attributed to him which are due to others, or which are mere accidents (5); frivolous things commended and extoll'd which don't deſerve it, ſuch as tend more to pleaſure than Reputation. Such as avert his mind from the toil of affairs, ſuch as reſpect more his own advantage than the publick intereſt, and that the perſon who ſo commends theſe things, does not rightly govern himſelf, that he does not ſhew any concern or readineſs to admoniſh him, when he commits any thing below his Perſon and Majeſty; nay, that he excuſes his Errors, and regards more his own Intereſt than his Service, that he never ſeems offended at any thing, that he may be always near him, that he does not aſſociate with thoſe who are zealous Patriots and lovers of their Country. That he

(5) O my People, they which lead thee cauſe thee to err, and deſtroy the way of thy paths, *Iſa.* 3. 12.

praiſes thoſe whom he thinks agreeable to him, and whom, if he would, he cannot turn out of favour, that when he finds himſelf fixt therein, makes it his buſineſs to gain the eſteem of others, by attributing all good ſucceſs to himſelf, and by accuſing the Prince in that he did not follow his Counſel; that to gain credit, he brags that he reprehended his Errors, when in private he excus'd commended and approv'd. Such a one as this a Prince may well mark for a Flatterer, whom he ought to avoid as the moſt venomous Poiſon, and directly oppoſite to that ſincere Love with which he ought to be ſerv'd (6).

But though theſe marks are plain enough, yet is ſelf Conceit generally ſo blind, as not to diſcern Flattery, but ſuffer it ſelf to be coax'd with its own Praiſes, which exerciſe an agreeable Tyranny over the Senſes, ſo that there is no Flattery ſo groſs, which it does not believe its due. Sometimes this happens from a remiſs and negligent Goodneſs, which not duly conſidering the inconveniences of Flattery, bears it, and interprets it Submiſſion and Zeal. This was the fault of *Ferdinand* King of *Galicia*, who was hated of his Subjects for liſtening too much to Flatterers. And King *Alphonſo* the Ninth, for the ſame reaſon, did not a little obſcure the Glory of his other Vertues and Exploits. Let Princes therefore believe, that they may be ſo deceiv'd either through Self conceit, or their natural Goodneſs, that though there be ſufficient tokens to diſtinguiſh Flattery, which that they may know and avoid, I would adviſe them to read Hiſtory, and obſerve by what Tricks and Cheats their Anceſtors were cajol'd, and what Loſſes they have incurr'd thereby, and then conſider, whether or no they are not ſerv'd in the ſame manner. One time only, when King *Ahaſuerus* could not ſleep, and commanded the Chronicles to be read to him, he preſently learn'd from thence what never any one durſt tell him, the Deſigns and Tyranny of his Favourite *Haman*, and the faithfull Services of *Mordecai*: thoſe hid hitherto by Diſſimulation and Flattery, theſe

(6) *Blandiſ. peſſimum vitii affectus genus; ſua cuique utilitas.* Tac. Hiſt.

ſtified

stifled through Malice, by which being disabus'd, he punish'd the one and rewarded the other. Yet even in this they ought to beware of Flattery, wherefore let them read themselves; for perhaps if another reads, he will either pass over those cases which should instruct them, or change some Sentences and Words. O unhappy State of Majesty, which can't be sure of the truth even of Books, which are esteem'd the faithfullest Friends of Mankind.

A Prince ought also to get a sight of all Libels which are publish'd against him: for though Malice dictate them, yet Truth writes them, and he will find therein what his Courtiers conceal, and gather Prudence and Instruction from his Infamy. *Tiberius* seeing how he had been cheated, in not discovering the practices of *Sejanus* in time, caus'd to be publish'd the Will of *Fulcinius Trius*, which was a Satyr upon him, that he might see, though to his shame, the Truths which Flattery had conceal'd from him (7).

Let not a Prince always view his own actions in the glass of those that are about him, but rather let him consult Strangers, zealous Men, and such as are of strict Lives and Conversation, and observe if they all agree in one opinion: for the variable and inconstant glasses of Flattery never represent things as they really are, but as the Prince would have them. And 'tis better to be corrected by the wise, than cheated by the Flattery of Fools (8). To this end 'tis necessary sometimes to consult one, sometimes another, making them lay aside Modesty and Fear, by letting them know the obligation they are under to speak Truth. Even *Samuel* durst not freely tell what God commanded him, to *Eli* the High-Priest (9), until he entreated him (10).

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(7) *Quæ ab heredibus occultata, recitari Tiberius jussit: patientiam libertatis aliena ostentans, & contemptor suæ infamiæ, an scelerum Sejani dici nescius, mox quodam modo dicta vulgari maluerat, veritatisque cui officit adulatio, per probra falsem gnarus fieri* Tac. 6. ann. (8) It is better to hear the rebuke of the wise, than for a man to hear the Song of Fools, *Eccl.* 7. 6. (9) And *Samuel* feared to shew *Eli* the Vision, 1 *Sam* 3. 15. (10) And he said, What is the thing that the Lord hath said unto thee? I pray thee hide it not from me, *Ibid.*

Let a Prince sometimes view himself in the glass of the people, in which the least spot immediately appears, for the Mob can't dissemble. *Lewis* the Fourth of *France*, would, disguis'd, mix himself with the Crowd, and hear what they said of his Actions and Government. He that would find Truth, must seek her in the Streets. *Lewis* the Eleventh of *France* us'd to complain, that he wanted one piece of Furniture in his Palace, which was Truth. Which is too modest and plain to live in Courts, being confounded in the presence of Kings. For this reason *Saul* disguised himself when he went to consult the Witch of *Endor*, that she might answer him with more freedom; and he did this himself without trusting to another (11). *Jeroboam* also observ'd the same method, when he sent his Wife to *Ahijah* to enquire about their sick Child He commanded her to disguise her self, that he might not know her, least if he should, he might either give her no answer at all, or not tell her truth (12). Since then Truth is not to be found in the Palaces of Princes, she must be trac'd out else-where; 'tis *the honour of a King to search out a matter* (13). King *Philip* the Second had a Favourite, whom he lov'd extremely, who us'd to inform him of whatever was said of him as well within as without the Court. 'Tis observable, that though the discourses of the people in the absence of the Prince, be true, yet when they come to his ears they are so softned, and gilded with Flattery, that they rather encourage, and blindly make him pursue his Vices, perswading him that his actions are highly approv'd by all No Government was more tyrannical than that of *Tiberius*; no Favourite more hated than *Sejanus*; yet when they were at *Caprea*, the Senate earnestly begg'd, that they would please to let them see them (14). *Nero* was so miserably deceiv'd by the Flattery of the people, that he believ'd they could not bear his absence from *Rome*, though for never so small a time, and that his presence comforted them

(11) And *Saul* disguised himself, and put on other raiment, and he went, 1 *Sam.* 28 8. (12) 1 Kings 14. 2. (13) Prov. 25. 2. (14) *Crebrisque precibus efflagitabant, visendi sui copiam facerent.* Tac. 4. ann.

in

in their Adversity (15); though he was really so odious, that the Senate and Nobility were in doubt, whether he was more cruel in his Absence than his Presence (16).

There are other ways to know Flattery, but few Princes care to make use of them, it being so agreeable to their inclinations and nature; and so we see Coiners punish'd, but not Flatterers, though the last are most guilty; these gild and counterfeit our Money, those our Vices, putting them off even to our selves for Vertues. This is a great fault, which is still decry'd, yet still maintain'd in the Courts of Princes; where Truth appears not without danger, especially with haughty and passionate Princes (17). *Bernardo de Cabrera* lost his life for his friendly advice in some affairs to *Peter* the IVth of *Arragon*, notwithstanding his signal Services, and his having been his Tutor. He who advises or informs another, seems to accuse his Actions and Judgment, which Princes won't endure; for they think he don't sufficiently respect them, who talks to them freely. *Gutierrez Fernandez* of *Toledo* with an honest and well-meaning Sincerity, told King *Peter* the Cruel, what he thought of his Government, and advis'd him to moderate his Severity; which meritorious Advice the King took for such a crime, that he caus'd him to be beheaded for it *. A Prince looks upon him as his Judge, who observes his Actions, nor can he endure him who finds fault with them. The danger is in admonishing a Prince what he should do, not what he would do (18): which is the reason Truth is so timorous, and Flattery so audacious. But if any Prince would be so generous, as to think it base and mean to be coax'd by Flattery, and look upon it as a contempt for others to pretend to impose upon him, by false praises, and speak more of his Grandure than his Per-

(15) *Vidisse civium mœstos vultus, audire secretas quærimonias, quod tantum aditurus esset iter, cujus ne modicos quidem egressus tolerarent, facti adversum fortuita aspectu Principis refoveri.* (16) *Senatus & Primates in incerto erant, protul, an coram atrocior haberetur.* Tac. 15. ann. (17) *Contumacius loqui non est tutum apud aures superbas, & offensioni proniores.* Tac 4. ann. * Mar. hist Hisp. (18) *Nam suadere Principi quod oporteat, multi laboris, & periculi.* Tac. 1. hist.

ſon (19), he would ſoon be rid of this ſort of cattle by arming himſelf with ſeverity; for none will dare attempt a ſtanch and ſevere Prince, who fathoms the truth of things, and has learnt to contemn vain Honours. *Tiberius* with the ſame compoſure of countenance, heard the freedom of *Piſo*, and the Flattery of *Gallus* (20). And though he diſſembled ſo well, he knew the Flattery, as he did that of *Ateius Capito*, conſidering their Thoughts, not their Words (21). Let a Prince alſo publickly gratifie thoſe who ſhall be ſo ingenuous as to tell him Truth. Thus *Cliſthenes* the Tyrant of *Sicily* did, who erected a Statue to one of his Counſellors, who contradicted his Triumph, by which he wonderfully gain'd the hearts of his Subjects, and encouraged his other Counſellors to ſpeak their Sentiments more freely. King *Alphonſo* the Twelfth, being once adviſing about an affair of great moment, with his Sword in his right hand, and his Sceptre in his left, ſpoke to this effect: *Come*, ſays he, *ſpeak all your minds freely, and frankly adviſe me what you think for the glory of this Sword, and the advantage of this Scepter* *. Happy that Kingdom, in which Counſel is neither embarraſs'd by Reſpect, nor aw'd by Fear! All men know the baſeneſs of Flattery, but they know too the inconveniencies of Truth, and ſee more danger from this than that. Who would not ſpeak with more ſincerity and zeal to Princes, were they all of the ſame temper with *John* the Second King of *Portugal*, who when one petition'd for ſome vacant Office, reply'd, That he had long ſince promis'd it to a faithfull Servant, who never ſpoke to pleaſe, but to ſerve him and the State †. But this generous Sincerity is very rarely to be found: Princes being uſually of King *Achab*'s mind, who calling a council of Prophets, would have *Micah* excluded, becauſe, ſays he, *he doth not prophecy good concerning me, but evil* (22). For this reaſon, Miniſters often run great Riſques, who through zeal are too forward in telling their Thoughts

(19) *Etiamsi ego & tu ſimpliciſſimè inter nos hodie loquimur, cæteri libentius cum fortunâ noſtrâ quam nobiſcum.* Tac. 1. hiſt. (20) *Audiente hoc Tiberio, ac ſilente.* Tac. 2. ann. (21) *Intellexit hæc Tiberius, ut erant magis, quam ut fiebantur.* Tac. 3. ann. * Mar hiſt. Hiſp. † Mar. hiſt. Hiſp. (22) 1 Kings 22. 8.

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of future dangers, that they may be ſeaſonably prevented. For Princes had rather not know them than fear them; their ears are prepar'd for the ſoft Harmony of Muſick, but can't bear the jarring ſounds of impending dangers. Whence they choſe for their Counſellors and Confidents, ſuch as will tell them nothing but what they approve of (23), and not what God inſpires as the Prophet *Micah* did (24). What wonder then, if without the light of Truth they loſe their way and are loſt?

Would theſe Tell-truths be guided by Prudence, doubtleſs a Prince would more value Truth, than vain and empty Flattery; but there are few who uſe it ſeaſonably, or with that Modeſty and Addreſs that is requiſite. For all that are free are moroſe, and offend Princes with the aſperity of their Looks, eſpecially when arm'd with Truth; for ſome Vertues are odious, ſuch as obſtinate Severity, and a Spirit not to be gain'd by favours. For Princes think themſelves ſlighted, when they ſee thoſe meaſures, which are uſually taken to obtain their favour are contemn'd, thinking he who does not ſtudy to acquire them, neither acknowledges himſelf their Subject, nor has occaſion for them. The Superiour uſes the Lancet or inciſion Knife of Truth, to cure the diſtempers of the inferiour, but this only a cauſtick, which without pain benumbs, and wears away the parts infected in the Superiour. To be troubleſome with unſeaſonable and improper Truths, is rather Malice than Zeal, rather Saucineſs that Admonition. God himſelf uſes ſingular Prudence and Caution in revealing them; for though he might have told *Pharaoh* and *Nebuchadnezzar* their future Calamities by *Joſeph* and *Daniel*; yet he choſe rather to do it by Dream, when the Senſes were lull'd and Majeſty buried in Sleep, and even then not clearly, but by Figures and Hieroglyphicks, that there might be ſome time allow'd for their Interpretation, to avoid ſudden Terrour and Conſternation, as alſo the danger of the Miniſters,

(23) After their own Luſts they ſhall heap to themſelves teachers, 2 *Tim.* 4. 3. (24) And *Micah* ſaid, as the Lord liveth, even what my God ſaith, that will I ſpeak, 2 *Chron.* 18. 13.

ſhould

should they unask'd declare such things (25). 'Tis sufficient, if the Minister can make the Prince understand them; which if he can effect by signs, let him not use words. Yet are there some so imprudent, that they glory in bold Truths, and are fond to be the bearers, nay sometimes the inventers of ill News. Let these learn of what befell King *Balshazzar*, to whom the hand that pronounc'd his death upon the Wall, was not wholly visible, but only the fingers appear'd, and but the ends of them neither; so that it could not in the least be discover'd, who guided them; nor this by day light but by night, writing that decretory Sentence by Candle-light, upon the Wall in such Characters, as required some time to be understood. While therefore the intention is good, and accompanied by Prudence, 'twill be easie to walk a secure and middle path, between the Slavery of Flattery and the Arrogance of Truth; for all Truths may be spoken, provided it be with discretion, by proposing only the amendment of those to whom they are directed. Thus the discretion and address of *Agricola* mollified the stern humour of *Domitian* (27). He who with his Services and Modesty mingles Valour and Industry, may live safe under the worst of Princes (28); and gain more Reputation, than those, who by being too ambitious of Glory, do foolishly ruin themselves, without any advantage to the State; by this circumspection *M. Lepidus* turn'd to his advantage many dangerous Flatteries, and preserv'd the favour of *Tiberius* (29). *Thrasea Paetus*'s going out of the Senate, to avoid being present at the Votes, which to flatter *Tiberius*, they were making against the Memory of *Agrippina*, was pernicious to the Senate, and dangerous to himself, without giving any foundation to the peoples Liberty, as he proposed (30).

(25) Gen. 41. 22. & Dan 4 2. (27) *Moderatione tamen prudentiâque Agricolæ leniebatur, quia non contumaciâ, neque inani jactatione libertatis famam, fatumque provocabat.* Tac. in vit. Agric. (28) *Posse etiam sub malis Principibus magnos viros esse.* Tac in vit. Agric. (29) *Nam pleraque ab sævis adulationibus aliorum in melius flexit: neque tamen temperamenti egebat, cum æquabili auctoritate, & gratiâ apud Tiberium vigueret.* Tac 4 ann. (30) *Thrasea Paetus silentio vel brevi assensu priores adulationes transmittere solitus, exiit, cum Senatu, ac sibi causam periculi fecit, cæteris libertatis initium non præbuit.* Tac. 14 ann.

Truth

Truth is yet more dangerous in those, who avoiding Flattery, to seem free and plain, carp at the actions and failures of Princes, with sharp Jests, which stick long by the great ones; especially where they are grounded upon Truth (31): As *Vestinus* found by *Nero*, who put him to death for reprehending his Vices with too much freedom (32). To speak Truth only to publish the faults of the Government, is a kind of freedom which looks like Advice, but is Reflection; it appears Zeal but is Malice. And this I look upon as not less pernicious than Flattery it self. For if one be an odious Slavery, the other is a false kind of Liberty. Hence the wisest Princes dread freedom as much as Flattery, neither being safe, and therefore the extremes of both are to be avoided; which was observ'd in the time of *Tiberius* (33) Yet 'tis certain, there ought to be some allowance for Flattery, thereby to introduce Truth; for not to flatter in somethings, is to accuse in every thing; and in a corrupt Government, there is as much to be fear'd from too much as too little Flattery (34). The State would be in a desperate condition, and the Prince inhuman and barbarous, if neither Truth nor Flattery durst approach him. He would be like an Adder, if he should be deaf to that Flattery which would perswade him to what is glorious and honourable (35). With such as these God threatned the people of *Jerusalem* by the Prophet *Jeremiah*; *I will send Serpents among you, Cockatrices which will not be charm'd, and they shall bite you* (36). That Mind is wild and savage, which a gentle and modest Flattery can't sooth into good Temper, and Compliance with its wholsome Advice. Truth being of it self something bitter, we must sweeten the brim of the Cup, that Princes may drink with more pleasure: They won't hear it if it be dry, nay are often worse for it.

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(31) *Tiberius acerbis facetiis irridare solitus, quarum apud prepotentes in longum memoria est.* Tac. 5. ann. (32) *Sæpe asperis facetiis illusus, quæ ubi multum ex vero traxere, acrem sui memoriam relinquunt.* Tac. 15. ann. (33) *Unde angusta & lubrica oratio sub Principe qui libertatem metuebat, adulationem oderat.* Tac. 2 ann. (34) *Quæ moribus corruptis, perinde accepta, si nulla, & ubi nimia est.* Tac. 4. ann. (35) Psal. 57. 6. (36) Jer. 8. 17.

The

The more *Tiberius*'s Cruelty was exclaim'd againſt, the more ſevere and bloody he grew (37). 'Tis of uſe ſometimes to commend ſome famous actions in them, as if they had actually done them, that they may be thereby prompted to put them in execution; or to be extravagant in the commendation of Valour or other Vertues, that they may be the more eager to follow them. This enflames the mind more to honour than Flattery. *Theſe means*, ſays *Tacitus*, *the* Roman *Senate us'd to* Nero *in the beginning of his Reign* (38). 'Tis of very ill conſequence to commend Vices under the name of Vertues; for this is encouraging Princes to commit greater. *Nero* ſeeing his Severity taken for Juſtice, became a perfect Tyrant (39). We ill conſult our own Liberty, Fortunes and Lives, in endeavouring to extend the unjuſt power of Princes beyond their due bounds, by adminiſtring them means to ſatisfie their Ambition and Luſts. Scarce any Prince would be bad, were not his Miniſters Flatterers. They gain that favour by publick Miſchief, which they can't merit by their Vertues. Prodigious Villany! For a momentary favour, which they are very often diſappointed of too, or rather ruin'd with, to betray their Country and promote Tyranny! What wonder, if God chaſtiſes Subjects for the faults of Princes, if they are the cauſe of them, while Princes act all by their Miniſters, who teach them ſeveral ways of burthening their Subjects with Taxes, of oppreſſing the Nobility, and turning the Government into Tyranny, by violating Privileges, Laws and Cuſtoms, and ſo are at laſt their own Executioners.

(37) *Cæſar objectam ſibi adverſus reos inclementiam, eo pervicacius amplexus eſt.* Tac. 4. ann. (38) *Magnis patrum laudibus, ut juvenilis animus levium quoque rerum gloria ſublatus, majores continuaret.* Tac. 13. ann. (39) *Poſtquam cuncta ſcelerum pro egregiis accipi videt, extuhat Octaviam.* Tac. 14. ann.

EMBLEM XLIX.

MANY reaſons make me doubt, whether the chance of birth has any part of the favour or hatred of Princes; or whether our Conduct and Prudence, can, without ambition and peril, find a ſecure path, between a froward Obſtinacy, and a deſpicable Slavery. There ſeems to be a certain occult force, which, if it does not compell, does at leaſt move our Will, and incline it to one more than another: and if in the Senſes and natural Appetites there is a Sympathy and Antipathy to things, why not in the Affections and Paſſions? They may perhaps, have more power and force over the Appetite than the Will, becauſe that is more a Rebell to Free-Will than this, but it can't be deny'd, but that the inclination too is of great force, being generally attended by reaſon, eſpecially when Art and Prudence know how to adapt themſelves to the humour

mour of the Prince. We ſee in all things as well animate as inanimate, a ſecret Correſpondence and Friendſhip, whoſe chains are eaſier broken than parted. Neither the injuries nor adverſities which King *John* the Second ſuffer'd for his affection to *Alvarez de Luna*, nor the apparent danger of the latter, could diſſolve that firm bond of Friendſhip with which their Souls were united. And though this inclination be not natural, yet gratitude for paſt Services, or the extraordinary merits of the Subject uſually produce it. Vertue is of it ſelf amiable, and gratefull to the Will. 'Twould be barbarous to oblige a Prince to balance his affections with indifferency to all, for they proceed from the heart by the Eyes and Hands: what ſtanch ſeverity can always reſiſt the charms of favour? How reſerv'd was *Philip* the Second? Yet had he not one but many particular Favourites. God himſelf had ſome whom he peculiarly favour'd, giving them power to ſtop the courſe of the Sun and Moon (1); The Lord obeying the voice of man (2). And why (as King *Peter* obſerv'd) is particular Friendſhip allow'd to private perſons and not to Princes? Many are the troubles of Government, to alleviate which, 'twill be neceſſary to have ſome one near you in whom you can put a more particular Confidence. There are many difficulties in it, which are not to be ſurmounted by one. The burthen of a Crown is too weighty and cumberſome for one to bear, the ſtrongeſt yield to it, and, as *Job* ſays, bend under it. For this reaſon, though God was aſſiſtant to *Moſes*, and ſupply'd him with ability and inſtructions to adminiſter his Office, yet he commanded to make uſe of the elders in the Government of his people, that they might help to bear the burthen (3). And *Jethro* his Father in-Law, thought the burthen greater than he was able to bear (4). *Alexander* took *Parmeno* to his aſſiſtance;

(1) And he ſaid in the ſight of *Iſrael*, Sun, ſtand thou ſtill upon *Gibeon*; and thou Moon, in the valley of *Ajalon*, *Joſ.* 10. 12. (2) The Lord hearkened to the voice of man, for the Lord fought for *Iſrael*, *Ibid.* (3) And they ſhall bear the burthen of the people with thee, that thou bear it not thy ſelf alone, *Numb.* 11. 17. (4) For this thing is too heavy for thee; thou art not able to perform it thy ſelf alone, *Exod.* 18 18.

David,

David, *Joab*; *Solomon*, *Zadock*; *Darius*, *Daniel*; by whoſe directions they ſucceeded in their affairs. No Prince is ſo prudent and diſcreet, as of himſelf to know all things, nor ſo carefull and diligent, as to manage all affairs alone. Which natural impotency oblig'd Princes to erect Courts and Counſels, and to create Preſidents, Governours, and Viceroys, in whom the power and authority of Princes might reſide. *For alone* (ſays King *Alphonſo* the Wiſe) *they can't penetrate and examin all things, but have need of the aſſiſtance of others, in whom they can confide, who ſhould uſe the power which they receive in performing thoſe things which Princes can't do themſelves* †. And if Princes uſe the aſſiſtance of Miniſters abroad, why ſhould he not in the more private affairs of his Cabinet? 'Tis neceſſary he ſhould have ſome one near him, whom he may deliberate with about the Advice and Counſel which is given him. That he may with him compare his own Scruples and Propoſitions, and be by him inſtructed. Whom, in fine, he may ſafely truſt to expedite and execute Affairs (5). Would it not be worſe, if embarraſs'd with ſuch weighty cares, he ſhould communicate himſelf to none? Beſides, 'tis abſolutely neceſſary that the Prince ſhould have ſome aſſiſtant, who, diſengag'd from all other buſineſs, ſhould be as a Mediator between him and his people: Otherwiſe it would be impoſſible for him to hear and ſatisfie all, nor would it ſuit with his Majeſty. For this reaſon, the *Iſraelites* beſought *Moſes* that he would ſpeak to God for them, for they themſelves were afraid of his Preſence (6). And *Abſalom*, that he might render *David* odious to the people, urg'd that he had no Miniſters about him to receive the complaints of the diſtreſſed (7). The Zeal and Prudence of a Favourite may with eaſe rectifie the defects of Government, and the inclinations of Prin-

† L. 3. tit. 1. p. 2. (5) *Solatium curarum frequenter ſibi adhibent maturi Reges, & hinc meliores æſtimantur, ſi ſoli omnia non præſumunt* Caſſiod lib 8. epiſt 9. (6) Exod. 20. 19. (7) Thy matters are good and right, but there is no man deputed of the King to hear thee, 2 *Sam.* 15. 3.

ces (8). *Agricola* by his prudent addreſs, reclaim'd *Domitian*, and though *Sejanus* was bad, *Tiberius* was worſe, when without him he follow'd his own inclinations (9). And truly by ſuch Favourites God often ſaves a whole Kingdom, as he did *Syria* by *Naaman*, and *Ægypt* by *Joſeph* (10). Since then 'tis neceſſary that the weight of Government ſhould be divided; 'tis natural in the choice of ſuch an aſſiſtant to be guided in ſome meaſure by inclination, or ſome ſecret Sympathy in the perſons of each; which choice, if it be founded upon deſert, can be no ways dangerous; nay, 'tis requiſite that the humour of the party whom the Prince takes to aſſiſt him, ſhould be choſen to him The queſtion is. Whether one or many ſhould be choſen to this Office; if many equally favour'd and reſpected, Emulation will ariſe, and their Counſels will thwart one another to the detriment of the State. So that it ſeems more agreeable to natural order, that affairs ſhould be committed to one alone, who ſhould ſupervise the reſt, and by whom affairs ſhould come digeſted and methodized to the Prince, who ſhould only ſubſtitute him to his cares and trouble, not his power and authority, in his Counſels not his Rewards The Sun alone imparts Light to the whole world, and when he ſets, he leaves not many but only one Vicegerent, the Moon, with a Luſtre much greater than that of the other Stars, who ſeem but as ſo many inferiour Miniſters to aſſiſt her. Yet neither this nor thoſe ſhine with their own, but borrow'd Light, which the Earth acknowledges receiv'd from the Sun. Nor does this favour miſbecome Majeſty, when a Prince devolves part of the burden of Affairs upon his Favourite, ſo as to preſerve the ſovereign power and authority to himſelf: for this is not favour but imployment, not ſo much an obligation, as a communication of trouble; nor is this ſo much to be envied, if Princes would be ſo prudent, as to give it another

(8) *Qui in regia familiaritate ſatrapiam admittuntur multa facere patiuntur, & aliena, patiuntur pauperum rapacitate ſolitudines, ſaevaturque religio, per ignaros. Exile ſit alterum* Petr. Blaſ. Epiſt. 150. (9) *Obtectis libidinibus, dum Sejanum diligunt, timuerunt: poſtremi in ſcelera ſimul ac deteriores, poſquam remota pudoris & metus, ſui tantum ingenii uſi erant.* Tac. 6 ann. (10) 2 Kings 5. 1.

name ſ

name; as Preſident of the Council, or Chancellour; as the Magiſtrates call'd *Præfecti* at *Rome*, incurr'd no Envy, though they were ſecond *Cæſars*.

The felicity of Subjects conſiſts not in the Prince's being like a loadſtone, attractive of Iron and not of Gold, but in his knowledge in chuſing ſuch a Miniſter as will attribute whatever is great and commendable to him, and take all the Reflections and Odium of the people upon himſelf; one whoſe mind is wholly bent upon the publick good; who manages affairs without Ambition; hears without Diſdain and debates without Paſſion; whoſe Reſolves and Determinations have no reſpect to ſelf-intereſt. In a word, whoſe whole aim is the ſervice and advantage of his Country, not himſelf, or the preſervation of his Maſter's favour. By this rule one may know whether this Familiarity proceed from pure Zeal or Tyranny. Princes ought to take great care in the choice of ſuch a Miniſter, endeavouring not to be byaſs'd by Affection or fanſifull Inclination, but by rare and excellent Qualifications and Merits, for ſometimes ſuch Friendſhip is not the reſult of deliberation but accident; it is not favour but diligence: Courts uſually erect and adore ſome Idol which they deify, and treat with Royal Splendor and Magnificence; they worſhip it upon their Knees, burn Tapers, and offer Incenſe to it, imploring its aſſiſtance with Prayers and Vows (11) As induſtry can change the courſe of Rivers, and turn them another way; ſo it often happens that thoſe who have buſineſs at Court, not regarding the Prince, the true channel of affairs, apply themſelves to the Favourite, whoſe arts do, by this, ſo ſecure the Prince's favour, that he can never diſengage himſelf from it. No Prince was more cautious, none more free than *Tiberius*, yet was he ſubject to his Favourite *Sejanus* (12). In which caſe 'tis difficult to ſay, whether ſuch favour be human choice, or ſome ſuperiour power, for the greater good or

(11) And ſo the multitude, allured by the grace of the work, took him now for a God, which a little before was but lately for a man. *Wiſd.* 14. 20. (12) *Tiberii variæ artes diu latuere, donec in obſcuro ac recondito ſibi quemque aut adulantium aut libertorum effingeret.*

ill of the Commonwealth: The Holy Spirit ſays, 'tis a particular judgment of God (13). *Tacitus* attributes the favour and fall of *Sejanus* to the anger of the Gods for the ruin of the Empire (14). A misfortune ſcarce avoidable, when this favour falls upon a perſon of great quality, as it uſually does in Courts where the chief of the Nobility are Miniſters. For he who is once poſſeſs'd of it, will, by the preheminence of his Birth and Grandure of his Family endeavour what he can to preſerve it, nor will he eaſily ſuffer himſelf to be ſupplanted by any one. As was ſeen in *John Alphonſo Robles*, in the time of King *John* the Second †. The heart of a Prince is never ſafe in the power of a Subject, whoſe Nobility and Authority make him too much reſpected by others. Though this inconveniency is leſſen'd, when this favour falls upon ſome great man who is truly zealous and intent upon his Prince's Service, and the honour and welfare of his Country, for then the people's Envy and Odium will not be ſo great, and the orders which are diſpatch'd through the hands of ſuch a one will be the more readily obſerv'd; yet 'tis always highly neceſſary, if a Prince could balance his favour between his own Authority and the Merits of his Favourite, to commit only that part of the adminiſtration to him, which he cannot manage himſelf; for ſhould he commit it wholly to him, he would experience the ſame misfortunes with King *Ahaſuerus*, when he entruſted *Haman* with the Government of his people (15). Let him not give by another's hand what he can diſpoſe of with his own; nor borrow others Eyes, when he can ſee with his own. As to what is done in Courts of Juſtice and Councils, let him afterwards conſult the Preſidents and Secretaries, from whoſe relations he may receive a juſt account of the affairs therein tranſacted; and his Reſolutions will be more conciſe and ready, when he confers with thoſe by whom the affairs have been managed. This method the Popes and Emperors uſe, as did alſo the Kings of *Spain* till

(13) Prov. 29 26. (14) *Non tam ſolertia (quippe iiſdem artibus viſus eſt) quam deûm ira in rem Romanam cujus pari exitio vigilt ceciditque.* Tac. 4. ann. † Mar. hiſt. Hiſp. lib. 20. l. 15. (15) Eſth. 3. 11.

Philip

Philip the Second, who being an excellent Pen-man, introduc'd the cuſtom of taking debates and conſultations in writing, which afterwards prevailing, gave riſe to private favour: for the Kings being embaraſs'd with ſuch a vaſt number of writings were oblig'd to communicate them to ſome one, and this muſt of neceſſity be a Favourite On ſuch a one let a Prince beſtow more peculiar marks of favour and benevolence. For he who merits his favour and ſhares his trouble, ought to have Pre-eminence above others. The ſhadow of St. *Peter* worked Miracles (16). What wonder then, if a Prince's Favourite, who is but his ſhadow, acts with more Authority than others? Nevertheleſs, ſome favours ſhould be reſerv'd for others; nor ſhould thoſe other be ſo great, as to exceed the condition of a Subject, and make him equal to the Prince, ſo as to have Court made to him as Co-partner in the Empire, and to draw the whole body of affairs after him, which derogates much from the Authority and Eſteem of the Prince. A Favourite ſhould act as the ſhadow not the Subſtance. In this the Kings of *Caſtile*, who, in times paſt, had Favourites, run great Riſques; for as the power of the Kings being then not ſo large, how little ſoever they granted, it endanger'd the whole Kingdom; as it befell King *Sancho* the Strong, for his favour to *Lopez de Hara*; King *Alphonſo* the Eleventh, for his to Count *Alvaro Oſorio*; King *John* the Second, and King *Henry* the Fourth, for theirs to *Alvaro de Luna*, and *John Pacheco*. The whole point of Favouritiſm conſiſts in the Prince's knowing how much he ought to allow his Favourite, and he how much he ought to receive from his Prince. Whatever exceeds this rule, creates (as we ſhall mention anon) Jealouſie, Envy and Danger (17).

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(16) Acts 5. 15. (17) *Sed uterque menſuram implevimus & tu quantum princeps tribuere amico poſſes, & ego quantum amicus à principe accipere: cætera invidiam augent.* Tac. 14. ann.

even natural misfortunes, and the Prince's Vices, all to him. *Bernardo* [illegible] loſt his head for the Tyrannies of *Peter* the Fourth, King of *Arragon*, whoſe Favourite he was. By the ſame means that a perſon endeavours to gain the favour of the Prince, he incurs the Odium of the Subjects; ſo that it was truly ſaid by that great Man, *Alphonſo de Albuquerque*, Governour of the *Eaſt-Indies*, that a Miniſter in obliging his Prince, offended the People: and if he endeavour to gratifie the People, he diſobliges the Prince.

If this favour be only founded upon exteriour Adoration, fomented by Court-Artifices, 'tis violent and momentary, and the Prince will endeavour to free himſelf from this impos'd involuntary Slavery.

If it proceed from a natural propenſity of the Mind, 'tis very ſubject to ſecond Cauſes, and is effac'd by time or the ingratitude of the Subject, when he forgets from whence he took his riſe (5).

If a perſon's Mein and Carriage do, as it were, raviſh the Prince's favour, it either ſoon fades, or is only ſuperficial, as in common Friendſhip.

If it be from ſome qualifications of Mind greater than thoſe of the Prince, when-ever he knows it, there's an end of his favour, for none can endure in another Pre-eminency in Wit or Valour, which is uſually eſteem'd above Power and Authority.

If it be from aſſiduity and care in buſineſs, diligence is not leſs dangerous than negligence; for ſucceſs does not always correſpond to means, becauſe of the diverſity of accidents; and Princes will be diſappointed in nothing that they wiſh and deſire. Succeſs is attributed to chance, or to the fortune of the Prince, and not to the prudence of the Favourite (6), but miſcarriages to him alone, though the fault be anothers, for all are willing to father Succeſs, but Misfortunes are laid at another's door (7), that is to the Favourite. Even Calualties are imputed to him, as the falling of

(5) Will. 11. 11. (6) *Hæc eſt conditio Regum, ut caſus tantum adverſi domi ſuæ tribuant, ceteris fortunæ ſuæ.* Æmil. Prob. (7) *Proſperis omnia ſibi vindicant, adverſis ab ſe rejiciunt.* Tac. in vit. Agric.

the

the Amphitheatre, and the burning of Mount *Calius* were to *Sejanus* (8). Nor do they only accuse him in affairs of his own management, but also in those of others, or in those accidents that depend upon the Prince's Will and Nature. Thus *Seneca* was blam'd for that *Nero* would have drown'd his Mother (9). Men cannot imagin a wickedness so strange as was not believ'd of *Sejanus* (10). There is no natural death, of a great Minister or Relation of the Prince, but is immediately reflected upon the Favourite. As was that of Prince *Philip Emanuel*, Son to *Charles* Duke of *Savoy*, to the Duke of *Lerma*.

If this favour proceeds from Obligation, and from signal Services perform'd, the Prince will by degrees grow weary of the burthen, and his Love will turn into Hate, because he looks upon him as a Creditor, and being unable to pay him, he seeks pretences to break with him, and so strike off the Debt (11). Acknowledgment is a kind of Slavery. For he who obliges another, makes himself his superiour, which is inconsistent with the Sovereignty of a Prince, whose power is diminished, if it be not greater than the obligation: and Princes being oppress'd with the weight of Gratitude and Obligation, become notoriously ungratefull, that they may discharge themselves from them (12). The Emperour *Adrian* put *Titian* to death, who had been his Tutor from a Boy, and to whom he ow'd his Empire: Not to mention that the fatigues of many years are effac'd by one oversight; Princes being more apt to punish a slight offence, than to reward signal Services. If they are honourable, they create Emulation and Envy in the Prince himself, for whose Ser-

(8) *Foralemque annum ferebant, & omnibus adversa suscepturn Principe consilium abjecta, qui non vulgò ad culpam fortuita trahentes* Tac. 4. ann. (9) *Ergo non jam Nero cujus immanitas unicum ea tempora antebat, sed adverso ruinare, Seneca erat, quod oratione tali corripuisse* Tac. 14. ann. (10) *Sed quia Sejanus facinorosa audacia regnum adeptus, ex nimia charitate in eum Cæsaris, & [illegible] eo quamvis fabulosa & immania credebantur.* Tac. 4. ann. (11) *Nam beneficia eo usque læta sunt dum videntur exolvi posse; ubi multum antevenere, pro gratia odium redditur.* Ibid. (12) [illegible] *ut, ingrati videant. Leve est alicujum debitorem facere* [illegible] Sen. Ep. 19.

vice they are perform'd, for ſome are more angry with thoſe who have ſerv'd them ſucceſsfully and glorioufly, than with thoſe who have been more remiſs and leſs ſucceſsfull, of this humour was *Philip* of *Macedon* (13); a Vice which his Son *Alexander* inherited (14); and was viſible in *James* the Firſt of *Arragon*, who when *Don Blaſco de Alagon* had taken *Morella*, he thought he had gotten more Glory than he in that Expedition, and therefore took from him that City, and gave him in exchange that of *Sagaſto*. The Victories of *Agricola* made *Domitian* jealous, ſeeing that the fame of a private man exceeded his (15). So that in the moſt glorious and ſucceſsfull Exploits there is the greateſt danger.

If favour ſprings from the prompt obedience of the Favourite to the Will of the Prince, it makes the Government incur the above mention'd inconveniencies of Flattery, and ſoon ruins both the Prince and Favourite; Obedience is as dangerous as diſobedience: for if the command ſucceeds, 'tis aſcrib'd to the Prince, if not, to the Favourite. If this command be not obey'd, 'tis then the reaſon why it ſucceeded not. If it be unjuſt, he does not make that his excuſe, leſt he offend the Prince; if he obey, the fault is all laid upon him; and the Prince, that he mayn't ſeem the Author of the miſchief, permits him to ſuffer either in the opinion of the People; or in the hands of the Judge. Thus *Tiberius* ſerv'd *Piſo* after he had by his command poiſon'd *Germanicus*, whoſe cauſe he referr'd to the Senate (16); and coming to *Rome*, he behav'd himſelf as if he knew nothing of the matter, leaving him confounded to ſee him ſo unconcern'd and reſerv'd, without either pity or anger (17).

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(13) *Quem ita gloriæ cupidum eſſe dicunt familiares, ut omnia clava faciuora ſua eſſe videri cupit, & magis indignatur Ducibus & Præfectis qui proſpere, & laudabiliter aliquid geſſerint, quam iis qui infeliciter & ignave.* Demoſt. (14) *Suæ demptum gloriæ exiſtimans quicquid ceſſiſſet alteri.* Curt. (15) *Id ſibi maxime formidoloſum, privati hominis nomen ſupra Principis attolli.* Tac. in vit. Agric. (16) *Integram cauſam ad Senatum remiſit* Tac. 6. ann. (17) *Nihil magis exercuit eum, quam quod Tiberium ſine miſeratione, ſine ira obſtinatum, claraſque undique vrtes, neque affectu perturbaretur.* Tac. 3. ann.

If

If this favour falls upon a man of ſmall Qualifications and Merit, he will ſink under the weight of affairs; for without a brave and vigorous mind, without a quick and piercing Wit, the favour of Princes cannot be long maintain'd.

If it proceeds from a reſemblance and conformity of Vertues, when the Prince bids adieu to them the other is at an end. For he will hate the Favourite, as one who accuſes his change (18), and whom he can't make uſe of in the proſecution of his Vices.

If a Prince loves a Favourite, for that he makes uſe of him as an inſtrument to execute his vicious deſigns and inclinations with; what-ever ills do thence ariſe, either to the King's Perſon, or to the Government, all fall upon him; and the Prince with eaſe clears himſelf by diſgracing him; or elſe hates him as a witneſs of his Vices, whoſe preſence does, as it were, upbraid him with his crimes. For the ſame reaſon *Nero* diſgrac'd *Anicetus* the Murtherer of *Agrippina* (19); ſo *Tiberius* diſcharg'd thoſe Miniſters who had aſſiſted his Cruelty, and made uſe of others (20). The Odium of the Death, and the favour of him who commands it, end both with the execution, and the Prince thinks he ſufficiently clears himſelf in puniſhing the crime, as *Plancina* found (21).

If this favour proceed from the communication of important Secrets, he is in danger from them, for they are Vipers in the breaſt of the Favourite, which gnaw his Entrails till they eat their way out, for either levity or ambition of ſeeming a man in favour, reveals them, or they are diſcover'd by another, or by diſcourſe, which are equally pernicious to the Favourite. But though this ſhould not happen, the Prince will be willing to free himſelf from the care of having entruſted them, by tearing open the bag in

(18) Wiſd. 2. 15. (19) *Levi poſt admiſſam ſceleſtus gratia, dein graviore odio, quia malorum facinorum miniſtri quaſi exprobrantes aſpiciuntur.* Tac. 14. ann. (20) *Qui ſceleſtum miniſtros ut pervertit ab aliis volebat, ita plerumque inſtitatus, & oblatis in eandem operam recentibus, veteres & pregraves adflixit.* Tac. 4 ann. (21) *Ut odium & gratia deſiere, jure cecidit.* Tac. 6. ann.

which

EMBLEM L.

THE Mountain looks down with diſdain upon the other works of Nature, and proudly riſes above them, ſo as to have communication with the Skies. Let not the Vallies envy it this Glory, for though it be nearer the favours of Heaven, 'tis alſo more expos'd to the ſtrokes of its Thunder too. About its head Clouds gather, and Storms prepare their rage, and upon it they firſt exert it. 'Tis the ſame in Offices and Imployments more immediately under Princes. The Activity of their power is moſt offenſive to thoſe who are neareſt it. Their Converſation is as venomous as that of a Viper (1). Whoever walks among them, walks among Snares, and the Arms of his offended Enemies (2). The favour and diſdain of Princes are ſo im-

(1) Eccleſ. 9. 13. (2) Ibid.

mediate

mediate, that nothing intervenes. Their Love knows no Moderation; when turn'd to Hatred, it leaps from one extreme to th'other, from Fire to Froſt. The ſame inſtant ſees them love and hate, with the effects of Thunder, which while the noiſe is heard, or the flaſh ſeen, reduces the bodies to Aſhes. The favour of Princes is like flame, extinguiſh'd with the ſame eaſe 'twas lighted. Nay ſome have thought it abſolutely fatal to thoſe on whom it falls (3). And many examples as well paſt as preſent, are ſufficient evidences of it; we have freſh inſtances of the ſudden falls of the moſt exalted Favourites. The Duke of *Lerma* in *Spain*; the Marſhal *D'Ancre* in *France*; The Duke of *Buckingham* in *England*; *John Olden Barnvelt* in *Holland*; Cardinal *Cleſel* in *Germany*; at *Rome* Cardinal *Nazaret*; yet may this be aſcrib'd to divers cauſes, either becauſe the Prince having given all that he could, or the Favourite obtain'd all he deſir'd, he was mounted to the higheſt ſtep, and ſo muſt of neceſſity deſcend (4). But ſuppoſe there be moderation in the favours of the one, and the ambition of the other; yet what conſtancy can there be in the minds of Princes, which the more vehement they are, are the more ſubject to variety and contradiction? who can fix the affections of him whoſe Senſes ſee double, and is like the firſt matter, not reſting in one form, but pleas'd with variety. Who can preſerve that favour which is liable to ſo many chances and turns of Humour? Who can behave himſelf with ſo nice integrity, as to maintain the Prince's good opinion of him with the people? The Eyes of all are upon the Favourite. The Prince's Friends think him an Uſurper of their Rewards, his Enemies that he incenſes the Prince farther againſt them. Theſe, if they return to their duty, muſt make the diſgrace of the Favourite one of the conditions; thoſe if they forſake it, lay all the blame upon him. Ambition and Envy are always in Arms, intent upon every occaſion to ruin him. The people are ſo imbitter'd againſt him, that they impute

(3) *Fato potentiæ rara ſempiterna.* Tac. 3. ann. (4) *An fatius caſu, aut illos cum omnia tribuerant; Aut hos, cum jam nihil reliquum eſt quod capiant?* Tac. 3. ann.

which they are hid: as many Secrets ſo many dangers (22).

Nor is the danger leſs, if this favour proceeds from the Favourites being conſcious of the Prince's Cowardice and Baſeneſs; for ſuch favour is rather fear than inclination, nor will a Prince indure, that his honour ſhould depend upon another's ſilence, or that there ſhould be one who inwardly ſhould deſpiſe him.

If this favour be but ſmall, it can't reſiſt the fury of Envy, but is blown down by every blaſt, like a tree not firmly rooted.

If it be great, it creates Envy and Fear in the Prince himſelf, and ſo makes him carefull to free himſelf from it; as when we have pil'd Stones upon Stones, we at laſt fear leſt the heap which we have rais'd, ſhould fall upon our own heads, and ſo puſh them over th'other way. The Prince ſees the Statue which he erected ſhades his own Grandure, and ſo pulls it down again. I may venture to ſay, that Princes ſeem to delight to ſhew their power, as well in pulling down thoſe images as in erecting them; for their power being limited, can't ſeem immenſe, unleſs it return to the center from which it proceeded, or keep in a circle.

Theſe are the rocks againſt which, if the ſhip of favour ſtrike, 'tis loſt, ſo much the ſurer, by how much the more ſail it makes. But if any one ſcape, 'tis either becauſe it recover'd port in time, or that it ran firſt upon the ſhore of Eternity. Is there then any Pilot ſo skilfull as to know how to manage the helm of favour, and to ſail in ſo very dangerous a Gulf? What prudence, what art can ſave him? What Chymiſt can fix this Mercury of Princes Affections? eſpecially, when favour founded upon eminent merit can't reſiſt Envy and the Machinations of ſo many as conſpire its ruin. Neither the Kings *Darius* nor *Achis* could defend their favour to *Daniel* and *David*, againſt the hatred of the Princes and Guards (23); but were forc'd for their ſatisfaction, to baniſh one, and throw the other into a Den of Lions, though they were well aſſured of their In-

(22) Iſa. 24. 16, *vid. Int. verſ.* (23) Dan. 6. 4.

tegrity

tegrity and Innocence (24). Though no prudence nor attention be ſufficient to prevent thoſe accidents which depend not upon the Favourite, yet may he do much in things which depend upon him, and at leaſt will be unblameable if he fall into diſgrace. Which conſideration oblig'd me here to mark out to him the uſual cauſes of his ruin, ariſing from his own imprudence and the malice of others, that being forewarn'd he may avoid them. If we would attentively conſider the Maxims and Actions of former Favourites, and eſpecially of *Sejanus*, we ſhall find, that moſt of them fell, becauſe they could not continue thoſe good methods by which they at firſt obtain'd the Prince's favour. All to merit it, and gain the applauſe of the people, enter into favour zealous, humble, courteous, and officious, giving counſel for the Glory of the Prince, and Preſervation of his Grandure, the method by which *Sejanus* ingratiated himſelf (25), but being once maſters of this favour, they looſe the Helm which before guided them, and believe they have no more occaſion for it in their Voyage, but can ſail ſecurely with the gale of the Prince's favour.

At firſt they are diligent to appear wholly diſengag'd from their own affairs, and only intent upon the Prince's intereſt, preferring his ſervice even to their own Lives and Fortunes; whence the Prince, perſuaded that he has got in this perſon a faithful aſſociate in his labours, loves him and extolls him every-where; as *Tiberius* did *Sejanus* to the Senate and People (26).

They endeavour farther by ſome generous and heroick action to prove their fidelity to the Prince and win his heart. Thus *Sejanus* ingratiated himſelf with *Tiberius*, by ſuſtaining with his own hands and head, the weight of a Precipice which would elſe have fallen upon *Tiberius*, cauſing him thereby to put more confidence in his Friendſhip and Conſtancy (27).

(24) 1 Sam. 20. 6. (25) *Quia Sejanus incipiente adhuc potentia, bonis conſiliis noteſcere volebat.* Tac. 4. ann. (26) *Ut ſocium laborum non modo in ſermonibus, ſed apud patres & populum celebraret.* Tac. 4. ann. (27) *Præbuitque ipſi materiam, cur amicitiæ, conſtantiaque Sejani magis fideret.* Ibid.

Which

Which good opinion of a Favourites fidelity, if a Prince once imbibes, he eaſily fancies himſelf ſecure of it for the future, and willingly takes his advice though never ſo pernicious, putting more confidence in him than in himſelf; as *Tiberius* did after that action (28). And hence proceed very great miſchiefs. For he is blinded by this pre-conceiv'd opinion, nay, and himſelf promotes his Favourite's Credit and Reputation, by permitting extraordinary Honours to be paid him, as *Tiberius* did, hanging *Sejanus*'s picture in the Theatres aud publick Places (29). This whiſper paſſes immediately from one to another, whence is rais'd a new Idol, like that of *Aaron* out of the Ear-rings (30), for either there would be no favour, or at leaſt, 'twould be but of ſhort continuance, without the applauſe of the people: This Honour creates Arrogance and Avarice to ſupport it, the uſual Vices of the great ones (31). The Favourite forgets himſelf, and thoſe good qualities which made him at firſt eſteem'd, by degrees fade, Proſperity inſenſibly diſcloſing thoſe Vices which Policy had a while conceal'd. So it happen'd to *Antonius Primus*, in whom Proſperity diſcover'd Pride, Avarice, and other ill qualities which were before unknown (32). Grandure diſturbs the reaſon, and makes the Favourite aſpire to things above him; thus *Sejanus* offer'd marriage to *Livia* (33). He manages affairs not as a Miniſter, but a companion (which was *Mucian*'s great fault) (34); and would have the Prince but a bare name, reſerving all the authority to himſelf (35). Nor dares any ſay to him what *Bathſheba* ſaid to *David*, *And now behold* Adonijah *reigneth, and now, my Lord the King, thou*

(28) *Major ex eo, & quanquam extrinſa ſuaderet, ut non ſui auxiui, cum fide audiebatur.* Ibid. (29) *Colique per theatra & fora effigies ejus, interque principia legionum ſineret.* Ibid. (30) Exod 32. 4. (31) *Avaritiam & arrogantiam, præcipua validiorum vitia.* Tac. 1. hiſt. (32) *Felicitas in tali ingenio, avaritiam, ſuperbiam, cæteraque occulta mala patefecit* Tac. 3. hiſt (33) *At Sejanus nimiâ fortunâ ſecors, & multibri inſuper cupidine incenſus, promiſſam matrimonium, flagitante Livia, compenit ad Cæſarios conciliios.* Tac. 14 ann. (34) *Mucianus cum expedita manu, ſocium magis imperii quam miniſtrum agens.* Tac. 4 ann. (35) *Vim principis ampl.cti, nomen remittere.* Tac 4 hiſt.

know-ſt

knoweſt it not (36). And 'tis the Favourite's whole aim to exceed the Prince in thoſe qualities which are proper to Royalty, that he may be eſteem'd beyond him; which way *Abſalom* made uſe of to diſgrace King *David*, affecting affability and a readineſs to hear the Subjects Complaints; by which he ſtole the hearts of the people (37). A Favourite does not think himſelf ſuch, unleſs his Servants, Relations and Friends participate of his Authority, and ſo for his ſecurity he conferrs the chief Offices of State upon them, and ſo cuts the Nerves of Envy. With this deſign *Sejanus* preferr'd his own Creatures (38). And becauſe this power derogates from the Authority of the Princes of the Blood, who always oppoſe favour, not being able to brook that it ſhould be more eſteem'd than Birth, and that the Prince ſhould ſuffer himſelf to be govern'd by a Subject, on whom they muſt depend, (a danger which *Sejanus* experienc'd in the Family of *Tiberius* (39). The Favourite breeds diſcontent between them and the Prince. Thus *Sejanus* inform'd *Tiberius*, that *Agrippina* conſpir'd againſt him, and *Agrippina* that *Tiberius* deſign'd to poiſon her (40).

If the Favourite ſucceeds in any thing of this nature it emboldens him to proceed farther. After the death of *Druſus*, *Sejanus* had a deſign to cut off the whole Family of *Germanicus*. So that the Favourite being blinded with paſſion and exceſs of power, ſcorns private Artifices, and acts openly againſt the Prince's Relations, as *Sejanus* did againſt *Agrippina* and *Nero*. None dare warn him of the danger of his actions, for all tremble at the Majeſty of his preſence, as the *Iſraelites* did at that of *Moſes*, when he came from converſing with God (41) And as he ſees himſelf as much reſpected as the Prince, he conſpires againſt him (42), and oppreſſes his Subjects, knowing he can't gain their good Will; which makes them in Deſpair, doubt, whether his Avarice and Cruelty would not be leſs, were

(36) 1 Kings 1. 18. (37) 2 Sam. 15. 6. (38) *Neque Senatorio ambitu abſtinebat, clientes ſuos honoribus aut provinciis ornando.* Tac. 4. ann. (39) *Ceterum plena Cæſarum domus, juvenis filius, nepotes adulti non-nam capitis adferebant.* Tac. 4. ann. (40) *Immiſſis qui per ſpeciem amicitiæ monerent, paratum ei venenum, vitandas fecere epulas.* Tac. 4. ann. (41) Exod. 34. 30. (42) Eſth. 16. 2.

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he really their Prince, than now when not being ſo, he treats them as Slaves and Strangers. Which *Otho* conſider'd in a Favourite of *Galba* (43).

All attempts of this kind augment the danger, for Envy encreaſes, and Malice arms againſt the Favourite, who thinking he can't overcome it, but by ſome greater, applies all the means that Emulation of favour, more furious than that of Love, can ſuggeſt. And ſince the ſecurity of his favour depends upon the conſtancy of the Prince's Will, he endeavours to oblige him, by pleaſures and voluptuouſneſs, the main inſtruments of favour, which *Vitellius*'s Courtiers made uſe of to preſerve his (44). And leaſt the Prince ſhould give credit to any, he makes him diffident of all, the good eſpecially, for them he fears moſt. By this artifice *Vatinius* (45), and *Sejanus* ingratiated themſelves (46).

The Favourite conſidering, that nothing is more oppoſite to favour than the capacity of the Prince, makes it his whole endeavour, to keep him from knowing, underſtanding, ſeeing or hearing any thing, or having any one about him to inform him. He procures his averſion to buſineſs and fatigue, by filling his mind with the diverſions of Hunting, Plays, and Banquets, that his Senſes being diverted, neither his Eyes may inſpect Tranſactions, nor his Ears hear the Murmurs and Complaints of his people. Thus in the Sacrifices of the Idol *Moloch*, the Prieſts made a noiſe with Drums and Trumpets, to drown the Cries and Groans of the dying Infants. Sometimes by a farther fetch, he embaraſſes and confounds him with Affairs and Papers, on purpoſe to tire him quickly, ſo we ride Colts in a boggy ground to break them, and make them ſooner take the Bit. To which end he perſwades him to aſſiſt at Audiences, by which being wholly wearied, he may commit the manage-

(43) *Minore avaritia, aut licentia graſſatus eſſet Vinius ſi ipſe imperaſſet, nunc & ſubjectos non habuit tanquam ſuos, & viles ut alienos.* Tac. 1. hiſt. (44) *Unum ad potentiam iter prodigis epulis, & ſumptu, ganeaque ſatiare inexplebiles Vitellii libidines.* Tac. 2 hiſt. (45) *Optimi cujuſque criminatione coalescere valuit, ut gratia, pecunia, vi nocendi, etiam malos præmineret.* Tac. 15. ann. (46) *Sui obtegens in alios criminator.* Tac. 4. ann.

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ment of all to the Favourite, thinking it ſufficient to have an account of affairs from him. Whence (as *Jeremiah* ſaid of the *Babyloniſh* Idols) the Prince is nothing but what the Favourite pleaſes (47).

He would not have Affairs go ſmoothly and with ſucceſs, for any one can ſail in a Calm, but he wiſhes that the Sea may run high, and that the State may be ſo toſs'd by the Waves, that the Prince may be afraid to put his hand to the Helm, and ſo have more need of him. And then to ſtop at all Avenues to Truth, and remain ſole manager of Affairs beyond the reach of Envy, he draws him from Court to ſome Retreat among his own Creatures. So *Sejanus* perſwaded *Tiberius* to retire from *Rome* (48).

All theſe Arts redound much to the prejudice of the State, and the Princes reputation, and he who hawks after a Prince's favour by theſe means, does him more injury than one who openly offends him (49). For an offence is given by one fault, but favour is not acquir'd under many, and theſe always derogate from the Honour of the Prince, and are oppoſite to the publick Welfare. A State ſuffers much upon the ſudden death of its Prince, but this grievance is ſoon remedied in his Succeſſor, which can't be, when the Prince is by theſe arts render'd unſerviceable to the Government, this misfortune muſt continue as long as he lives, to the utmoſt Detriment of the Commonwealth. And as 'tis daily more and more felt, it creates Diſcontent and Murmurs among all, who find that this favour is not voluntary but violent, not choice but force, and many grounding their fortune upon his diſgrace, he being an impediment to their promotion; theſe, I ſay, being always

(47) Baruch 6. 46. (48) *Ac ne aſſiduos in domum cœtus arcendo, infringeret potentiam, aut recepto ſuo facultatem criminantibus præberet; huc flexit, ut Tiberium ad vitam procul Roma amanis locis degendam, impelleret: multa quippe providebat. Suâ in manu aditus, literarumque magna ex parte ſe arbitrum fore cum per milites cœpissent: mox Cæſarem vigente jam ſenectâ ſecretoque loci mollitum munia imperii facilius tranſmiſſurum: & minui ibi invidiam, adempta ſalutantium turbâ, ſublatiſque manibus vera potentia augere.* Tac. 4. ann. (49) *Plura ſæpe peccantur dum demeremur, quam cum offendimus.* Tac. 15. ann.

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arm'd againſt him, 'tis impoſſible but that at laſt they ſhou'd find an opportunity to diſplace him, or that the Prince ſhould not at laſt perceive the trick, and that all the Envy and Odium conceiv'd againſt the Favourite falls upon him, as *Tiberius* at laſt found (50): and then the Prince beginning to open his Eyes, at the ſame time begins to fear the power which he has given his Favourite; which made *Tacitus* doubt whether *Tiberius* more lov'd or fear'd *Sejanus* (51); and as before his favour rais'd him, ſo now his hate procures his ruin.

This is the critical point of favour, in which all are in danger, for neither can the Prince diſſemble his diſ ſatisfaction, nor the Favourite remain conſtant in his Diſgrace, whence both being diſguſted the bond of Amity is broken. The Prince regards the Favourite as unworthy his favour, and he him as ungratefull for his Services, and believing that the Prince can't be without him, and that he muſt ſhortly recall him, he withdraws a while from Court, and gives occaſion to another to intermeddle in Affairs, and foment the new rais'd diſguſts, whence in a ſhort time the favour is turn'd into hatred, the impatience of the Favourite haſtning his ruin. The report of his Diſgrace ſpreads, and all grow inſolent and inſult over him, it being now not in the power of the Prince himſelf to aſſiſt him. His Relations and Friends fore-ſeeing his fall, and the danger which threatens them, fear leſt they too ſhould be involv'd in the ruin (52). As a lofty Tree falling cruſhes all that grow under the ſhadow of its Branches; nay theſe are the chief promoters of his fall, that they may get out of danger themſelves, all joining, ſome as Friends, ſome as Enemies, to puſh down this falling Wall (53). The Prince aſham'd of himſelf, ſtrives to free himſelf from this Subjection, and to regain his credit, by making the Favourite the principal cauſe of all miſcarriages, ſo that he is caught in his own Snares without

(50) *Perque invidiam tui, meque quique incuſant.* Tac. 4. ann. (51) *Dum Sejanum dilexit timuitve.* Ibid. (52) *Quidam male alueres, quibus infauſta amicitia gravii exitii imminebat.* Tac. 4 ann. (53) Plal. 61. 4.

being

being able to free himſelf, as *Sejanus* was (54), and the more he ſtrives to diſengage himſelf, the more he haſtens his ruin: For when Favour once ſickens it muſt die, there being no Medicine can recover it.

From all that has been ſaid we may evidently ſee, that the greateſt danger in Favour is in the methods which Ambition takes to preſerve it; it being the ſame with Favourites, as with People who are too curious about their Health, who thinking to preſerve it by abundance of Phyſick, rather deſtroy it and ſhorten their days. And as in Diſtempers of the Body there is no better remedy than Abſtinence, leaving the reſt to Nature, ſo when Favour begins to ſicken, the beſt Advice is not to tamper too much with Medicines, but to ſerve his Prince with ſincerity and integrity, without affection or intereſt, leaving the Operation to Merit and Truth, more durable than Artifice; and uſing only ſome Preſervatives, ſuch as reſpect the Favourite, the Prince or his Miniſters, or the Court, or the People, or Strangers.

As to the Favourite, he ſhould preſerve the ſame ſtate of Modeſty, and Affability that his fortune found him in. He ſhould clear his Looks from the dazling Beams of Favour, as *Moſes* did when he ſpoke to the People, after he came from communing with God (55). *Daniel*, though he was a Favourite to many Kings, waited with the reſt in the Anti-Chambers (56). Let him refuſe thoſe Honours, which either belong to the Prince, or exceed the Sphere of a Miniſter, and if any would offer them, let him advertiſe both himſelf and him, that he is only a Servant to the Prince, to whom alone thoſe Honours are due: ſo the Angel inform'd St. *John* when he would have worſhipped him (57). Let him not make his Prince's Favour the means whereby to execute his Luſts and Paſſions. Let him bear with Patience, and anſwer calmly (58), let him not affect others Favour, nor fear their Diſpleaſure, nor conceal his Favour, nor covet Sovereign Power, nor arm againſt Envy, nor provide againſt

(54) *Non tam ſelerita, quippe iiſdem artibus vitæ eſt.* Tac. 4. ann. (55) Exod. 34. 35. (56) Dan. 2. 49. (57) Revel. 19. 10. (58) Eccleſ. 12. 9.

Emulation, for in theſe Precautions are very dangerous Let him fear God and Infamy.

The Favourite is alſo in danger from his Family and Relations, for though the Prince and People do approve of his Actions, it don't thence follow, that they muſt alſo thoſe of his Domeſticks and Relations, whoſe Diſorders, Indiſcretion, Pride, Avarice, and Ambition render him odious and ruin him. Let him not deceive himſelf by thinking, that his own Creatures are the ſupport and ſtrength of his Favour, for he who depends on many, is in danger of many, and therefore 'tis better to keep them within remembrance of their former Condition, and far from the management of Affairs, that others may ſee they hold no part in the Government, nor his Favour, or that they are preferr'd meerly for being his Servants. But if they are perſons of Worth and Merit, I would not that their being the Favourites Servants and Relations ſhould prejudice them. Chriſt has taught us this Point, giving to his Relations the Dignity of forerunner and Apoſtle, but not that of Teacher of Nations, and that of the Pontificate, which were due to the Faith of St. *Peter*, and the Learning of St. *Paul*.

With the Prince let him obſerve theſe Maxims. Let him always preſuppoſe, that his Favour or Affection is very ſubject to change, and if any ſuch change ſhould happen, he enquire not into the Cauſe thereof, nor pretend to take notice of it, that the Prince may not ſuſpect him, nor his Rivals hope his Fall, for he is in danger of it when he but thinks of it. Let him not build his Favour upon the inclination and fancy of the Prince, but upon his own Merit; for if the Gold of Favour be not well tempered with that Allay, it can never endure the Hammer of Emulation. Let him love more the Dignity than the perſon of a Prince. Let him moderate his Zeal by Prudence, and guide his underſtanding by that of the Prince, for none can ſuffer a a Rival in Senſe. Let him think himſelf his Subject not his Companion, and being a Creature, let him not pretend to equal his Creator (59); let him eſteem it honourable, and

(59) Eccleſ. 2. 12.

glorious

glorious to ruin himself to augment his Grandeur. Let him advise with a modest, agreeable and sincere Freedom (60), without fear of Danger or Ambition of being accounted zealous and stanch in his Opinion. Let him make no Affair his own, nor think his Reputation concern'd in its Success, nor be disgusted that his Sentiments are rejected, or that being admitted they were afterwards altered, for such Attempts are very dangerous.

In Debates and Resolutions, let him be neither so hot as to flame, nor so cold as to freeze, but keep a moderate pace according to time and opportunity. Let him be more intent upon his Duty than his Favour, but without Affectation or vain Glory, for he who serves only for Reputation, robs the Prince of his (61). Let his Silence be *à propos*, and his words close and ready upon occasion, which quality King *Theodorick* commended in one of his Favourites (62). Let him prefer his Princes Service to his own interest, nay let them be both one. Let him pay due Veneration to the Royal Family, esteeming their Friendship his greatest Security, without fomenting Differences between them and the Prince, for Blood is easily reconcil'd to the ruin of the Favourite. Let him take care that the Prince has always good Servants, and faithful Ministers about him, and let him instruct him faithfully in the Art of Government. Let him neither shut his Eyes, nor stop his Ears, but rather take care that he see, touch and feel all things himself. Let him discreetly inform him of his Errours and Failures, without fear of offence, if necessity requires. For though his Favour may sicken for a time, 'twill recover again when he finds his Errour, as it happen'd to *Daniel* with the Kings of *Babylon* (63). When the Prince resolves or determines any thing through Heat or Passion, he should endeavour to bend not break those Resolutions, waiting while time and the inconveniencies thereof convince him of his Errour. Let him not prevent his hearing Peoples Complaints, and

(60) Prov. 22 11. (61) Luk. 17. 10. (62) *Sub Genii nostri luce intrepidus quidem, sed reverenter astabat, opportunè tacitus, necessariè copiosus,* Cass. lib 5. Ep 3. (63) Prov. 28 23.

Satyrs, for when they fall upon Innocence, they are as Grains of Salt that preſerve Favour, and Admonitions not to err or to amend. Let him aſcribe ſucceſsful Actions to the Prince, but take miſcarriages upon himſelf. Let him always think his ruin ſure and certain, waiting for it with Conſtancy, and a free and diſintereſs'd mind, without being over ſollicitous to eſtabliſh his Favour, for he falls ſooneſt from a Precipice who fears it moſt. The reflection of the danger diſturbs the Brain, and we grow giddy with looking from an height. Whatever Favourites have been thus giddy have certainly fell, when thoſe who have not been ſo ſollicitous have paſs'd ſecure (64). Among the Miniſters of State, let him behave himſelf rather as a Companion than a Maſter, rather as a Defender than Accuſer (65). Let him encourage the Good, and endeavour to reform the Bad. Let him not interpoſe his Authority in their Preferments or Removals; and leave to them their own buſineſs. Let him not alter the Courſe of Counſels in Conſultations, nor deny any acceſs to the Prince. If the Prince would have him confer with him, let him declare his Sentiments frankly, without any other Deſign than to conſult for the beſt.

The Court is the moſt dangerous Rock of Favour, and yet all uſe it to eſtabliſh and confirm it; there is not a ſtone in it but would ſtrive to fall, if in falling it might cruſh the Statue of the Favourite, which is as brittle as that of *Nebuchadnezzar*, by reaſon of the diverſity of Metals that compos'd it. Not one Courtier is a true Friend to the Favourite; if he chooſes ſome he incurs the Hatred and Envy of the reſt If he introduces them, he is in danger of being ſupplanted; if he does not he makes them his Enemies. 'Tis therefore the ſafeſt way to walk with indifference to all, and not to intermeddle in the Affairs of any one, but endeavour to ſatisfie all, and (if poſſible) rather to promote than hinder them in their Pretenſions and Intereſt. If any one ſhall have inſinuated himſelf into the Prince's Favour, 'twill be the beſt way to keep him there; for he who

(64) Prov. 10. 9. (65) Eccleſ. 32. 1.

wreſtles

wreſtles with another to throw him down uſually falls with him, and oppoſition confirms Favour. More Favorites have been ruined by ſtriving to diſplace others, than by advancing them. Let him ſlight Accuſations, or Commendations to the Prince, and leave them to Fortune.

Favour is very ſubject to the People, for if they diſapprove the Favourite, the Prince can never ſupport him againſt the common Cry; or if he Attempts it, the People uſually turn his Judges and Executioners, we having ſeen a great many fall by their hands. If the People love him to exceſs he is in danger from thence, for that creates Jealouſie and Envy in others, nay in the Prince himſelf, whence the Peoples Loves are generally ſhort and unlucky (6). And ſo that the Favourite may walk ſafe between theſe two Extreams, he muſt avoid all occaſions of publick Applauſe and Acclamations. Let him only endeavour to procure to himſelf a good Eſteem, by Piety, Liberality, Complaiſance and Affability, making it his Care to ſee Juſtice duely adminiſtred, that there may be plenty of all things, that the publick Peace be not diſturb'd in his time; that Privileges be not violated, nor Novelties introduced into the Government; but above all that there be no Diſputes in matters of Religion, nor difference among the Clergy: For he will ſoon feel the Peoples Rage, if he once incur the name of impious.

Foreigners who want this natural Love for the Prince, depend more upon the Favourite than him, whence they pay him moſt Reſpect, that they may by his means accompliſh their Deſigns, to the great diſhonour of the Prince, and prejudice of his States. Nay, they often prove the ruin of the Favourite, unleſs he abundantly ſatisfie them in their Deſires and Requeſts; wherefore he ought to beware of their Reſpect, and refuſe the incenſe and worth of Foreigners, letting them who would pay him thoſe Honours know, that he is only the Curtain before the Image, and that 'tis the Prince that works the Miracles.

Ambaſſadors uſually affect the Friendſhip of the Favou-

(6) *Breves & infauſtos populi Romani amores.* Tac. 1. ann.

rite,

rite, as the moſt effectual means to accompliſh their Affairs, and judging that the diſorders which reſult from Favour, will be of Service to them, they endeavour to foment it, being often introduc'd thereto by the Favourite himſelf, and as they take occaſion to commend them in Audiences, and ſeem at firſt ſight free from Intereſt and Emulation, it has often very good Effect, yet for all this they are dangerous Friends; for the Favourite can't preſerve their Friendſhip without great Detriment to the Prince and State. And if in conſideration of his Duty, he does not abundantly ſatisfie them, they are utter Enemies and leave no ſtone unturn'd to ruin him. 'Tis therefore ſafeſt not to be more engag'd to them than the Princes Service will permit. Endeavouring only to gain the Reputation abroad of a ſincere and affable Perſon, and one who would rather preſerve the good Correſpondences and Alliances of his Prince, than break 'em.

A timely Application of theſe Preſervatives may perhaps prevent a Favourites fall, but when he has once incurr'd the *Odium* and Envy of the people, theſe are look'd upon as Tricks and Artifices, and more endanger him. As it happened to *Seneca* who took no method to prevent his Death, but endeavouring to moderate his Favour, when he found himſelf perſecuted (67).

If notwithſtanding the Obſervation of all theſe Cautions, the Favourite ſhall fall into Diſgrace, his fall will be Glorious, he having liv'd without the little Fears, and the ſhameful Care of preſerving his Favour by methods below a generous Spirit, a torment much worſe than the diſgrace it ſelf. If there be any thing valuable in a Princes Favour, 'tis only the Glory of having merited his Eſteem; the Continuation of which is full of Cares and Dangers. And he is happieſt, who ſooneſt and with moſt Reputation quits it.

I have deſcrib'd, Royal Sir, the Practices of Favourites, but not how a Prince ought to comport himſelf to-

(67) *Inſtituta prioris potentiæ commutat, prohibet cœtus ſalutantium, vitat comitantes, rarus per Urbem, quaſi valetudine infenſa, aut ſapientiæ ſtudiis domi attinetur.* Tac. 14. ann.

wards

wards them, not ſuppoſing that he ought to have any, for though he muſt be allow'd to have more inclination to one than another, yet not ſo as to devolve all his Authority upon one perſon, from whom the people muſt expect Orders, Rewards and Puniſhments; for ſuch Favour is properly an Alienation from the Crown, and dangerous to the Government, even when Favour ſucceeds in the Election of the Subject, for neither will the people ſo readily obey, nor ſo awfully reſpect the Favourite as the Prince, nor is he ſo much concern'd for the welfare of the State, nor is he ſo immediately under the care of God as the Prince: So that though many of your Royal Highneſs's Anceſtors have had Favourites, who with much care and zeal (as we ſee at preſent) have endeavour'd to Act with the greateſt Integrity, yet have their attempts met with anſwerable Succeſs. Let not your Royal Highneſs be deceiv'd by the example of *France*, whoſe Territories we ſee indeed much enlarg'd by the Counſels of a Favourite, but not without detriment to the Kingdom, and prejudice to the Royal Prerogative. Whoever ſhall duely conſider the Perſecution of the Queen Mother, and Duke of *Orleans*; the Blood of *Montmorency* ſpilt, that of the Prior of *Vendoſme*, of *Paul Reny*, and of Monſieur *de Macraints*, the Impriſonment of the Duke of *Bulloign*, the Exactions and Oppreſſions of the Subjects, the Uſurpation of the Dutchy of *Lorrain*, the Leagues made with the *Dutch*, *Proteſtants* and *Swedes*, the Deſign upon *Charles Emanuel* Duke of *Savoy*, the Peace made at *Monzon* without the knowledge of the Allies, the Curb impos'd upon the *Valtoline* and *Griſons*, the Succours ſent to *Scotland*, and the *Engliſh* Parliament, the Sieges of *Fontarabie*, St *Omer*, *Thionville*, *Fornavent* and *Catelet*, the loſs of ſo many Soldiers at *Lovain*, *Tarragone*, *Perpignan*, *Salce*, *Valence* upon the *Po*, *Imbrce* and *la Roque*, the retaking *Aire* and the *Baſs*. He, I ſay, who ſhall conſider theſe things, will find that all his meaſures were grounded upon Violence, and that his Favour was founded upon force; that the Sword ſo daring againſt the Perſons of Kings, has been timorous and cowardly againſt this Miniſter, that Fortune has favoured his Temerity, that he has ſucceeded by the ſame means he

ſhould

ſhould have fail'd, whereas we have loſt by the ſame methods we ſhould have gain'd; a ſure Sign that God proſpered this Favourite for the Exerciſe of Chriſtianity, and for our Chaſtiſement, foreſtalling our Prudence, and confounding our Valour. Kingdoms deſtin'd to Ruin, fall by the ſame means they ſhould be ſupported; thus the entrance into the *Adriatick* created Diſtruſt, the Protection of *Mantua* Jealouſie, the oppoſition at *Nivers* Wars, the Diverſion, Expence, the Army in *Alſace* Rivals, the War for *Spain* Rebellions. At the Siege of *Caſal* we loſt an opportunity of putting an end to the War; the Counſel of Secretary *Paſſiers* to Prince *Thomas*, hindred the relief of *Turin* and triumph over *France*. The ſame thing happed at *Aire*, for a fooliſh piece of Formality, the News that was brought of the Siege of *Arras* made them omit the Care of relieving it. For a vain Scruple *D' Amvilliers* was not ſuccoured, through Cowardize or Treachery, *Chapelle* ſurrendred. O Providence Divine! Whither tend ſuch variety of Accidents, ſo different from their Cauſes? 'Tis not by chance that the Government of *Europe* is put into the hands of Favourites. God grant Succeſs may anſwer the publick Prayers.

The End of the Firſt Volume.

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THE

Royal Politician

REPRESENTED

IN

One Hundred Emblems.

Written in *Spaniſh* by

Don Diego Saavedra Faxardo,
Knight of the Order of St. *Jago*,
Plenipotentiary Ambaſſador

To the Cantons of *SWITZERLAND*,
At the Imperial Diet at *RATISBON*,
At the Famous Treaty of *MUNSTER*,
And of the Supreme Council of State for both the *INDIES*.

With a large Preface, containing an Account of the Author, his Works, and the Uſefulneſs thereof.

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OF THE EDUCATION OF A PRINCE.

EMBLEM LI.

51

THERE is nothing better or more advantageous to Mankind than prudent Diffidence; 'tis the Guard and Preservation of our Lives and Fortunes, our own Security obliges us to it; without it there would be no Caution, without which no Safety; that Prince governs best

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who truſts feweſt, there is but one Confidence ſafe, which is not to depend upon the Will of another. For who can ſecure himſelf of Man's heart, hid in the privateſt corner of the Breaſt, whoſe Secrets the Tongue diſſembles, the Eyes and all the Motions of the Body contradict (1). 'Tis a Gulf rowling with the Tempeſts of different Affections, a Sea full of hidden Rocks which no Chart can diſcover. What Prudence muſt the Needle be touched with for a Prince to ſail by, through ſuch dangerous and difficult Seas (2). How well ſhould he know the Winds? when to furl and looſe the Sails of Confidence? In this conſiſts the chiefeſt Art of Government; 'tis in this that a Princes danger chiefly conſiſts, either through want of Experience in Affairs, or Knowledge of his Subjects, none of them appearing ill to him. For in his Preſence all compoſe their Actions, and adjuſt their Looks: Their ſet Speeches ſound nothing but Love, Zeal and Fidelity, and their Attendance nothing but Reſpect and Obedience; Diſcontent, Hatred and Ambition being hid in the heart; which made one ſay, *a Prince ſhould truſt no Body*; but both extreams are equally to be avoided (3). To truſt none is the Suſpicion of a Tyrant, to truſt all the eaſineſs of an imprudent Prince. Confidence is not leſs important to a Prince than Diſtruſt: The one is worthy a ſincere and Royal Breaſt, the other is very neceſſary in the Art of Government, as an Inſtrument by which Policy works its Ends. The Difficulty conſiſts in knowing how rightly to uſe one and t'other, ſo that neither a too credulous Confidence expoſe you to Infidelity and Dangers, or a too ſuſpicious Diſtruſt provoke Hatred, or make the Prince by reaſon of this Diffidence incapable of treating with any one: He ſhould not meaſure all things by Confidence, nor all by Diſtruſt. If a Prince will truſt none, who can ſerve him without evident Dangers? 'Tis as great a misfortune to loſe a faithful Miniſter upon vain and groundleſs Suſpicions, as by a too eaſie Credulity to truſt

(1) Eccleſ. 13. 31. (2) The heart is deceitful above all things, and deſperately wicked: Who can know it? *Jerem.* 17. 9. (3) *Utrumque in vitio eſt, & omnibus credere, & nulli.* Seneca.

thoſe

thoſe who are not ſo. Let a Prince confide, but at the ſame time ſuſpect that he may be cheated; this Suſpicion ought not to retard the Courſe of his Actions, but only to be a Caution to him: if he was without Suſpicion he would be too careleſs. Suſpicion is a cautionary Security, a due weighing of Matters; he who doubts nothing can never know the Truth. Let him give Credit as if he believ'd, and diſtruſt as if he believ'd not. Confidence and Diffidence being thus governed by Prudence and Reaſon, work Miracles. Let the Prince therefore be well adviſed in the Affairs which he treats of, in the Alliances which he ratifies, in the Peaces which he concludes, and in all other Treaties in general which concern the Government; and when he Signs them let his hand be full of Eyes, (as in the preſent Emblem) that he may ſee what he does. The Bawd in *Plautus* valued not the Promiſes of the Lover when ſhe ſaid, *Our hands are full of eyes, what they ſee they believe*; and elſewhere ſhe calls the Day quick ſighted, in which ſhe never traded but for the Ready. Blind are Reſolves made by Confidence: *Pythagoras*'s Motto was, Not to ſhake hands with every Body. Credulity to all is very dangerous; let a Prince therefore conſider well before he ingages himſelf, thinking always that his Friends as well as his Enemies deſign to cheat him, one more, the other leſs; one to rob him of his Territories and Riches, the other only to reconcile himſelf to his Favour and Good-will. This Pre-ſuppoſition ſhould not be deriv'd from Fraud, and Villainy giving him the Liberty to forfeit his Word and Promiſe, which would utterly confound the publick Faith, and be a great Blot in his Reputation; this Caution ſhould be nothing but a prudent Circumſpection and piece of Policy. That Diffidence the Daughter of Suſpicion is then blameable in a Prince, when 'tis frivolous and vicious, which immediately diſcovers its Effects and proceeds to Execution, not that Circumſpect and general Diſtruſt, which equally regards all, without particularizing upon any one, until the Circumſtances well examined ſhall dictate otherwiſe, and perhaps you may not ſufficiently confide in any one, whom you may nevertheleſs have a good Opinion of, for

this is not a particular diſtruſting of him, but a general Caution of Prudence; there are Forts in the very middle of Kingdoms, in which there are Garriſons kept, as if on the Enemies Frontiers. This Caution is convenient, and reflects not upon the Subjects Fidelity. A Prince may confide in his Relations, Allies, Subjects and Miniſters, yet this Confidence ſhould not be ſo remiſs, as to lull him aſleep, and make him careleſs of all Accidents, by which Ambition, Intereſt, or Hatred uſually pervert Fidelity; breaking the ſtrongeſt Bars of the Law of Nature and Nations; when a Prince had rather chuſe to ſuffer, than live in the continual Alarms of ſo many Cautions; and rather let things run on, than remedy the Inconveniencies which may happen. He makes his Miniſters wicked and ſometimes treacherous, for they imputing his Indulgence to Incapability deſpiſe and ſlight him, and each Reigns abſolutely in that part of the Government which is allotted him. But when the Prince is vigilant, and if he does confide in any does it not without Caution; when he is always ſo prepar'd, that Treachery ſhall never find him unprovided; when he condemns not without hearing; and reprehends not but to preſerve Fidelity, when 'tis in danger, he may wear his Crown in ſafety. King *Ferdinand* the Catholick had no reaſon to ſuſpect the Fidelity of the great Captain †; nevertheleſs he kept thoſe people near him who ſhould diligently pry into his Actions, that he knowing how narrowly he was watch'd, might Act with the more Caution. This was not properly an Action of diſtruſt but prudence. For all this he muſt take care that this Suſpicion be not groundleſs and frivolous, as was that of the ſame King *Ferdinand* to the ſame great Captain; for though after the loſs of the Battel of *Ravenna*, he wanted him for the management of Affairs in *Italy*, he would not make uſe of him, when he ſaw with what eagerneſs all the people ſtrove to ſerve and fight under him; and ſo endeavoured by all the means he could to aſſure himſelf of Duke *Valentine*, ſo that ſuſpecting an experimented Fidelity, he expoſed him-

† *Gonſalez Fernandez* of *Cordova*. Mar. Hiſt. Hiſp.

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ſelf to one ſuſpected: So over jealous Spirits to avoid one Danger fall into a greater; though ſometimes the refuſal of the Services of ſuch great Men, may be rather a Princes Envy or Ingratitude, than Jealouſie or Suſpicion. It may be alſo that this wiſe Prince, thought it not convenient to make uſe of a Man whom he knew to be diſcontented; a Prince muſt expect little Fidelity from a perſon of whom he has once ſhewn a Diſtruſt. The more ingenious and generous a Spirit is, the more it reſents the Suſpicion of its Fidelity, and ſo more eaſily quits it, which made *Getulius* make bold to write to *Tiberius*, *That he was Loyal, and unleſs ſuſpected, would remain ſo* (4). A Prince ought to learn by the experience of his own Accidents as well as others, how far he ought to confide in his Subjects. Amongſt the Cautions which King *Henry* the II. left his Son *Don John*, there was this, That he ſhould continue the Rewards given to thoſe, who had follow'd his party againſt King *Peter* their natural Lord, but that he ſhould not put ſo much Confidence in them, as not to have an Eye upon 'em, that in Offices and Places of Truſt he ſhould make uſe of thoſe, who adher'd to their Maſter King *Peter* like true and faithful Subjects, and oblige 'em to make amends for paſt Offences by future Services; but that he ſhould not put any Confidence in the Neuters, who had ſhewn themſelves more addicted to ſelf Intereſt than the publick Good. Traytors are odious even to thoſe whom they ſerve by their Treaſon (5), and the Loyal are eſteem'd by thoſe againſt whom they are ſo; upon this ground *Otho* truſted *Celſus*, who had faithfully ſerved *Galba* (6).

'Tis not good to raiſe a Miniſter all at once to great Places, for it makes others envy him and hate the Prince, they taking this ſudden Promotion as an Argument of his Levity. There is no Miniſter ſo modeſt, as not to be affronted, nor ſo zealous as to continue in his Devoir, when he ſees

(4) *Sibi fidem integram, & ſi nullis inſidiis pateretur, manſuram.* Tac. 6. ann. (5) *Quippe proditores, etiam iis, quos anteponunt, inviſi ſunt.* Tac. 1. ann. (6) *Manſitque Celſo velut fataliter etiam pro Othone fides integra & infelix.* Tac 1. Hiſt.

another ſo unjuſtly preferred. For one that's ſatisfied many are diſcontented; and when the Miniſters are diſguſted 'tis impoſſible the Government ſhould go well: Such Elections are nothing elſe but abortive Births; and Fidelity takes deeper root, when it ſees that Offices and Imployments are the reward of faithful Services: the Prince has in the mean while time to make Tryal of his Miniſter, firſt in places of ſmall Truſt leaſt it ſhould coſt him too dear, afterwards in places of greater Importance (7), let him examine before he employs him in Affairs of Peace or War, what is the moſt likely to ſhake his Fidelity, what his Birth is, what his Reputation and Fortune; this Circumſpection is particularly neceſſary in places of Truſt, which are as 'twere the Keys and Security of Governments.

Auguſtus would not permit any Senator or Roman Knight to enter *Egypt* without his ſpecial Order, becauſe that Province was the Grainary of the Empire, and that he who made himſelf Maſter of that had the other at Command: for the ſame reaſon *Tiberius* ſharply reprehended *Germanicus* for going into *Alexandria* without his leave (8), but for the greater Security, and the better to keep the Miniſter in obedience, 'twould be convenient to allow a little more Authority to the Magiſtracy of the Province, for there are no Curbs ſtronger than that, nor more ready to oppoſe the Faults of the Governor.

Mean and abject Spirits, ſuch as have no Ambition of Glory, or thirſt for Preferments, are fit for no Employ. The chief Quality which God found in *Joſhuah*, to introduce him into the management of Affairs, was that he had a great Spirit (9). But yet the Courage ſhould not be ſo great, as to repine at his being born a Subject, and not be contented with his Condition; for the Loyalty of ſuch is in great Danger, becauſe they aſpire always to the higheſt ſtep, which if they attain not, 'tis either for want of Power, or

(7) He that is faithful in that which is leaſt, is faithful alſo in much. *Luk.* 16. 10. (8) *Acerrimè increpuit, quod contra inſtitutum Auguſti, non ſponte Principis Alexandriam introiſſet.* Tac. 2. ann. (9) Numb. 27. 18.

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Wit, beſides they ſoon flag in their Zeal for the Publick, and Obedience to their Prince.

Great Spirits are not leſs dangerous at leaſt, if they are not docile and modeſt for being very poſitive and conceited of their own Opinions, they are apt to ſlight Commands, and believe that all ſhould be governed at their Pleaſure. A perſon is as troubleſome for his good Qualifications, as for his having none at all; for there is no ſatisfying him, who preſumes too much upon his Merit: *Tiberius* never deſired great Vertues in Offices of Truſt, and hated Vices too; for from one he feared Danger to himſelf, from t'other Scandal to the Government (10).

Nor are thoſe fit for Miniſters who are rich and of great Families, for having no need of the Prince, and flowing in plenty of all things, they won't expoſe themſelves to Perils and Toils, nor can, nor will they be under Command (11). Whence *Sofibius Britannicus* us'd to ſay, Princes can't endure Riches in the Commons (12).

When a Prince ſhall have made Choice of a Miniſter with all due Circumſpection, let him ſeemingly put an entire Confidence in him, but always keep an Eye upon his Actions and Intelligences, and if they are any ways ſuſpicious, let him be removed to another Poſt, where he will want opportunity to make a party to execute his ill Deſigns; for there is more prudence and kindneſs in preventing a Crime, than in forgiving it when committed; if *Germanicus*'s Victory, and the Soldiers Applauſe pleas'd *Tiberius* on one hand, on t'other they made him jealous and uneaſie (13). And underſtanding the Commotions in the Eaſt, he was glad of a Pretence to expoſe him to Dangers, by making him Governour of thoſe Provinces (14).

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(10) *Neque enim imminentes virtutes ſectabatur, & rurſus vitia oderat; ex optimis periculum ſibi, à peſſimis dedecus publicum metuebat* Tac. 1 ann.
(11) *Qui in affluentia fortunæ, virium, opum, & amicorum, aliorumq; talium conſtituti ſunt, Reginæque obedire norunt.* Ariſt. 4. Pol. c. 11.
(12) *Auri vim, atque opes Principibus infenſas.* Tac. 11. ann. (13) *Nuntiata ea Tiberium lætitia curaque affecere.* Tac. 1. ann. (14) *Ut ea ſpecie Germanicum ſuetis Legionibus abſtraheret, novaſque Provinciis impoſitum, dolo ſimul & caſibus objiceret.* Tac. 2. ann.

Now if any Miniſter is to be removed, it ſhould be done under the pretence of Honour, and before the Reaſons are known, with ſuch prudence as mayn't give him Reaſon to miſtruſt the Princes diſguſt: for as fear of being cheated is the way to be cheated; ſo Suſpicion of Loyalty makes Traytors; for which Reaſon *Tiberius* having a mind to recall *Germanicus* to *Rome*, did it under a pretence of a Triumph which he deſign'd him (15); offering him other Preferments, of which Princes are very liberal, when they would free themſelves from their Jealouſies.

If a Subject once loſes the Reſpect he owes his Prince, after Confidence will never ſecure him. *Sancho* the firſt King of *Leon* pardoned Count *Gonzalo*, for having taken up Arms againſt him, endeavouring to reconcile him by his Favours, but thoſe by which he thought to have oblig'd him, only gave him opportunity to poyſon him.

When Princes are concerned with one another, there is no Obligation of Friendſhip or Affinity, a ſufficient Reaſon for their truſting each other; *Don Ferdinand* the great King of *Caſtile*, and his Brother *Garcias* of *Navarre* were at difference; he as he lay ſick at *Nacar* had a deſign to ſeize his Brother who came to pay him a Viſit; but his Deſign not ſucceeding, he had a mind to diſſemble his Intent by viſiting his Brother, who cauſed him to be apprehended *. Revenge and State-Policy is of greater Force than Friendſhip, or Conſanguinity. The ſame befel *Don Garcias* King of *Galicia*, for having truſted his Brother *Alonſo* King of *Caſtile*: the moſt irreconcileable falling out, is that between Relations and deareſt Friends (16), and perfect Hatred is the reſult of perfect Love; from all which we may infer, how difficult a thing 'tis for a Prince to truſt himſelf in the hands of his Enemies, it coſt the King of *Granada* his Life for going, though with a Paſs port to ask aſſiſtance from King *Peter* the Cruel. *Lewis Forza* Duke of *Milan*, was more cautious, refuſing an Interview with the King of *France*, unleſs

(15) *Aeriùs modeſtiam ejus aggreditur, alterum Conſulatum offerendo.* Tac. 2. ann. * Mar. Hiſt. Hiſp. (16) *Difficiles fratrum diſſentiones, & qui valdè amant, valdè odio habent.* Ariſt. 7. Pol. c. 6.

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in the midſt of a River, or upon a broken Bridge. A true piece of Italian Policy, not to truſt where they have once ſhew'd a Jealouſie, for which Reaſon the *Italians* were much admir'd at the Interview between the great Captain and King *Ferdinand* the Catholick, as alſo at that between the ſame King, and the King of *France* his Enemy. In ſome Caſes Confidence is more ſafe and neceſſary to gain peoples Affections than Diſtruſt. *Don Alonſo* VI. having loſt his Kingdom of *Leon*, liv'd retir'd at the Court of the King of *Toledo*, who was a *Moor*, when upon the Death of *Don Sancho* his Sates recalled him to his Throne, with the greateſt privacy imaginable, fearing leſt if it ſhould come to be known by the *Moors*, they might retain him by force; he like a prudent and grateful Prince diſcovered the whole Affair; this Confidence ſo oblig'd the *Barbarian* King, who before underſtood the Intrigue and deſign'd to ſeize him, that he not only let him go free, but alſo furniſhed him with Money for his Voyage: See the power of Gratitude which diſarms even the moſt ſavage Spirits *.

Diſtruſts between Princes can't be cur'd by Satisfactions or Excuſes, but by their contrary; if time won't heal them, diligence never will: theſe are a kind of wounds which the Probe and the Hand does but more exulcerate; and a ſort of apparent Jealouſies, which are an Introduction to Infidelity.

* Mar. Hiſt. Hiſp.

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EMBLEM LII.

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THE Scorpion tranſlated to the Skyes, and plac'd among the Conſtellations loſes not its Malignity, which is greater, by how much more its Power and venomous Influences are extended over things below. Let Princes therefore well conſider the Qualifications of thoſe Subjects, whom they raiſe to places of Truſt, for there Vices always thrive; nay, Vertue it ſelf is often in danger, for the Will being arm'd with Power, bids defiance to Reaſon, and often gets the better; if Vertue have not reſolution enough without being dazl'd with the ſplendour of Riches and Proſperity to reſiſt it. If Promotion makes the good bad, 'twill make the bad worſe. And if Vice notwithſtanding the Puniſhments and Infamy that attend it find ſo many followers, what will it do when back'd with Favour and Preferments. And if Vice be the ready way to Preferment, who will ſeek it through the rugged Road of Vertue? That

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is inherent to our Natures, but this muſt be acquir'd by Induſtry. The firſt forces Rewards, the other expects 'em with Patience, and we find the Appetite much better pleas'd by its own Violence than Merit; and being impatient had rather depend upon its own Induſtry, than attend the Pleaſure and Will of another; to reward the bad, by promoting them to places of Authority, is, to check the vertuous and incourage the vicious. A private Knave while he is private can do no great matter of miſchief, 'tis but an inconſiderable number of private Men, on whom he can exerciſe his Villainy; but promoted to places of Truſt, his Villainy reaches all, being himſelf Miniſter of Juſtice, and having the whole Body of Government at his diſpoſal (1); Villains ought not to be put into places where they have power to exerciſe their Villainy, Nature foreſeeing this inconvenience, has given venomous Animals neither feet nor wings, that they may do leſs miſchief? He who furniſhes Villains with either deſigns it ſhould either run or fly. But Princes nevertheleſs uſually make uſe of the bad rather than the good, the former ſeeming generally more cunning (2); but they are miſtaken, for Vice is not Wiſdom, and he can have no true Judgment who has no Vertue; for which reaſon *Don Alonſo* King of *Arragon* and *Naples*, commended the prudence of the *Romans*, in building the Temple of Honour within that of Vertue, that to go into that you muſt neceſſarily paſs through this, eſteeming him not worthy of Honour, who was not a follower of Vertue; and that he ſhould not arrive to Offices and Preferment, who enter'd not at the Porch of Vertue: Without this how can a Miniſter be ſerviceable to the Government? Among a crowd of Vices what room is there for Prudence, Juſtice, Clemency, Valour, and other Vertues abſolutely neceſſary for a Commander? How will the Subject obſerve thoſe proper to him, if he wants the example of the Miniſter, whoſe Acti-

(1) *Nam qui magnam poteſtatem habent, etiam ſi ipſi nullius pretii ſint, multum nocent.* Ariſt. 1. Pol. cap 9. (2) For the Children of this world are in their Generation, wiſer than the Children of light, *Luke* 16. 8.

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ons he obſerves carefully, and imitates through Flattery? The people have a reſpect for a juſt Miniſter, and imagine that he cannot err; on the contrary, they never approve and commend the Actions of one who is not ſo. *Demoſthenes* ſpoke very well one day in the *Spartan* Senate, but becauſe the people look'd upon him as a vicious perſon, they rejected his Counſel. Whereupon it was ordered by the *Ephori*, that a perſon whom they had a better Opinion of ſhould propoſe the ſame thing, that it might be received and executed: this good Opinion of the people is ſo neceſſary, that though the Miniſter be a perſon of Integrity, the Government is not ſafe in his hands, if the people miſ-inform'd think him otherwiſe. *Henry* the Vth. King of *England*, for this reaſon at his coming to the Crown, removed from him all thoſe who had been his Companions in his younger days, and turn'd out all Miniſters, putting in their places Men of worth, and ſuch as were agreeable to the people; one can impute the Succeſs and Victories of *Theodorick*, to nothing but his good Choice of Miniſters, having no other for his Councellors than Prelates of the ſtricteſt Vertues. Miniſters are as it were the Picture of Majeſty, which ſince it can't appear every where is repreſented by them; who ought therefore to be as like him as poſſible in Life and Converſation, ſince the Prince cannot of himſelf exerciſe in all places, the Authority which he has received by common Conſent, he ought to take great Care how he ſhares it amongſt his Miniſters. For he who is not born a Prince, when he ſees himſelf deck'd with Majeſty, will take Pride in ſhewing it, by exerciſing his Authority and Paſſions (3). And here may the Queſtion be decided; which Nation is in the better Condition, that where the Prince is good, and the Miniſters bad, or that where the Prince is bad, and the Miniſters good [for that may happen according to *Tacitus*] (4) for

(3) *Regiæ potentiæ Miniſtri. quos delectat ſuperbiæ ſuæ longum ſpectaculum; minuſq; ſe judicant poſſe, niſi diu, multumque ſingulis, quid poſſint oſtendant.* Seneca. (4) *Poſſe etiam ſub malis Principibus magnos viros eſſe.* Tac. in vit. Agr.

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neceſſity obliging a Prince to ſubſtitute his Power to ſeveral Miniſters, if they are bad they will do more Damage to a Nation, than the Prince be he never ſo good can advantage it; for they will abuſe his Goodneſs, and under pretence of publick Good, will turn it to their own private intereſt and advantage. A bad Prince may be reformed by many good Miniſters, but not many bad Miniſters by a good Prince.

Some imagine a Princes hands are bound, and his Liberty infring'd, when he has good Miniſters, and that the more vicious the Subjects are, the ſafer he lives among 'em; a ridiculous and ſenſeleſs Phancy, for Vertue is the only thing that keeps Nations in obedience and quiet, and Nations are never more quiet and firm than when at home, private people live juſtly and innocently, and Juſtice and Clemency flouriſh abroad; 'tis eaſie to govern the good. Without Vertue the Laws loſe their force; the love of Liberty reigns, and the averſion to Government increaſes, whence proceed the change of States, and fall of Princes. 'Tis neceſſary then that they have vertuous Miniſters, who ſhould adviſe them with Zeal and Affection, and introduce Vertue into the Nation by their Example, and by the integrity of their Lives. *Tiberius* held the extreams of both Vertue and Vice equally dangerous to a Miniſter, and choſe one between both, as we ſaid elſewhere, but this is properly the fear of a Tyrant; if a vertuous Miniſter be good, one more vertuous is better.

But 'tis not ſufficient for his Miniſters to be endued with excellent Vertues, if thoſe neceſſary Endowments, and Ornaments of experience, which the management of Affairs requires are not eminently viſible in him: *Africk* ſtill mourns and ſhews upon the ſooty Faces of its Inhabitants, the raſhneſs of *Phœbus* [if we may uſe the Philoſophy and Morality of the Ancients] in lending his Chariot to his Son *Phaeton*, an unexperienced Youth, and one who did not in the leaſt merit ſuch Promotion; and this is the Danger all Elections carry with 'em which are made at a jump, and not gradually, by which Experience teaches 'em to know the people, and to riſe by degrees.

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Tiberius though a Tyrant never advanc'd his Nephews without this Caution, and particularly *Druſus*, whom he would not make a Tribune till after eight years Experience (5). Preferment to an unexperienc'd perſon is Favour, but to one of Experience a juſt Reward. Yet is not Experience in all things, as neither all Vertues requiſite for every Office; but only thoſe who regard each in particular, for that which is proper and requiſite for one is not always for others: Experience of the Sea is uſeleſs in Affairs at Land, and it does not follow, that he who knows how to manage a Houſe or ride a Horſe, can alſo marſhal an Army (6). In this *Lewis Forza* Duke of *Milan* was miſtaken, when he committed the Conduct of his Army againſt the King of *France* to *Galeaze* St. *Severin*, who was very dexterous in managing Horſes, but underſtood little of Affairs of War. *Mattathias* made a more prudent Choice when ſeeing himſelf near his End, he choſe for General *Judas Macchabee*, a robuſt Man, and well vers'd in Arms, and for his Counſellor his Brother *Simeon* a Man of Judgment and Experience (7). In this we have ſeen great Errors, in changing the reins and adminiſtration of Governments. Theſe are different in Kingdoms and Common-wealths. Some reſpect Juſtice, others Plenty, ſome War, others Peace; yet though they are ſo different in themſelves, there is nevertheleſs a certain Faculty or civil Vertue, which unites 'em, and makes them all tend one way, to the Preſervation of the State: each aiming at this by means proportion'd to the Office he is in. This civil Vertue is different according to the ſeveral Forms of Government, which differ according to the means, and methods of governing, for which reaſon a Man may be a good Citizen, but not a good Miniſter, for 'tis not ſufficient that he be endu'd with ſeveral moral Vertues, unleſs he has alſo civil ones, and this natural Diſpoſition ſo proper to Adminiſtration and Government.

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(5) *Neque nunc propere, ſed per octo annos capto experimento.* Tac. 3. ann. (6) *Nam unum opus ab uno optime perficitur, quod ut fiat, munus eſt Legumlatoris providere, nec jubere, ut tibia canat quiſquam, & idem Calceos conficiat.* Ariſt. 2. Pol. cap. 9. (7) 1 Macch. 2 65.

'Tis therefore neceſſary for a Prince to know the Nature and Inclinations of his Subjects, that he may better know how to employ 'em, for upon this good Choice all the Actions of his Government depend. The Genius of *Herman Cortez*, was particularly proper for the Conqueſt of *India*; that of *Gonzalez Fernandez* of *Cordova* for the War of *Naples*; and if they had been exchang'd, and the firſt ſent againſt the *French*, and the latter againſt the *Indians*, doubtleſs they had not been ſo ſucceſsful. Nature has not given Man a like Qualifications for all things; but only one excellence for one Office, whether it be Frugality, or Prudence, and 'tis certain, Inſtruments do moſt Service when they are made uſe of by one, not by many. For this reaſon, *Ariſtotle* blam'd the *Carthagians*, for that among them one perſon officiated in many places, there being no Man fit for all (8). Nor is it poſſible [as the Emperour *Juſtinian* remark'd] (9) to mind two, without forgetting one or t'other. A Nation is much better govern'd, when in that as in a Ship every Man knows his Birth; for though perhaps a Man may be found capable of all Affairs, it do's not follow, that they ſhall be all aſſign'd him. That great Copper Veſſel for Sacrifices called for its largeneſs a Sea, and ſupported by 12 Oxen before the Altar of the Temple of *Solomon* (10) contain'd 3000 meaſures, yet they never 'put in above 2000 (11). 'Tis by no means convenient to accumulate all Offices and Preferments upon one perſon, to the Envy and Diſſatisfaction of all; but whether for want of Knowledge of perſons, or for that they won't take the pains to look for fit Men, it uſually happens that Princes imploy one, or at moſt a very few of thoſe who are about them: In all Affairs, whence Promotions and Rewards are ſcarce, and ſo Emulation grows cold, and all things move ſlowly.

For the ſame Reaſon 'tis not good for two perſons to be

(8) *Sic enim optimè inſtrumenta proficient, ſi eorum ſingula, non multis, ſed uni deſerviant.* Ariſt. lib. 1. Pol. cap. 1. (9) *Nec ſit conceſſum cuiquam duobus aſſiſtere Magiſtratibus, & utriuſque Judicii curam peragere, nec facile credendum duabus neceſſariis rebus, unum ſufficere.* L. F. de Aſſeſ. (10) 2 Chron. c. 4. 5. (11) 1 Kings 7. 26.

employed

employed about the ſame Affair, for that makes it confus'd like a Picture drawn by two hands, the methods of Painters being always different, one is quick, the t'other ſlow, one loves Lights, the t'other is more for Shades. Beſides this, 'tis impoſſible two ſhould agree in the ſame Conditions, Counſels and Methods, or that they ſhould not diſagree to the great Detriment of the Negotiation and Prince too. Theſe ſecond Cauſes have each their diſtinct Office and ſeparate Operations. For my part I think it more adviſeable to commit an Office to one perſon leſs capable, than to two though more ſufficient; ſince therefore the good Election is a thing ſo neceſſary, and its Succeſs ſo difficult, 'tis not adviſeable for Princes to relie too much upon their own Judgments. Pope *Paul* the III. and King *Ferdinand* the Catholick firſt conſulted the people, ſuffering it as if careleſly to be publiſhed before they made their Choice; the Emperour *Alexander Severus*, propoſed his Choice to all, that each perſon as if he were intereſted in it, might freely declare his thoughts of his Capacity, or Incapacity (12). Though the peoples Approbation is not always to be depended on: Sometimes 'tis in the right, ſometimes 'tis in the wrong (13); 'tis oft deceived in Mens Natures and hidden Vices. Moreover Induſtry, Self-intereſt, or Malice, and Emulation ſpread this Report among the Mob, either in their Favour or otherwiſe. Nor is a Miniſters behaving himſelf well in ſmall Offices ſufficient to recommend him to greater, for Preferment makes ſome more vigorous and active, others careleſs and lazy (14): much ſafer was the Diligence of King *Philip* the II. who carefully obſerved his Nurſeries, and took particular notice what Plants were like to bear, when tranſpanted into the civil or Eccleſiaſtical Government, and had private Informations

(12) *Ubi aliquos voluiſſet, vel Rectores Provinciis dare, vel Præpoſitos facere, vel Procuratores, id eſt, rationales ordinare, nomina eorum proponebat, &c.* Lamp. in vit. Alex. Sev. (13) *Haud ſemper errat fama, aliquando & elegit.* Tac. in vit. Agr. (14) *Non ex rumore ſtatuendum multos in Provinciis, contra quem ſpes, aut metus de illis fuerit, egiſſe, excitari quoſdam ad meliora Magnitudine rerum, hebeſcere alios.* Tac. 3. ann.

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of their Behaviour in their Youth, before Ambition could diſguiſe their Vices, whether they grew ſtreight and upright, or crooked; and had certain Characters of the Vertues and Vices of the chief of his Subjects; whence he never made an ill Choice, and in his time flouriſhed Perſons truly valuable; eſpecially in Eccleſiaſtical Preferments, for he thought it better to make Choice of ſuch as he knew would not deſerve Puniſhment, than to puniſh them afterward (15). Happy is that Kingdom where there is no room for Ambition, Petitions, Prayers, nor Attendance, and where even concealed Vertue has no need of a Petition, or Recommendation to be known to the Prince, who of himſelf knows the Merits of his Subjects; this was formerly ſpoken in *Tiberius*'s Commendation (16). An auricular Commendation depends upon others, but an ocular one not; that may be deceived, this not; that only informs the mind, this both informs and moves too; nay, as 'twere forces to Puniſhment or Rewards.

Some Countreys have choſen their Miniſters by Lots, which in ſome Caſes is not improper, to decline Envy, and avoid Contention and Emulation, often the grounds of Tumults and Seditions. But when a fit perſon is to be choſen for the Adminiſtration of Juſtice, or Command of the Army, upon whom the Government and publick Safety is to depend, a matter of that Concern, ought not to be decided by the uncertainty of Chance, but to paſs the Tryal of a due Election For the Lot or Dye weigh's not Qualifications, Deſert, and Reputation, as Counſels do, where all things are examined by weight and meaſure (17), and though all Counſels are uſually guided by Intereſt, a Prince may make a good Choice, if he takes Care privately to inform himſelf of the Parties Qualifications and Vertues, as alſo the ends which his Councellors propoſe in promo-

(15) *Officiis ac adminiſtrationibus, potiùs non peccaturos, quam damnare cum peccaſſent.* Tac. in vit. Agr. (16) *Quia ſine Ambitione, aut proximorum Precibus, ignotos etiam, ac ultro accitos Munificentia juverat.* Tac. 4. ann. (17) *Sorte & urna mores non diſcerni: ſuffragia & eſtimationem ſenatus reperta, ut in cujuſque vitam, famamque penitraret.* Tac. 4. Hiſt.

ting them. For when a Prince blindly approves all Propoſals, theſe above-mentioned Inconveniencies will attend; but when his Counſellors ſee that he examines them, and that he does not always admit the Perſons propos'd, but chooſes others more ſufficient, they will adviſe with greater Care and Deliberation.

EMBLEM LIII.

53

THE *Thebans* repreſented the Integrity of Miniſters, eſpecially thoſe of Juſtice, by a Statue without hands: for when they are ſhut they are the Emblem of Avarice, when open its Inſtruments. This Garden repreſents the ſame thing, by theſe Statues without Arms, which are at the corners of each Walk, like thoſe in the Walks at *Rome*; nor are there any better Guard than

than theſe; for they have eyes to watch the Flowers, but want Arms to gather them; if all Miniſters were like theſe Statues, the Exchequer would be more ſecure, and Nations better governed, eſpecially Commonwealths, whoſe Revenues are looked upon as common, every Magiſtrate believing it no Crime to make his fortune out of them; one accuſes t'other to excuſe himſelf, and all wink at one another, and this Vice being like Fire, which with the ſame matter that ſhould quench it is nouriſhed and burns fierce (1), ſo they the more they get, the more they deſire (2), and Avarice once glutted with the publick Treaſure, then Attacks private perſons, whence they wholly confound the principal end of Society which is common Perſervation. Where Avarice reigns, Peace and Quiet is baniſhed; all things are in diſorder and confuſion; nothing but Jars, Seditions and Civil Wars, the Forms of Government are changed, and Empires run to Ruine, as moſt have been loſt upon this account. Avarice drove the *Phœnicians* out of *Spain* *. that made the Oracle of *Apollo* foretell the downfall of the Common-wealth of *Sparta*. God warn'd *Moſes* to chooſe perſons into places of Truſt who hated Covetouſneſs (3). 'Tis impoſſible that State ſhould be govern'd well whoſe Miniſters are covetous; for how can he who Plunders every Body rightly adminiſter Juſtice? How will he procure Plenty, whoſe whole Gain is ſtarving others? How can he love the Kingdom, who thinks of nothink but robbing on't? How can he whoſe mind runs upon nothing but filling his Cheſts, mind Affairs of State? How will he indeavour to merit Rewards, who is his own Pay-Maſter? Nothing ſucceeds well when Self intereſt manages. For Intereſt is preferr'd before Duty or Honour. Nothing great or glorious is enterpriz'd without a deſire of Glory, which a mean, abject, covetous Spirit has no value for. There is ſcarce any Crime but proceeds from Avarice or Ambition (4). Nothing makes Rebels ſooner than the fraud

(1) Eccleſ. 5. 9. (2) Eccleſ. 14. 9. * Mar. Hiſt. Hiſp. (3) Exod. 18. 21. (4) *Pleraque eorum quæ homines injuſtè faciunt, per Ambitionem & Avaritiam committuntur.* Ariſtot. 2. Pol. cap. 7.

and corruption of the Miniſters. They are firſt moved by their particular Damages, then by the common Injuſtice, then by Envy againſt thoſe who commit it, and ſo by Hatred to the Prince that ſuffers it; if he knows it not, they accuſe him of Incapacity; if he tolerates it, they ſay he's remiſs and negligent; if he permits it, he's an Accomplice; if he wiſhes it to the end, that the Authors being glutted like Spunges, he may take occaſion to ſqueeze 'em afterwards, he is a Tyrant. O unhappy Prince and State, wherein the Miniſters don't thrive but by their Ruine. Nor would I have Miniſters ſo nice, as to refuſe all Preſents in general; 'tis incivility to receive none; many, Sordidneſs; all, Covetouſneſs.

Avarice in Princes is the ruin of States (5), for the people can't bear to ſee their Eſtates in danger, in the hands of him whom they chooſe to preſerve 'em; ſo that ſeeing this pretended Defender of his Countrey, the firſt that Arms himſelf againſt it, they ſtreight look out for another: In ſhort, what can a Subject hope for from a covetous Prince? For this Vice even Children hate their Parents. Where there is no Proſpect of Intereſt, there is no Love nor Obedience; that Government is Tyrannick which reſpects Self intereſt, more than the publick Good. King *Alphonſo*, the Wiſe, for this Reaſon ſaid: "That a King ought "not to covet abundance of Riches only to fill his Treaſury, "and not do good with them; for 'tis impoſſible but he "who does ſo, muſt uſe indirect means to gain 'em, which "is beneath the Dignity of a Prince"; the Holy Writ compares a covetous Prince who unjuſtly uſurps his Subjects Eſtates to a roaring Lyon, and a hungry Bear (6), and his Actions to a Spiders Web which periſhes with it, or to a Vineyard-Keeper's Arbour, which laſts but a little while (7); that which is ill got is ſoon ſpent How like Spiders are ſome Princes, who ſpin their Web from their own Bowels, griping and draining their Subjects to make their own fortune from the Rock, and weave Nets which ſoon break and deceive their hopes (8).

(5) Prov. 29. 4. L. 4. tit. 3. p. 2. (6) Prov. 28. 15. (7) Job 27. 18. (8) Job 8. 14.

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There are ſeveral Remedies againſt this Vice, the beſt are thoſe which prevent it; for if once Nature is tainted with it, 'tis very Difficultly cured; 'tis our laſt ſhift. If Princes are naturally Lovers of Money, they ſhould be kept from ſeeing or feeling it, as much as poſſible, for Avarice like Love enters at the Eyes, and 'tis more eaſie to order a Payment than to make it ones ſelf. The Miniſters of the Treaſury too ſhould be generous, and not prompt the Prince to enrich himſelf by ſordid and unworthy Methods; to prevent alſo Avarice in the Miniſters, Care ſhould be taken that Offices and Places be not bought and ſold, as the Emperour *Commodus* obſerv'd, for he who buys 'em ſells 'em too; this the Emperour *Severus* knew, as alſo *Lewis* XII. of *France*, who uſed this Remedy, but has been ſince ill obſerv'd by his Succeſſours. It ſeems to be the Law of Nations, that a Province, the Command of which is bought, ſhould be plunder'd, and that Judgment ſhould be given to the higheſt bidder at the Court of Juſtice, which is not to be approached but by Golden ſteps (9). *Caſtile* to this Day finds the misfortune of theſe Methods in the Governments of their Cities, becauſe they are all ſold, againſt a Statute made by common Conſent, in the time of *Don John* II. that they ſhould be for Life, and given to none but whom the Kings ſhould nominate.

'Tis neceſſary beſides to ſettle a competent Salary upon each Office, ſuch as the incumbent may live handſomely upon; this was the Method of *Don Alonſo* IX giving ſufficient Salaries to his Judges, and ſeverely puniſhing thoſe whom he found guilty of Bribery. The ſame was practis'd by their Catholick Majeſties, *Ferdinand* and *Iſabella*, who reduced Lawyers Fees to a certainty *.

Magiſtrates ſhould not be ſuffer'd to Traffick or Merchandize (10), for they'll never give good Counſel, which they

(9) *Provinciæ ſpoliari, & nummarium tribunal, audita utrinque licitatione, alteri addici non mirum quando quæ emerit vendere gentium jus eſt.* Sen. lib. 1. c. 9. de ben. * Mar. Hiſt. Hiſp. (10) *Sed caput eſt in omni Rep. ut legibus, & omni alia ratione proviſum ſit, ne qua facultas quæſtus faciendi Magiſtratibus relinquatur.* Ariſt. Pol. 5. c. 8.

ſee is againſt their Gain. Beſides the people is better ſatisfied with the Honour and Preferment which are conferr'd on others, provided they have the Gain and Profit, but they are incens'd and apt to rebel when they ſee themſelves rob'd of both (11). And to this Cauſe the Feuds between the Nobility and Commonalty of *Genoua* may be attributed. Offices ought not to be given to poor and needy Perſons, for their Poverty expoſes 'em too much to Corruption and Bribery. In an Election in the *Roman* Senate for a Governour of *Spain*, the Diſpute lay between *Sulpicius Galba* and *Aurelius Cotta*, *Scipio* being asked his Opinion reply'd, *He lik'd neither, one for having nothing, and t'other for that he had never enough.*

The *Athenians* always Elected rich Magiſtrates, and *Ariſtotle* gives this Reaſon for it, that 'tis impoſſible for a poor one to govern juſtly or peaceably (12)? 'Tis true, in *Spain* we have had ſeveral able States-men, who came poor into Office and went poor out.

Miniſters who have a great Family are very burthenſome to their Provinces; for though they are Men of Integrity themſelves, yet their Retinue mayn't be ſo, the *Roman* Senate for this Reaſon would not ſuffer them to carry their Wives into their Governments (13); and the Kings of *Perſia* generally prefer'd Eunuchs to the greateſt places of Truſt (14), becauſe being free from the trouble of Wives, and Cares of providing for Children, they might be more careful of, and leſs chargeable to the Publick. Thoſe who are too much addicted to Self-intereſt, and a deſire of raiſing their Fortunes, are very dangerous in publick Offices. For though ſome do ſtrive to raiſe themſelves by Merit and Renown, yet they generally think it the ſureſt way to do it by Riches, without waiting Rewards and Gratuities from the Prince, who is uſually moſt ſparing to him, who deſerves moſt. *Lucullus* the Conſul whom Want made cove-

(11) *Tunc utrumque ei moleſtum eſt, quod nec honorum particeps ſit' & quod à quæſtibus ſubmoveatur.* Ibid. (12) *Quaſi impoſſibile ſit, qui egenus exiſtat, eum benè Magiſtratum gerere, aut quietem optare.* Ariſt. Pol. 2. c. 9. (13) *Haud enim fruſtra placitum olim, ne fœminæ in Socios aut gentes externas traherentur.* Tac. 3. ann. (14) Heſt. 1. 11.

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tous, and Avarice cruel, brought an unjuſt War upon *Spain* only to enrich himſelf.

Reſidents in Courts after Imployments are over, is a very effectual Remedy, becauſe of the fear not only of loſing this ill gotten Wealth, but alſo of Puniſhment, in the Severity of which there ſhould be no Favour, nor ſhould it be bought off by reſounding; as *Sergius Galba* the *Prætor* did at *Rome*, when he was accuſed of Treachery to the *Portugueze*. If all the Chairs of Juſtice were cover'd with the Skins of corrupt Judges, as *Cambyſes* King of *Perſia* order'd, and ſince him *Roger* of *Sicily*, certainly Juſtice and Integrity would be more ſtrictly obſerved.

EMBLEM LIV.

LIBERTY is natural to Men; obedience forced; that is Arbitrary, this guided by Reaſon, theſe are Contraries, and continually jarring againſt one ano-

ther; whence proceed Rebellions and Treaſons againſt the Prince, and as no Government can conſiſt, unleſs ſome commanded and others obeyed (1); every one would be Head, and depend on none but himſelf, which being impoſſible, he imagines his Liberty conſiſts in changing the form of Government: and this is the greateſt misfortune that can befall States, and is often the chief Cauſe of their Ruine, wherefore 'tis highly neceſſary to uſe ſuch methods, as that this Luſt after Liberty, and this humane Ambition being removed far from the immediate Adminiſtration, ſhould be kept under by reaſon, and the force of Government; ſo that this ſupream Authority which is the Princes Property ſhould be granted to none elſe, for he expoſes Loyalty to evident Danger; who grants any one a Power too abſolute. The Royal Crown put upon a Subjects Head, tho' but in jeſt, will make him proud and think himſelf above what he is. The mind of a Subject ſhould not experience this Royal Grandeur and Glory of reigning, for afterwards abuſing it he uſurps it, and that it mayn't return to him from whom he had it, he Plots and contrives his Ruine; the Divine Writ in one Chapter gives us Examples of Kings put to Death by the hands of their Subjects, for having raiſed them too high. *Solomon* for all his Wiſdom fell into this misfortune and ran the ſame Riſque, for having made *Jeroboam* Preſident of all the Cuſtoms of the Houſe of *Joſeph* (2), and we read that he had the Impudence to lift up his hand againſt his King (3). Let Princes then take it for a Maxim of State, not to promote one too much above others, or if they are oblig'd to it, let it not be one but ſeveral, that they may Balance one another and mutually keep each other in their Devoir, by a reciprocal Examination of one anothers Actions and Deſigns (4). The Emperour *Ferdinand* II. did not ſufficiently obſerve this piece of Policy, when he

(1) *Naturam duas neceſſarias res, eaſdem ſalutares humano generi comparaſſe, ut alii cum Imperio eſſent, alii ei ſubjicerentur, nihilque quod citra hæc, nec maximo quidem queat ſpatio perdurare.* Dion. lib. 14. (2) 1 Kin. 11. 28. (3) 1 Kin. 11. 26. (4) *Eſt autem omnis Monarchia cautio communis, nemitem facere nimis magnum, aut certè pluſquam unum facere: ipſi enim inter ſe, quid quiſque agat obſervant.* Ariſt. 5. Pol. c. 11.

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gave the abſolute Command of his Armies, and Provinces to the Duke of *Fridland*, whence ſprang ſo many misfortunes, and amongſt the reſt the loſs of that great Man, which was meerly the effect of too much Power. Let not Princes be deceived by the Example of *Pharaoh*, who committed all his Power into the hands of *Joſeph*, who preſerv'd his Kingdom (5); for *Joſeph* was the Emblem of Chriſt, and there are very few *Joſeph's* to be found now adays. Each would depend upon himſelf, and not upon the Body; which this preſent Emblem repreſents, by a Branch encircled with a wicker Basket filled with Earth, ſuch as Gardiners uſe, where it by degrees takes root, and ſo being cut off inſenſibly, becomes a Tree independant of the Stock, without the leaſt reſpect to its Greatneſs. This Example ſhews the Danger in making Governments of Provinces perpetual, for Ambition having once taken root, claims 'em as its Property, he who is ſo accuſtom'd to command, will afterwards ſcarce be brought to obey. *France* ſhews us many Examples of this written in its own Blood. Even God's Miniſters in the Kingdom of Heaven are liable to ſlip (6), the Perpetuity of great Offices is an Alienation from the Crown; the Scepter will be uſeleſs and of no force, and will ſtand in awe of that very Power it has been ſo prodigal of: Liberality will want a Dowry, and Vertue a Reward. The Miniſter becomes a Tyrant in the Government which he is ſure of for Life; that Prince whom he ſees preſerves his Authority, he reſpects as his Maſter, but him who does not he deſpiſes, and at laſt rebells againſt him. Therefore *Julius Cæſar* limited the Pretorſhip to one Year, and the Conſulſhip to two.

And the Emperour *Charles* V. adviſed his Son *Philip* II. not to continue Miniſters in Office too long, eſpecially in places Military, to give the greateſt to perſons of mean Fortune, and Embaſſy's to the rich, thereby to weaken 'em. The Bravery of the great Captain in *Italy*, made King *Ferdinand* the Catholick ſuſpect him, ſo that he recall'd him, and if he did not then wholly miſtruſt him, at leaſt he

(5) Gen. 41. 40. (6) Job 4. 18.

would

would no longer hazard his Loyalty, by the Continuation of the Vice-Royſhip of *Naples*. And though that great Politician *Tiberius* continued Miniſters in Poſts all their Life-time, but this was upon ſuch Tyrannick Conſiderations, as ought not to enter into the Thoughts of a prudent and juſt Prince (7). Princes ought therefore to take advice from Nature, the Miſtreſs of true Politicks; who does not allow its Celeſtial Miniſters of light a perpetual Authority, and Government of the World, but certain fixt Seaſons, as we may ſee in the Motion and Reigns of the Planets, that they mayn't loſe the right of diſpoſing of 'em, and to prevent, the uſurping her Authority and Power; beſides ſhe conſiders, that the Earth would be ruined, if it ſhould always be governed by the Melancholy of *Saturn*, or the heat and fury of *Mars*, or the ſeverity of *Jupiter*, or the ſubtilty of *Mercury*, or the levity of *Venus*, or the inconſtancy of the *Moon*.

In removals of this Nature great Care ought to be taken, that Miniſters ſhould not take it to be a ſlur upon their Reputation, to be removed from greater to leſſer Places, for ſince there are not many, that Miniſter would be of no uſe, who when he has been employ'd in the higheſt, would refuſe to Officiate in lower Places; and though Reaſon requires that Rewards ſhould be equal to Deſerts; yet in this Point the Subjects reaſon ſhould be guided by the Princes intereſt, when his Service, or the publick Advantage is in the Caſe; [not that he ought to be put into any inferior Poſt, out of Contempt or Diſgrace] for ſo the importance of the Negotiation makes amends for the meanneſs of the Office.

If any Offices may be continued long, they are Embaſſies; for their Buſineſs is only to intercede, not Command; not to give Orders, but to negotiate; at their Departure all Acquaintance with their native Countrey dies, and all Intimacy with the Prince with whom they negotiate and

(7) *Id morum Tiberii fuit, continuare Imperia, ac pleroſq; ad ſenem uſque in eiſdem exercitibus, aut Juriſdictionibus habere.* Tac. 5. ann.

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his Miniſters ceaſe. Forts and Garriſons, which are as it were the Keys of the Kingdom, ſhould be at the immediate Power and Diſpoſal of the Prince; King *Sancho* was ill adviſed, when by reaſon of the Minority of his Son *Don Alonſo* III. he order'd thoſe of the Nobility, who were Governours of Cities to remain till his Son was fifteen years old, which occaſioned many grievous Calamities to that Kingdom. As for other Offices let 'em be but for a time, for their too long continuance makes the Miniſters proud, and endangers their Loyalty: This *Tiberius* knew though he did not practiſe (8). Vertue is tired by Induſtry and Expectation; yet ſhould not Offices be of too ſhort continuance, ſo as the Miniſter can reap no benefit or experience in 'em, or ſo as to make him too ravenous like Hawks in *Norway*, becauſe of the ſhortneſs of the day; but in troubleſome and dangerous times, publick Offices and places of Truſt ought to be continu'd longer, leaſt they ſhould upon removal be conferr'd upon raw, unexperienced Perſons. So *Auguſtus* did upon the defeat of *Quintilius Varus*. But this Doctrine of Miniſters being continued in Offices but for a time, muſt not be underſtood of thoſe ſupream Offices of the Princes Counſel, or of Juſtice. But on the contrary, they ought to be fixt and continued, becauſe of the advantage of their Experience and Knowledge of Affairs depending.

Theſe kinds of Offices are in Governments like the Poles in the Heavens, about which the leſſer Orbs move, ſo that if they ſhould be chang'd or removed, the whole Univerſe would be endanger'd by the diſorder of its natural Motions. *Solon* knew this Inconveniency in the four hundred Senatours, which were yearly Elected by Lot at *Athens*, and therefore he eſtabliſhed a Senate of Sixty worthy Men who were called *Areopagites*, and while this continu'd the Republick flouriſhed. 'Tis moreover very dangerous to commit the Government of Kingdoms during the Minority, to perſons who have any Pretentions thereto, though

(8) *Superbire homines etiam annua deſignatione: quid ſi honorem per quinquennium agitent?* Tac. 2. ann.

never

never ſo unjuſt; ſo it fell out in *Arragon*, by the Imprudence of thoſe who committed the Government to *Sancho* Duke of *Rouſſillon*, until King *James* I. came to age. Thoſe Perſons who have no manner of Pretention to the Crown, either by Birth, or any other Cauſe, often thirſt after it; how much more then thoſe, who in Pictures and Images ſee their Anceſtours brows incircled with it?

This Age as well as the paſs'd gives us many deplorable Examples of Relations, who have treacherouſly uſurped Kingdoms which they were entruſted with. Thoſe of the Royal Blood are more prone to Tyranny, in that they never want means to accompliſh their Deſigns. Few can be perſwad'd of the Juſtice of that Law, which prefers Birth to Vertue; and every one thinks he better deſerves a Crown, than another, and if this Reaſon ſhould be of force in any one, he is in danger from his Favourites, who hoping to participate of his Grandeur, ſtrive to procure it by violent means, and to raiſe Jealouſies amongſt his Relations. If King *Philip* had any Jealouſie of *Don John* of *Auſtria* they flow'd from this Spring. A glorious Example of this Policy we find in the Infant *Ferdinand* refuſing the Crown, which was the Right of his Nephew *Don John* II. by which generous Recuſance of that Crown on Earth he merited many more in Heaven. The generous Loyalty which the Infants of that Name have paid the Kings of their Race, is of an ancient Date. Nor do we find leſs in this preſent Infant towards the preſent King, whoſe Reſpect and Obedience is more like that of a Subject than of a Brother. The heavenly Spheres pay not a more ready Obedience to the firſt mover, than his Highneſs does to his Majeſtys Will. O truly Noble Prince, whoſe glorious Birth, though the greateſt in the World, is yet the leaſt of his Excellencies, the Effect of Divine Providence, that in a time of ſuch troubleſome and tedious Wars, which ſtrain'd the very Axle-tree and Poles of the Government, to raiſe us up an *Atlas* to ſupport it by his Valour, Conduct and Prudence.

EMBLEM LV.

ARISTOTLE the better to inſtruct *Alexander* the Great, in the Qualities of Counſellours compared them to Eyes; which compariſon *Don Alonſo* the Wiſe makes uſe of in his Books of Laws. Nor is this thought new, for the Kings of *Perſia* and *Babylon* call'd 'em their Eyes, their Ears and their Hands, according to the Offices in which they officiated: The ſeven Spirits God's Miniſters ſent all over the Earth, were the Eyes of a Lamb without ſpot or blemiſh (1). A Prince who ought to ſee and comprehend ſo many Affairs, ſhould be all Eyes and all Ears (2), and becauſe he can't be ſo, he muſt make uſe of the Eyes and Ears of other. Whence there is no

(1) Apoc. 5. 6. (2) *Superior debet eſſe totus mens, & totus oculus.* S. Antioc. Hom. 5.

Prince,

Prince, though never ſo prudent and intelligent, but has occaſion for Miniſters, and to make uſe of them as his Eyes, Ears and Hands (3). This is not of ſmall advantage to him, if he knows how to make a right uſe on't, for by this means he ſees with every Body's eyes, hears with their Ears, and takes adviſe from them all (4). The *Ægyptians* meant this by the Eye which they placed upon their Scepter, for Counſels are the Eyes by which we inſpect Futurity (5). This *Jeremiah* ſeem'd to allude to, when he ſaid, *Virgam vigilantem ego video* (6). For this Reaſon, in this preſent Emblem you ſee a Scepter full of Eyes, to give the Prince to underſtand, that he ought to inſpect all Affairs of the Government by his Miniſters; nor is it to be wonder'd at, that we place the Miniſters in the Scepter, for formerly their Names were engraven on the Crowns of the Emperours and Kings of *Spain*, nor without Reaſon, for they ſhine brighter than the Diadems themſelves.

This Emblem of Eyes ſufficiently ſhews the Qualifications, that a Miniſter ought to be endued with. For as the Sight extends to all things far and near, ſo ſhould the active Spirit of the Counſellour inſpect all things preſent, paſt and future, that he may make a right Judgment of things, and give a true Opinion of all Affairs, which can't be done without much Reading, great Experience, and a continual Commerce with foreign Countries: For if the Counſellours ben't perfectly verſed in the Princes Nature, and the Manners and Genius of the people, they'll ruine both themſelves and the Government (7). And to know this requires uſe; for the Eyes don't know things which they have never ſeen; he who has had Experience and Knowledge of things, will readily find Expedients and Remedies (8).

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(3) *Nam Principes ac Reges nunc quoque multos ſibi oculos, multas aures, multas item manus atque pedes faciunt.* Ariſt. Pol. 5. c. 12 (4) *Hæ enim ratione, & omnium oculis cernet, & omnium auribus audiet, & omnium denique conſiliis in unum tendentibus conſultabit.* Sineſ. ad Arcad. (5) *Conſilium oculus futurorum.* Ariſt. lib. 6. de Regim. (6) Jerem. 1. 11. Vid. Verſion. Vulgar. (7) *Morum, animorumque Provinciæ niſi ſui gnari qui de ea conſulant, perdunt ſe, & Rempub.* Cicero. (8) Eccleſ. 3. 4.

Then

There is ſuch a correſpondence between the Eyes and Heart, that the Affections of the one immediately ſtrikes the other, when this is ſad they weep, when this glad they ſmile; if the Counſellour has not a particular Eſteem for his Prince, he will take but little care of his Affairs, and is therefore very little to be truſted, ſo ſaid King *Alphonſo* the Wiſe: " * That Councellours ought to be the Princes true " Friends, otherwiſe he would be in great Danger, for " thoſe who hate a Perſon will never adviſe him cordially.

The Eye won't ſuffer the Finger to touch its inſide, but upon its approach immediately ſculks within the Lids; how wiſe and learn'd ſoever the Miniſter is in his Counſels, if he is eaſie and free of his Secerts, if he ſuffers his Finger to probe his Heart, he'll be more prejudicial to the Princers Affairs than one who underſtands nothing, Counſels are worth nothing when revealed, and there is more danger in good Reſolves unſeaſonably diſcover'd, than in ill ones executed with Secrecy; let a Miniſter therefore avoid Diſcourſe with thoſe who are not entruſted with the ſame Secret. Let him ſhut his Heart againſt thoſe who would dive into it: for in diſcourſing of Affairs the Deſign is eaſily diſcovered, with the Maxims by which the Prince governs. The Lips are the windows of the Heart, the opening of which diſcovers all within.

The Eyes are ſo pure and free from Avarice; that they won't admit the leaſt Atom, and if by chance any thing, though never ſo little gets in, it obſtructs their Sight, or at leaſt makes them ſee things double, and different from what they are; the Miniſter who receives Preſents will be blinded with the duſt of them, ſo as not to be able to diſcern things rightly, but only as Self-intereſt ſhall repreſent 'em.

Though the Eyes are two, yet they ſee but one and the ſame thing, they both agree in the truth of the Species which they receive, and in tranſmitting them to the ſence by the Optick Nerves which are united, that they mayn't enter ſeverally and deceive it. If the Miniſters don't unanimouſly agree in adviſing for the beſt, without being divided

* L. 5. tit. 9. p. 2.

in their Sentiments by love and hate, or any other reaſon, the Prince will be always in doubt or confuſion, without knowing which Counſel is beſt. And this inconvenience falls out when one Miniſter thinks he ſees and underſtands more than another, or when he has not Judgment enough to diſtinguiſh which is beſt (9). or when he is byaſs'd by his own Paſſions or deſire of Revenge. But a Miniſter ſhould be free from all theſe, ſo as to have no other Purpoſe or Deſign than the Service of his Prince: " Such a Miniſter " [ſays *Alphonſo* the Wiſe] is called in Latine *Patricius*, being as it were a Father to the Prince, which " Title is taken from the reſemblance it bears to the natural Father, for every Father is naturally inclined to adviſe his Son in all things for his advantage and Honour; " ſo he who governs the Prince by his Counſels, ought to " love him and adviſe him with Sincerity, preferring his " Honour and Intereſt above all things, not reſpecting the " Love or Hatred, Intereſt or Prejudice, that may enſue, " and all this without Flattery, not minding whether he be " good or bad; like a Father in inſtructing his Child †. Nature has divided the Juriſdiction of the Eyes by a Line interpos'd, not but that they both agree in Operation, aſſiſting one another with a Zeal ſo mutual, that if one turns to one ſide, the t'other does ſo too, that they may have a more certain Cognizance of things, neither regarding whether they be within their Sphere or not, the ſame Agreement is abſolutely neceſſary amongſt Miniſters, whoſe Zeal ſhould be ſo univerſal, that they ſhould not only regard thoſe things which their Office obliges 'em to, but alſo thoſe that belong to others; there is no Member, but for the preſervation of the whole Body, ſends its Blood and Spirits to the aſſiſtance of that which is out of order. For a Miniſter to be an idle Spectator of anothers Calamities ſhews malice, envy and want of reſpect to the Prince. This proceeds often from a love of Self-intereſt and Glory; or leaſt he ſhould by aſſiſting his Friend endanger his own Reputation, or elſe that he may flouriſh more upon his Friends

(9) Eccleſ. 8. 20 † L. 7. tit. 1. p. 4.

miſfor-

misfortune. Such Miniſters only ſerve themſelves not the Prince. Whence proceed Diviſions in the State, Army and Revenue, by which many good opportuniti.s are loſt, many Towns, Caſtles and Provinces ruined; Miniſters ſhould mutually communicate their Deſigns and Actions, as the Cherubims did their wings in the Temple of *Solomon* (10).

As uſeful as Eyes are to the Body, Nature has given it but two, becauſe more would breed confuſion and obſtruct the Suſception of things: 'Tis the ſame in Counſellours, for when there are too many, Conſultations are retarded, Secrets revealed, and Truth confounded, for their Votes are only counted not duly weighed, and the greater number carries it; and thence proceed generally all misfortunes in Common-wealths. The multitude is always blind and thoughtleſs; and the wiſeſt Senate, if compoſed of too many, will have a mix ure of the Ignorance of the vulgar. A few Planets give more light than many Stars, and the multitude thereof in the *Via Lactea* darken one another by the refraction of their own Light, ſo that 'tis darker there than in any other part of the Sky. Two great a number makes Liberty ſawcy and ſtubborn, and difficult to be reduced to the Princes Will (11). As it often happens in Parliaments and general Aſſemblies; let therefore the Prince have juſt ſo many Miniſters as are ſufficient to govern his State, carrying himſelf indifferently to them all, not being ruled wholly by one, for he can't ſee ſo well with one as with all; thus *Xenophon* ſaid when uſing the ſame compariſon, he called the Miniſters of the Kings of *Perſia* their Eyes and Ears (12); ſuch a Miniſter would uſurp all the Dignity and Majeſty of the Prince to himſelf, for that the Prince is oblig'd to ſee with his Eyes (13). Princes

(10) 2 Chron. 3. 12. (11) *Populi Imperium juxta libertatem: paucorum Dominatio Regiæ libidini proprior eſt.* Tac. 6. ann. (12) *Hinc fictum eſt, ut vulgò jactarint Perſarum Regem multos habere oculos, auresque multas: quod ſi quis putet unum oculum expectandum Regi, eum egregiè falli certum eſt, unus enim & pauca videt, & pauca audiat.* Xenoph. lib 4 Cyri. (13) *Ea Majeſtas qui quidem imperium habere apud Miniſtrum ſolet; Regi, aut Principi urbam potentia nomen relinquit.* Plutarch.

are generally ſo taken with ſome one Miniſter, that with him they negotiate all manner of Affairs, though he be never ſo great a Stranger to them; hence proceed ſo many Errours in their Reſolutions, for neither can Men of Learning give proper adviſe in Military Affairs, nor Souldiers in thoſe which relate to Peace; upon which Conſideration the Emperour *Severus* adviſed with every one in thoſe matters which particularly belonged to them (14).

By all theſe Qualities of the Eyes the Body is govern'd, without 'em it can't move one ſtep ſecurely; 'twill be the ſame in the Government which wants good Miniſters. Without theſe Eyes the Scepter would be blind, for there is no Prince ſo wiſe as to be able to decide all Affairs himſelf: "† Since "Royalty [ſays K. *Alphonſus*] admits of no Companion, nor "has occaſion for any, 'tis neceſſary for the Prince to have "about him Perſons of Integrity and Wiſdom, who may up-"on all Emergencies adviſe and aſſiſt him. But if any Prince imagines his own Eyes ſo good as to believe he can ſee all things without the aſſiſtance of others, he is more vain than prudent, and will ſtumble each ſtep of his Adminiſtration (15). *Joſhua* though he communicated with God, and received Inſtructions from him; and particularly for the taking the City *Nai*, he adviſed with his old Captains about it (16). King *Aſſuerus*'s Miniſters never departed from his ſide, and he maturely adviſed with them about all Affairs, a Cuſtom which Kings always obſerved (17). Only by Pride cometh Contention, but with the well adviſed is Wiſdom (18.) Nature has qualified no Man ſufficiently to manage a Government though never ſo little by himſelf, it being impoſſible for one to know ſo much as many (19). And though one quick-ſighted can ſee further than many others, for they are not like numbers which are multiplyed by themſelves, and make one great

(14) *Unde ſi de jure tractaretur, in conſilium ſolos doctos adhibebat, ſi vero de re militari, milites veteres, & ſenes ac bene meritos & locorum peritos.* Lamp. in Vit. Alex. † L. 1. tit. 9 p. 2. (15) *Si de ſua unius ſententia omnia geret, ſuperbum hunc judicabo, magis quam prudentem.* Livius. (16.) Joſ. 8. 10. (17) Heſt. 1. 13. (18.) Prov. 13. 10. (19) *Nemo ſolus ſapit.* Plaut.

Summ,

Summ, it muſt be underſtood of things at a diſtance, not of thoſe in a near Circumference, for then many Eyes diſcover more than one (20), provided the number be not ſo great as to create Confuſion; one perſon has but one Argument, for he can't have many at the ſame time, and being fond with that will go no further. In Counſels the Prince hears all, and following the beſt renounces his own Opinion, and perceives the Inconveniencies of thoſe, which proceed from Paſſion or Intereſt. For this Reaſon *Don John* II. of *Aragon* writing to his Sons their Catholick Majeſties, upon his Death-bed, he adviſed them to do nothing without the Counſel of vertuous and diſcreet Miniſters. 'Tis neceſſary, that theſe Eyes of Miniſters ſhould preceed each ſtep of the Adminiſtration, and mark out the way (21). The Emperour *Antoninus* Sirnam'd the Philoſopher the wiſeſt Prince of his time, had for his Counſellours *Scævola*, *Mutianus*, *Ulpianus* and *Marcellus*, all perſons of exquiſite Merit, and when their Counſel ſeem'd better than his own, he with eaſe quitted it and ſided with them; 'tis fitter ſays he, for me to follow the advice of ſo many worthy Friends, than for them to follow mine. A wiſe Man hearkeneth unto Counſel (22). An ignorant Prince who will be adviſed, will ſucceed better in his Affairs, than an underſtanding one who depends too much upon his own Opinions. Let not a Prince's Pride ſuggeſt to him, that he divides the Honour of the Succeſs, in taking the adviſe of his Miniſters; for 'tis as commendable to ſubmit himſelf to be adviſed by others, as to ſucceed in any thing of his own management.

* *Be adviſed, O King, and govern'd in your turn.* This taking advice, is a particular mark of a Prince's Authority; 'tis the Inferiours Duty to give advice, and the Superiours to receive it. There is nothing more becoming Royalty, nothing more neceſſary than Conſultation and Execution. " 'Tis an Action [ſaid King *Alphonſus* XI. in the " Parliament of *Madrid*] worthy the Royal Grandeur, to have " always, according to his commendable Cuſtom, worthy " Counſellours about him, and to take advice of them in all

(20) Prov. 11. 12. (21) Prov. 4. 25. (22) Prov. 12. 15. * Homer. 1

" things; for if every private Man's Duty be to have " good Counſellours, how much more is it incumbent up- " on a Prince? Every Fool can give advice, but he muſt be a Man of Prudence who reſolves well (23). And there is no Diminution of the Honour of a Prince, who knows how to take advice and make a good Choice: whatever ſhall be well Enacted by " the aſſiſtance of your Counſels, " ſaid the Emperour *Theodoſius* in one of his Laws, will " redound to the Honour of the Empire and my own " Glory (24). The Victories of *Scipio Africanus* proceeded from the Counſels of *Lælius*, whence they ſaid in *Rome*, Lælius *wrote the Play, and* Scipio *Acted it.* Yet did not this obſcure the Luſtre of his Glory, nor was the Honour of *Scipio*'s Exploits attributed to *Lælius*, 'tis neceſſary that the Prince ſhould know how to Act the Play himſelf, and that the Miniſter ſhould not be both Poet and Actor too. For though a Prince's Miniſters are his Eyes, yet he ſhould not be ſo ſtark blind, as not to ſee at all without them, for this would be to govern by Gueſs, and he would incur the contempt and diſreſpect of his Subjects; *Lucius Torquatus* being choſen Conſul the third time, deſired to be excuſed for the weakneſs of his Eyes, ſaying, *'Twas a ſhame that the Government, and the Eſtates of the Citizens ſhould be committed to one, who muſt be forced to ſee with other Mens Eyes* (25). King *Ferdinand* the Catholick us'd to ſay, That Ambaſſadours were a Prince's Eyes; but that he would be very unfortunate who ſhould ſee with no other: That great Politician did not wholly rely upon his Miniſters; ſee with them indeed he did, but as we do with Spectacles, by applying 'em to his own Eyes. When the Miniſters find that the Adminiſtration of Affairs is wholly in their Power, they will wreſt it to their own private Ends, and their Ambition increaſing they divide into Factions, every one arrogates to

(23) Prov. 13. 16. (24) *Bene enim quod cum veſtro conſilio fuerit ordinatum, id ad beatitudinem noſtri imperii, & ad noſtram Gloriam redundare.* L. Humanum, c. de Leg. (25) *indignum eſſe, Rempub & fortunas civium ei committi qui alienis oculis uti crederetur.* Tit. Liv. lib. 26.

himſelf

himself that share of power and authority, that the Prince thro' his Lazineſs and Inſufficiency has granted him. All things are in diſorder and confuſion; if the Miniſters aim to be any thing more than Perſpectives, by which the Prince diſcovers the Horizon of Affairs, and takes thoſe Reſolutions and Counſels which he likes beſt, Nature has given him Eyes, and if God governs his Heart (26), he directs alſo his Sight, and makes it more clear and quick than his Miniſters. King *Philip* II. retir'd ſometimes into himſelf, to meditate upon the Affairs of his Government, and after having fervently recommended himſelf to God; he reſolv'd upon the firſt method that offer'd it ſelf, though againſt the Opinion of all his Miniſters, and this generally ſucceeded. Counſellours can't always be at the Princes Elbow, for the ſtate of Affairs and the urgency of Opportunity requires ſometimes, that their Reſolutions be quick and ready (27). Orders are not reſpected and obey'd, when it appears that he gives them not, but receives them himſelf: 'Tis a preſumptuous Raſhneſs to conclude all without ever taking Advice, and a ſtupid Slavery to Act nothing without it. He who Commands ſhould have the Liberty of changing mending, and rejecting whatever his Miniſters propoſe to him. 'Tis ſometimes convenient to hide from 'em certain Myſteries, and to deceive them, as the ſame *Philip*, did who differently reported to his Council the Negotiations of his Ambaſſadours, when he had a mind to draw 'em to his own Reſolutions, or thought it convenient to conceal certain Circumſtances from them. A Council of State ſhould be like a *Coloſſus*, that the Prince ſtanding upon its Shoulders may ſee farther than it. The *Thebans* did not deſire Princes ſo foreſighted, as one may gueſs by the manner of Painting them with their Eyes open, and their Eyes ſhut, ſignifying that they ought blindly to execute all the Reſolutions of the Senate: but this was not the Emblem of an abſolute Prince, but only of a Prince of a Common-wealth, whoſe Power is ſo circumſcrib'd that 'tis ſufficient for him to hear, for the Power of ſeeing what is

(26) Prov. 21. 1. (27) *Non omnia conſilia conſiliis præſentibus tractari, aut occaſionum velocitas patitur.* Tac. 1. Hiſt.

to be done, it reſerved for the Senate. This is nothing but a dark ſhadow of Majeſty, and an empty appearance of Authority. His Power is nothing but a reflection of that of the Senate, and ſo he has no need of Eyes, who can't go where he pleaſes.

But though 'tis convenient for a Prince to preſerve this Liberty in Counſels, yet he ought not to be ſo vain as for fear of being thought to want their Advice, to reject whatever they propoſe; for ſo he would incur very great Inconveniencies: As *Pettus* did according to *Tacitus* (28).

If 'twere poſſible Kings ſhould have Kings for their Counſellours, that ſo their Counſels might not deviate from the Authority and Honour of Majeſty; a Prince ſometimes does things beneath himſelf by the Inſtigation of an abject mean Spirited Counſellour. But ſince this is impoſſible they ſhould chuſe ſuch Counſellours, as though they are not Princes by Birth, are ſo in greatneſs of Mind and Generoſity.

In *Spain* there are ſeveral Councils inſtituted, with a great deal of Prudence; for the Government of Kingdoms and Provinces, and for all the moſt important Affairs of the Kingdom, yet ought not all Care to be rejected, by confidently relying upon this happy Conſtitution, for no Government is ſo ſtrongly fenced, but that its Foundations in time wear away, or are unſenſibly undermin'd by Malice or Abuſe. 'Tis not ſufficient for each diſtinct part to be well govern'd, if they don't ſometimes all unite, to treat as well of themſelves in particular, as of the whole Body in general. For this Reaſon we have in Convents or religious Orders, Provincial and general Chapters, and in the Government of the Church, Councils. For the ſame Reaſon every ten years there is held at *Madrid* a General Council conſiſting of two Counſellours, of each particular Council, and of two Deputies of each Province, to conſult for the Preſervation not only of each part, but of the whole Kingdom. For if theſe Kingdoms were not ſo renewed, they would grow old

(28) *Ne aliena ſententiæ indigens videretur, in diverſa ac deteriora tranſibat.* Tac. 11. ann.

and

and at laſt die. This Aſſembly will unite the parts of the Monarchy, and make 'em agree among themſelves, to the mutual aſſiſtance of each other. For this Reaſon the Councils of *Toledo* were aſſembled, where not only Matters of Religion, but alſo thoſe of State were treated of.

All theſe Qualities of Eyes ought alſo to be found in Confeſſors to Princes, who are their Counſellours, Judges, and ſpiritual Phyſicians: theſe Offices require Men of Zeal and intire Affection for the Service of God, and their Prince; Perſons who have Sence to judge well, prudence to adviſe, Liberty to reprehend, and Courage to undeceive, by ſetting before his Eyes, though at the hazard of his Favour, the Diſguſts of his Subjects, and the Danger of his Kingdom, without ſmearing over the craz'd and falling Wall with untempered Mortar (29). Some Princes uſe Confeſſors only for Conſcience ſake, others make uſe of them as Councellors of State: I ſhall not pretend to examine into the Reaſon of theſe two Methods; I only ſay, 'tis thought convenient in *Spain*, to admit the King's Confeſſor into his Council, as well to give his aſſiſtance in matters of Conſcience, as alſo that being as it were a ſharer in the management of Affairs, he may correct the Prince, if in any thing he is deficient in his Devoir. For ſome know the Faults that they are guilty of as Men, but not thoſe which they commit as Princes, though thoſe are greater which belong to their Office than thoſe which reſpect only their perſon. Not only the Confeſſors ought to aſſiſt in Council, but alſo Biſhops, or other Eccleſiaſticks, who by their Authority and Learning may be very ſerviceable, and ſo the two Arms, the Temporalty and Spiritualty will more firmly unite, for the Defence and Preſervation of the Body of the Government. The *Gothick* Kings uſed to adviſe about all weighty Affairs, with Prelates who were to that purpoſe aſſembled in the Councils of *Toledo*.

What we have ſaid about Confeſſors ſhould be underſtood alſo of Preachers, who are the Trumpets of

(29) Ezek. 13. 10.

Truth (30), the Interpreters between God and Men (31), in whose mouth God has put his word (32), the Prince ought to carry himself with great Circumspection towards them, they being the Channels by which wholesome or poysonous Doctrines are delivered to the people; the Mobb wholly depends upon 'em, they being the most proper Instruments either to raise or appease them, as has been seen in the Revolts of *Catal nia* and *Portugal*. Their Zeal for declaiming against Vice, often gives 'em occasion to reflect upon those in Authority, which the people eagerly swallow, thro' their natural Aversion to the Ministers; whence proceeds Contempt of Authority, and the Peoples disgust, which is the occasion of Seditions and Tumults; especially when the Princes faults are reflected on, 'tis necessary therefore, that these Reprimands should be general, without pointing at persons when the Scandal is not publick, or Holy Admonitions, or other Circumstances have been ineffectual. God so modestly in the Apocalypse reprehended the Bishops, that he seems almost to flatter them (33); Christ never reflected upon any person from the Pulpit, his Reprehensions were general, and if at any time he descended to particulars 'twas not as Preacher, but as King. That should by no means be heard from the Pulpit, which is dissolute and punishable in the Streets, in which Zeal is often mistaken, either because 'tis extravagant, or blinded with the Applause of the Giddy Mobb, which eagerly crowds to hear the Prince or Magistracy reflected upon.

(30) Cry aloud, spare not, lift up thy voice like a Trumpet, *Isa.* 58. 1. (31) For every High Priest taken from among Men, is ordained for Men in things appertaining to God, *Heb.* 5. 1. (32) Behold I have put my words in thy mouth, *Jerem.* 1. 9. (33) I know thy Works, and Charity, and Service, and Faith, and thy Patience, and thy Works; and the last to be more than the first. Notwithstanding I have a few things against thee. *Revel.* 2. 19.

EMBLEM LVI.

THE Office of a Secretary depends upon the understanding, not the Pen; if it all lay in neatly cutting a Letter Printers would be the beſt Secretaries. His Duty is to conſult, propoſe and bring matters to Perfection, he is the right hand of the Prince's Will, his Inſtrument of Government, the Finger by which he points out his Reſolutions; and as King *Alphonſus* ſays, "The ſecond "Officer of the Houſhold, at leaſt of thoſe who are of "the Cabinet; for as the Confeſſor is Mediator between "God and the King, ſo is the Secretary between the King "his Subjects †. Diſcreet and prudent Conſultations in Councils will be of ſmall Effect, if he who ſhould metho-

† L. 4. tit. 5. p. 2.

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dize them ſhould fail in his part; the Miniſters give their Opinions, and the Prince declares his Sentiments by his Secretary, and a word now and then aptly apply'd, changes the Face of Affairs, as in a Picture, a ſmall ſhade or a ſtroke of the Pencil, either ſpoils it, or gives more Life to it; the Council forms the Idea of the Building, the Secretary draws the Plan thereof, which if it be irregular, the Super-ſtructure muſt of neceſſity be ſo too. The better to repreſent this, you ſee in the preſent Emblem his Pen is a pair of Compaſſes, becauſe his Buſineſs is not only to write, but alſo to meaſure the Reſolves, and to ſet out fit times and opportunities for the Execution of 'em, that they may neither be too ſoon nor too late: this Office is ſo united to that of the Prince, that if the trouble of Affairs would permit, it ſhould by no means be committed to another, for if it is not a part of Majeſty, 'tis at leaſt a certain Reflection of it; this I believe *Cicero* meant, when he adviſed the then Pro-conſul of *Aſia* thus, " Let your Ring [which you muſt " conſtrue Secretary] be not as any other piece of Goods, " but as your own ſelf, not a Miniſter of another's Will, " but a Witneſs of your own; each other Miniſter is the " Kings Repreſentative but in one Office, but the Secretary " in all (1). It ſuffices others to know what belongs to their particular Places, but he muſt have a perfect Knowledge, a general and particular Intelligence of Practices, and Arts, as well of Peace as War. If they erre 'tis but in ſome one particular; but this reaches all in general, yet ſo privately, that the miſ-carriage is imputed to the Council; as the ignorance of the Phyſician is to the Malignity of the Diſtemper; ſome Affairs may be negotiated with bad Miniſters, but not with an ignorant Secretary. He is the Stomach, in which Affairs are digeſted, and if they come thence crude and ill concocted, the Life of the Government will be ſickly and ſhort; caſt your Eyes back upon Paſtimes, and you will find that never any Government has been well manag'd

(1) *Sit annullus tuus, non ut vas aliquod, ſed tanquam ipſe tu; non Miniſter alienæ voluntatis, ſed teſtis tuæ.* Cicer. Epiſt. 1. ad Quint. fratrem.

without

without good Secretaries. What ſignifies the Princes careful Reſolves, if the Secretary knows not how to apply them, by judiciouſly conſidering, and prudently obſerving certain Circumſtances on which Affairs always depend. If he wants Diſcretion and Judgment, his written Rules and Inſtructions are of ſmall uſe, for there is ſcarce any Affair for which you can find an exact Precedent. For time and other accidents alter the very Nature and Form of all things. Apothecaries have different Medicines preſcribed by ſeveral Phyſicians, for ſeveral Diſeaſes; but they'd be notoriouſly miſtaken, if they ſhould ignorantly apply them without a due Knowledge of the Cauſes whence they proceed, as alſo of the Conſtitution of the ſick Perſon, the time, and other Circumſtances; which Experience, Reaſon, and Speculation ſhall dictate. The ſame Affair ſhould be differently preſcrib'd to a Phlegmatick and Cholerick Miniſter, differently to a timorous and bold one. The Secretary ought to inſtruct each how he ſhould behave himſelf. What are Secretaries Offices, but certain Schools for the Education of able Stateſmen? From what Practice and Experience teaches them, they learn the true Art of Government. There they obſerve what Counſels have ſucceeded, what miſcarried. From all which appears the neceſſity of chooſing ſuch for Secretaries, as are endu'd with good natural parts. Thoſe great Miniſters or Secretaries of God, which we call Evangeliſts, were repreſented in the *Apocalypſe*, by four wing'd Animals, full of Eyes both within and without, ſignifying by their Wings, their Expedition and Execution, their Knowledge of all things by their external Eyes, and their Contemplation by their internal ones (2). Being ſo buſie that they never reſted night or day (3), ſo intent upon their Duty, that their wings were always ſtretch'd upwards (4), ſo conformed and united to the Holy Spirit in all things, that they never parted from it (5).

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(2) Revel. 4. 8. (3) Ibid. (4) Ezek. 1. 11. (5) Ezek. 1. 12.

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To make a good Choice of a Secretary, 'twould be convenient for Princes to train up ſuch perſons as by their natural Qualifications and perfect Knowledge of the Latine Tongue ſeem fit for it, under their Ambaſſadours, or chief Miniſters, making Tryal of them in ſeveral Poſts beyond Sea; and afterwards let them call 'em to the Secretaries Office at Court, where they may ſerve, and capacitate themſelves for Secretaries of State, High Treaſurer, and the like, upon whoſe Knowledge and Experience, the Succeſs and good management of Affairs very much depend. By this means the ill Choice which Miniſters of State uſually make of their Secretaries would be avoided, for they employ only them, who have ſerved 'em formerly, and who are uſually moſt unfit for that Office, being choſen commonly more from the neatneſs of their Hand-writing than their Underſtanding. Whence it falls out, that a good Miniſter who has a careleſs ignorant Secretary, is more prejudicial to the Princes Affairs, than a bad Miniſter whoſe Secretary is diſcreet and careful; beſides the Secretary being choſen by the Prince himſelf, on whom he ſolely depends, will make the Miniſter more vigilant and attentive in the performance of his Office; King *Alphonſo* well knowing of what importance it was to have a good Secretary, ſaid, "That a King ought to make Choice of for that "Charge, a perſon well born and well bred, of good Sence, "good Temper, and good Manners; who can read and "write Latine, as well as his vulgar Tongue †. King *Alphonſo* ſeems to thing it not ſufficient that he can read it, but that he muſt readily ſpeak it too; for this is abſolutely neceſſary for him, who is to treat with all Nations. Eſpecially at preſent, now the *Spaniſh* Monarchy is extended over ſo many foreign Kingdoms, and Provinces, becauſe of the frequent Correſpondence in Latine.

The moſt eſſential thing in a Secretary is Secrecy, whence his Name is derived, that he may upon hearing it be put in mind of his Duty. The Tongue and the Pen are the

† L. 4. tit. 9. p 2.

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moſt dangerous Inſtruments of the heart, by theſe 'tis uſually expos'd, either through Levity, or Vanity, to be thought the Repoſitories of very important Secrets, by diſcovering them, either by diſcourſe or writing, to thoſe from whom they ſhould conceal 'em: So that he is not fit for the Charge of a Secretary, who can't modeſtly hear others, rather than talk himſelf, without changing the Air of his Face at any thing; for oft-times the Secrets of the heart are diſcovered thereby.

EMBLEM LVII.

THE wheels of a Clock perform their Office with ſuch ſilence, that their Motions can neither be heard nor perceived, and though the whole Contrivance deperd upon them, yet do they not attribute to themſelves the Honour of it, but lend to the hand its Motion,

tion, which alone distinguishes and points out the hours, and is esteem'd by all, the only Rule and Measure of time. This mutual Correspondence and Agreement should be between the Prince and his Counsellours; for 'tis highly convenient to have them: for [as King *Alphonsus* the Wise said] "Though Emperours and Kings are great persons, yet can "neither of them by themselves do more than a single "Man; ‖ and the Government of a Nation requires ma-"ny, but them so modest as not to attribute their success-ful Resolutions to their own Counsel, but to the Princes; let 'em share the Trouble but not the Power; let 'em be Ministers not Companions; let 'em know that the Prince can govern without them, but not they without him. Where a Prince can shew his Authority and Greatness without the assistance of others, let him do it. In *Ægypt* where the heat of the Sun is more powerful than in other parts, it breeds Animals without any assistance; if a Prince does nothing without Advice, he's more like a Client than a Prince. The force of Government is lost, unless the Summ of Affairs be reduced to one (1); Monarchy is distinguished from other methods of Government in that one only Commands, and the rest obey, and if the Prince shall permit several to rule, 'twill not be a Monarchy but an Aristocracy, there is no Command where all are Masters. The Holy Spirit takes this for a punishment of the Sins of the people (2), and on the contrary a Blessing when only one Commands (3), when the Ministers shall find a Prince so careless as to let others Reign, they usurp to themselves what Authority they can. Pride and Emulation grows among them, every one tears a slip from the Royal Robe, so that at last it remains a mere Ragg. The people confounded between so many Masters, no longer acknowledge their true and lawful one, and so begin to despise and contemn the Government. For they believe

‖ L. 12. tit. 1. p. 2. (1) *Neve Tiberius vim Principatus resolverit, cuncta ad senatum vocando, eam conditionem esse imperandi, ut non aliter ratio constet, quam si unus reddatur.* Tac. 1 ann. (2) For the transgression of a Land, many are the Princes thereof *Prov.* 28. 2. (3) And I will set up one Shepherd over them. *Ezek.* 34. 23.

nothing

nothing can be well done, but what they think the Prince does of himſelf, whence they prepare a Remedy by force. Hiſtories furniſh us with deplorable Examples of this, in the Depoſition and Death of *Garcias* King of *Galecia*, who would not be ſo much as the Index to point out the Motion of the Government; but left all to the management of a particular Favourite of his, who was afterwards kill'd with him. We find *Sancho* King of *Portugal* depos'd, becauſe his Queen, and a few other Scoundrel Servants had the whole management of Affairs; the ſame thing befel King *Henry* IV. for being ſo eaſie as to Sign all Diſpatches which his Miniſters brought him, without ever reading or knowing the Contents of 'em. The Prince expoſes himſelf to all manner of Inconveniencies, who without peruſal or conſideration, agrees to whatever others deſire him: for upon him as upon ſoft Wax every one makes what impreſſion he pleaſes; ſo it was with the Emperour *Claudius* (4). God plac'd the Government upon the Princes own Shoulders, not upon his Miniſters (5); as *Samuel* intimated to *Saul*, at the Entertainment when he anointed him King, when he on purpoſe ordered the Cook to ſet by for him a ſhoulder of Meat (6). Yet would I not have a Prince like a Camel merely to bear Burthens; but his Shoulders ſhould be full of Eyes, like the Animals in *Ezekiel*'s Viſion, that they may ſee and know what they bear: *Eliſha* call'd *Elias* the Chariot and Horſemen of *Iſrael*, becauſe he ſuſtain'd and manag'd the Government †. He does not deſerve the name of Prince, who cannot of himſelf give Orders and contradict 'em, as is viſible in *Vitellius*, who not being capable of commanding nor puniſhing, was no longer Emperour, but only the cauſe of War (8); wherefore a Prince ſhould not only perform the part of the hand in the Clock of the Government, but that alſo of the *Pendulum*, which

(4) *Nihil arduum videbatur in animo Principis, cui non judicium, non odium erat niſi indita & juſſa.* Tac. 12. ann. (5) *Iſai.* 9. 6. (6) And the Cook took up the Shoulder, &c. 1 *Sam.* 9. 24. (7) Ezek. 1. 18. Im LXX. † 2 Kings 2 12. (8) *Ipſe neque jubendi, neque vitandi potens, non jam Imperator, ſed tantum belli cauſa erat.* Tac 1. Hiſt.

regulate

regulates the Motions of the Wheels: In ſhort, upon that depends the whole Art of Government? Not that I would have a Prince perform the Office of a Judge, Counſellour or Preſident, for his Dignity is far above it (9), if he apply'd himſelf ſo to all Buſineſs, he would want time for Affairs of greater moment. "He ought, ſays King *Alphonſo*, to have Underſtanding, Loyal, and Truſty Perſons "to aſſiſt him, and ſerve him faithfully in all things, as well "to adviſe him as to adminiſter Juſtice to his People; for "he can't of himſelf duely weigh and examine all things, "ſo that he has need of ſome in whom he can confide. He ſhould uſe them as the Inſtruments of Government, and let them operate; yet ſo as he may inſpect what they do, with a ſuperiour Direction, more or leſs immediate or aſſiſtant, as the importance of Affairs requires. Thoſe things which properly belong to the Miniſters, let the Miniſters perform. Thoſe which are peculiar to the Princes Office, let him only manage. For which Reaſon *Tiberius* check'd the Senate for leaving the whole Burthen of Affairs to him (10), the weighty thoughts of Princes, ought not to be diſturb'd by frivolous Conſultations, when without any offence to their Majeſty, they may be decided by the Miniſters. Wherefore *Sanguinius* adviſed the *Roman* Senate, not to trouble the Emperour with ſuch Matters, as without moleſting him were in their Power to remedy (11). But if a Prince relying upon the Prudence and Integrity of a Miniſter, ſhall intruſt him with the management of any Affair; let him leave it wholly to him. After God had made *Adam* Lord of the whole Earth, he brings all the Animals which he had created, that he might give 'em names (12), God would not ſo much as reſerve that to himſelf. For the like Reaſon a Prince ought to leave ordinary Cares and Trou-

(9) *Non Ædilis, aut Prætoris, aut Conſulis Partes ſuſtineo, majus aliquod, & excelſius à Principe poſtulatur.* Tac. 3. Hiſt. (10) *Et proximi Senatus die, Tiberius caſtigatis per literas oblique Patribus, quod cuncta curarum ad Principem rejicerent.* Tac 3. ann. (11) *Sanguinius Maximus è Conſularibus cravit Senatum ne curas Imperatoris conquiſitis inſuper acerbitatibus augerent, ſufficere ipſum ſtatuendis remediis.* Tac. 6. ann. (12) Gen. 2. 19.

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bles to others: for the Head intermeddles not with the buſineſs of the Hands and Feet, nor does the Pilot intermeddle with the common Sailers Duty, but ſitting in the Stern does more with the gentle Motion of his hand, in guiding the Boat, than all the other with their Toil and Labour.

But if a Prince either by reaſon of his Minority or old Age, or any other natural defect, be incapable of attending the direction of Affairs, let him chooſe an Aſſiſtant. For 'tis much better to govern well by another, than ill by himſelf. The firſt years of *Nero*'s Reign were happy, becauſe he took Advice from good Councellours; but when he took the management of all into his own hands he ruin'd himſelf. King *Philip* II. finding that Age and Infirmities had render'd him unfit to govern, choſe certain truſty and experienced Miniſters for his Aſſiſtants. Yet even when neceſſity urges, a Prince ought not wholly to omit the Care of Affairs, be his Miniſters never ſo prudent and faithful, for the Body politick reſembles the natural, in which if the Heat be deficient, no Remedy, no Art, nor Induſtry can preſerve its Life. The Prince is the Soul of the Government wherefore to keep that alive, 'tis neceſſary that this ſhould aſſiſt the Members and Organs; if he can't abſolutely do this, let him ſeem to ſee and hear all things, with ſuch Aſſiduity, that they may be attributed to his Diſpoſal and Judgment; the Princes Preſence though it has no other Effect, at leaſt influences the Miniſters, and makes 'em more careful and Aſſiduous. To know only that all Orders come through his hands, gives them Authority, though he never alter nor ſee 'em; what will it do then if he ſhall particularly examine, and being privately inſtructed, ſhall correct and reprehend his Miniſters faults? If he do this but once, they will be ever after fearful and cautious, they will imagine that he actually ſees, or inſpects all things. Let them treat in Councils not only of Affairs of State, but alſo of what worthy Perſons, they ſhould promote to Offices and Preferments; but let his hand confirm their Reſolutions, let it be that which beſtows all Rewards and Gratuities, not ſuffering as in a Sun-Dial his ſhadow, I mean his Miniſters and Favourites, to point 'em out, and publiſh them, and

ſo cauſe them to be aſcrib'd to them; for by this he would loſe his Eſteem, Affairs their Authority, Rewards their Acceptance; and the Prince is ſlighted by thoſe whom he has moſt oblig'd; for which Reaſon *Tiberius* when he ſaw the Senate inclin'd to reward *M. Hortalus*, vigorouſly oppos'd it (13). And ſharply check'd *Junius Gallio*, for propoſing Gratuities to the *Prætorian* Souldiers, giving him to underſtand that it was only the Emperours Prerogative (14); ſo a Prince is not reſpected becauſe he is a Prince, but becauſe as ſuch he Commands, Rewards, and Puniſhes. If any piece of Severity is to be committed, or any rigorous Puniſhment to be inflicted, let it be done by the hands of his Miniſters, but let the Prince conceal his own as much as poſſible. Let the Peoples Indignation, and the *Odium* of Severity, and Puniſhment fall upon them, not him (15). The Ancients ſaid of *Jupiter*, that of himſelf he darted forth none but benign Rays, without hurting any one, but only to ſhew his Power, but that malign ones were by the Council of the Gods; let the Miniſters be thought ſevere and cruel, the Prince tender and merciful; 'tis their part to accuſe and condemn, his to forgive and pardon. *Emanuel* King of *Portugal* thank'd a certain perſon, who found an Argument to ſave a Criminal. Alſo *John* III. King of *Portugal* being preſent at the Tryal of a Criminal, when the Judges were equally divided, and his Opinion ask'd to decide the matter ſpoke to this Effect, "You, ſays he, in "having condemn'd this Man have done Juſtice, and I "could wiſh you had been all of the ſame Opinion; but "I am for acquitting him, leaſt any ſhould ſay, that the "Kings Vote alone took away a Subjects Life. The Prince is made for the Subjects preſervation, and he ought to put no one to Death, but for the ſake of that.

(13) *Inclinatio Senatus incitamentum Tiberio fuit, quo promptius averſaretur.* Tac. 2. ann. (14) *Violenter increpuit, velut coram regitans, quid illi cum militibus, quos, neque dicta Imperatoris, neque præmia, niſi ab Imperatore accipere par eſſet.* Tac. 6. ann. (15) *Et honores ipſe per ſe tribuere, pœnas autem per alios Magiſtratus, & judices irrogari.* Ariſt. lib. 5. Pol. c. 11.

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The hand of a Clock has no effect upon the Wheels, but permits them to do their Duty, and only denotes their Motion, ſo the Emperour *Charles* V. was of Opinion, a Prince ought to behave himſelf towards his Council, to let them alone in their Debates without intermeddling with 'em; this Precept he left to his Son *Philip* the II. A Princes Preſence obſtructs their Freedom, and gives opportunity for Flattery, and though in Matters of greater moment, the Prince's Preſence ſeems very convenient, in that he can't be ſo throughly inform'd by reading, as by hearing their Debates, for by this he will learn much, and begin to love Buſineſs, and be inſtructed in the Qualifications, and Deſigns of his Councellours, a Prince ought to be extremely cautious in declaring his Opinion, leaſt either Flattery, Reſpect, or Fear ſhould make it received. For this Reaſon *Piſo*, when *Marcellus* was accus'd for taking down the Head of *Auguſtus*'s Statue, and putting his own up; being ask'd his Opinion by *Tiberius*, *What's your Sentiment, Sir*, ſaid he, *if you ſpeak firſt I know what to follow, but if laſt I am afraid leaſt I ſhould imprudently think otherwiſe* (16) For the ſame Reaſon 'twas a prudent Order of the ſame Emperour, that his Son *Druſus* ſhould not Vote firſt in the Senate, leaſt others ſhould think themſelves oblig'd to follow his Opinion (17). This is a thing of ill Conſequence; is it leſs inconvenient not to declare his mind at all, for ſo that Counſel which ſeems beſt may with more Secrecy be executed. *Henry* King of *Portugal* propoſed matters with ſo much Diſcretion in his Council, that it could not be diſcover'd, either by his Words or Looks, which way he inclined; whence came the Cuſtom of Preſidents and Vice-Roys, not giving their Votes in Council, which is an ancient Practice, and was uſed by the *Etolians*.

But in a matter in which the Prince deſires rather their Approbation than Advice, he may open his mind and declare his

(16) *Quo loco cenſebis Cæſar? Si primus, habeo quod ſequar: ſi poſt omnes, vereor nè imprudens diſſentiam.* Tac. 1. ann. (17) *Exemit etiam Druſum Conſulem deſignatum dicendæ primo loco ſententiæ, quod alii civile rebantur, nè cæteris aſſentiendi neceſſitas fieret.* Tac. 3. ann.

Opinion, for he will find they will generally ſide with him, either through a deſire to pleaſe, or becauſe we naturally incline to follow our Superior.

In Affairs of War, eſpecially when the Prince is involv'd therein, his Preſence in Council is of more importance, as well for the above-mentioned Reaſons, as that he thereby animates them, and that their prudent Reſolves may be put in ſpeedy Execution, and leaſt while they are brought to him the opportunity be ſlipt. He muſt know that ſome Miniſters deſire to be thought vigorous and active, rather than diſcreet, and ſo in the Princes Preſence oft n are the Authors of raſh Counſel, not that they would be th· perſons that ſhould execute them, nay they have a particular averſion to all Danger, as it was with thoſe who adviſ'd *Vitellius* to take up Arms (18).

'Tis a common Queſtion among Politicians, whether or no a Prince himſelf ſhould not aſſiſt in the Courts of Juſtice; 'tis a too weighty Employ, and would take up too much of that time which is neceſſary for Affairs of State, and the Adminiſtration of the Government. Though *Tiberius* after he had aſſiſted in the Senate, went to the Courts of Judicature (19). King *Ferdinand* the Holy was often preſent in thoſe Courts, where he heard and defended the Poor, and protected the weak from the ſtrong. K. *Alphonſo* the Wiſe ordain'd, that the King himſelf ſhould undertake the Cauſes of Widows and Orphans, "For tho', ſays "he, he is oblig'd in general to defend his Subjects, yet "ought he particularly to aſſiſt them, becauſe they are "more helpleſs than others". *Solomon's* great Judgment in the Deciſion of Cauſes got him the general Eſteem of all (20); the *Iſraelites* deſired a King, who as in other Nations might be Judge over them (21); the Preſence of the

(18) *Sed quod in ejuſmodi rebus accidit, conſilium ab omnibus datum eſt, periculum pauci ſenſere.* (19) *Nec patrum cognitionibus ſatiatus, Judiciis adſidebat in forum tribunalis.* Tac. 1. ann. L. 20. tit. 23. p. 3. (20) And all Iſrael heard of the Judgment which the King had judged, and they feared the King: for they ſaw that the Wiſdom of God was in him to do Judgment. 1 *Kin.* 3. 28 (21) Now make us a King to judge us like all the Nations, 1 *Sam.* 8. 5.

King

King makes Judges just, and his Power only can defend the poor (22); the chief Reason why God chose *David* King was, because he who had freed his Flocks from the jaws of the Lion (23), best knew how to protect the Impotent from the powerful (24): so grateful and acceptable is this Care to God, that for that only he promises to blot out all the rest of his Sins, and make them as white as Snow (25). Wherefore I can't deny that this is the main part of a Prince's Duty, yet I think he fulfils it, if he chooses Persons of Integrity for his Ministers of Justice, and takes Care that they justly and uprightly perform their Offices. 'Twill suffice sometimes in the most important Cases, I mean such as may be oppress'd by Power, to be present at their giving their Opinions, so as to make the Judges always in fear, least he should be in some corner of the Court and hear all that is said and done. For which Reason all the Judges live in the Royal Palace at *Madrid*; and in the Courts where they sit, there are windows, from whence his Majesty uses to hear all that passes. The same is usual in the *Turks Divan*, where when the *Bassa's* meet to treat about Affairs, he hears them when he pleases, from a window cover'd with Sarcenet.

And this Harmony of the Clock, and the mutual Agreement between the Wheels, and the Hand which points the hours is evidently visible in the Government of the Kingdom of *Spain*, which is so well constituted, that those Kingdoms and Provinces which Nature has dis-joyn'd, she unites by the prudence of her Government Each has its particular Court at *Madrid*, *Castile*, *Arragon*, *Portugal*, *Italy*, the *Netherlands* and the *Indies*, to which there is but one President, they take Cognizance of all Affairs, whether of Justice or Rewards belonging to any of these Kingdoms or Provinces. And their Debates are brought to the King who orders what he thinks fit, so that the Councils are as 'twere the Wheels, and his Majesty the Index; or they the Op-

(22) A King that sitteth in the Throne of Judgment, scattereth away all evil with his Eyes, *Prov.* 20. 8. (23) Psalm 9. 14. (24) 1 Sam. 12. 31. (25) Isa. 1. 17.

tick Nerves, by which visible Species are transmitted to the Prince, and the King the common Sense which discerns and Judges them. The Affairs of the Kingdom being so dispos'd and presented to his Majesty, all's manag'd with that ease and prudence, that for above a hundred years since it began to flourish; there has happened no considerable miscarriage, which is almost incredible, in such a dis-united Body.

The *Roman* Empire was more succinct, and yet it almost continually felt Convulsions and Disorders, an undeniable Proof that ours is better founded than their's, and govern'd by Men of greater Judgment, Prudence and Integrity. Since then the Summ of all Affairs should be reduc'd to the Prince, he should not only be a Father to the Republick in Love, but Economy too, nor should he think it sufficient to have Counsellours, and Ministers to manage his Affairs, but he should also keep by him a certain private Memoir of them, by which he should be guided in all things; as Merchants keep their Accounts in a particular Book for that purpose, such a Book as this the Emperour *Augustus* kept. In which he took an account of the Revenue, of the number of the Citizens and Auxiliaries in his Service, also of the Fleets, Kingdoms, Provinces, Tributes, Taxes, and Gratuities, all which he wrote with his own hand (26); the Memory is the Treasury of Experience, but is very short and weak without the assistance of the Pen to strengthen and perpetuate it upon Paper. He'll find a great advantage, who for Memory's sake, takes an account of all Actions good or ill, in his Book; which Diligence if your Royal Highness when setled upon the Throne shall neglect, and think it beneath your Grandeur to stoop to, and that your Presence is sufficient without this troublesome Assiduity, leaving that to your Ministers, I dare averr from the excellent Constitution, and order of this Government, both in

(26) *Opes publicæ continebantur, quantum civium, sociorumque in Armis, quot Classes, Regna, Provinciæ, Tributa & Necessitates, ac Largitiones, quæ cuncta sua manu perscripserat Augustus.* Tac. 1. ann.

its

its Courts and Counſels, your Highneſs might finiſh your Courſe without any conſiderable Danger; but you would be no more than the hand to the Clock, wholly govern'd by the Wheels, nor would there appear any thing conſpicuous or glorious in your whole Reign; as there will, if [which God grant] your Highneſs imitating *Auguſtus*, ſhall make your Remarks upon each Kingdom diſtinctly, with an Addition of all Garriſon'd Towns, alſo of all perſons famous for War or Peace, with their Qualifications, Characters, Services and the like; particularly inſerting all Affairs of great Concern, what has been their Iſſue, in what they ſucceeded, in what fail'd, and ſeveral other Obſervations, which are inſtructive in the Art of Government. Hence proceeds the Harmony in the Order of the Jeſuits, which all ſo much admire, for every three years the General has a particular Account of all things that have paſs'd, together with a private Liſt of thoſe of the Order; who becauſe they may in time alter their Nature and Manners theſe Catalogues are renewed every Year; beſides, he has particular Informations every Year of what ever is neceſſary for him to know. By which they always ſucceed in their Elections, by ſuiting the Capacity of the Perſon to the Office, not the Office to the Perſon. And if Princes had ſuch Characters of things and perſons, they would not be ſo often deceived in their Reſolves and Counſels; they would be better inſtructed in the Art of Government, and need not depend wholly upon their Miniſters; and theſe would ſerve the Prince with more Care and Circumſpection, when they knew that he underſtood and took notice of all things; and ſo theſe groſs Faults which we ſee at preſent, I mean, in not timely providing Neceſſaries for Peace and War, would never be committed; in a word, the fear of this Catalogue would make Vertue flouriſh, and Vice periſh; nor would theſe ſhort Memoirs breed any confuſion, eſpecially if ſome were made by the Princes own hands, and others by his chief Miniſters, who are perſons of Underſtanding, and whom he can truſt to do it ſincerely and carefully; wherefore if as *Cicero* ſays, this Knowledge is neceſſary for a Sena-

tour (27), who is but a ſmall Member of the Government, how much more is it for a Prince on whom depends the univerſal welfare of his State? And if *Philip* King of *Macedon*, caus'd the Articles of the *Roman* League to be read over to him twice every day, why ſhould a Prince diſdain to read in one Book, an Epitome of the whole Body of his Empire, viewing in that as in a Map, all the parts of which it conſiſts?

(27) *Eſt ſenatori neceſſarium noſſe Rempub. quàm latè patet, quid habeat Militum, quid valeat ærarium, quas ſocios Reſp. habeat, quos amicos, quos ſtipendiarios, quo quiſque ſit lege, conditione, fœdere*, &c. Cicero.

EMBLEM LVIII.

HONOUR is one of the chiefeſt Inſtruments in the Art of Government; if it were not the Off-ſpring of Glory, I ſhould think it a politick Invention; it is the Prop of Empires; without it none could ſtand long; a Prince without it wants a Guard for his Vertues, the Spur of Renown, and Bond, which makes him to be loved and reſpected; a Thirſt for Riches is Tyrannick, but for Honour Royal (1); nor is Honour leſs requiſite in the Subject than the Prince; for without that the Laws would not be able to keep the people in their Devoir, it being certain, that they are more reſtrain'd by the fear of Infamy than puniſhment. The Economy of Government would

(1) *Velle pecuniis excellere Tyrannicum, Honoribus vero magis Regium.* Ariſt. Pol. lib. 5.

ſoon be ruined, were not Obedience, Loyalty, Integrity and ſuch like Vertues in eſteem. Ambition for Honour preſerves the Authority of the Laws, to attain it we inure our ſelves to Labour and Vertue. That Government is in as much danger where all would be Slaves, as that in which all would be Maſters. A Nation too abject and baſe, is a prey to every Invader, and ſoon forgets its Duty to its lawful Prince; but that which is of a more lofty Spirit, and which ſets a value upon Honour, ſlights all Toils and Perils; nay, even deſpiſes its own Ruine, to remain firm in its Obedience and Loyalty; what Wars, Calamities and Devaſtations by Fire and Sword, has not the Dutchy of *Burgundy* felt for preſerving their Faith and Allegiance to his Catholick Majeſty, neither the Tyranny and Barbarity of their Enemies, nor the infection of the Elements, though all ſeem'd to conſpire againſt them, could ſhake their Conſtancy. They might indeed take from thoſe Loyal Subjects, their Eſtates, their Countrey, and their Lives, but not their ſincere Faith, and generous Loyalty to their lawful Prince.

The uſual Remedies againſt inteſtine Diſorders, is to make the People ſtrangers to Honour and Reputation, which piece of Policy is us'd in *China*, which is in no danger but from its own Subjects; but in other Kingdoms which are expoſed to Invaſions, Glory and Renown is abſolutely neceſſary for the Subjects, that they may have Courage to repulſe an Enemy; for where there is no Honour, there is no Valour. That Prince is not truly Great, who does not command great Spirits, nor can he ever without ſuch make himſelf formidable, or enlarge his Territories. The Subject's Honour obliges them to procure the Prince's, for upon his Grandeur depends their's. The very ſhadow and empty appearance of Honour, makes 'em aſſiduous in Labours, and valiant in Dangers. What Treaſures could make ſufficient Compenſation for the Eſtates, and Blood which Subjects ſquander away for the Prince's Will and Fancy; were it not for this publick Coin of Honour, wherewith every one pays himſelf in his own Opinion? 'Tis the beſt Price of worthy and brave Exploits, the cheapeſt Reward that Princes could have found, ſo that if

not

not for their own Grandeur, they ought at leaſt for their Conveniency and Intereſt, maintain it among their Subjects; by either taking no notice of, or lightly puniſhing the Faults which they commit to defend it, and on the contrary, by encouraging with Rewards and publick Acknowledgments, ſuch Actions as are generous and honourable. But they ſhould beware of giving the leaſt Incouragement to that vain fantaſtical Honour ſo much in Vogue, which depends upon peoples Fancies, not true Vertue, thence proceed Diſputes among the Miniſters about Precedence, to the prejudice of the Publick, and the Prince's Service: Hence Duels, Affronts, and Murthers; and from theſe come Tumults and Seditions. This makes Obedience ſtagger, and defiles it with the Prince's blood; for if once the Subject ſhall be perſwaded in his own Opinion, or by the common Cry, that he is a Tyrant and not fit to live, he ſoon contrives his Death, to obtain the Honour of Aſſertor of his Countrey's Liberty (2). It ſhould therefore be the Princes Care to aboliſh this Superſtition of falſe Honour, and to promote the Worſhip of the true.

Let not a Prince diſdain to honour Merit, either in Subjects or Strangers, for this does not derogate from the Prince's Honour, no more than the light of a Torch is diminiſhed by the lighting of another by it; for which Reaſon *Ennius* compares the Charity of a perſon, who inſtructs a wandring Traveller in his way, to a Flame.

He who t' a wandring Man his way has ſhewn,
Lights t'others Torch and never hurts his own *.

From whence proceeds *Cicero*'s Advice, that whatever kindneſs can be done another without Detriment to ones ſelf, let it be done even to a Stranger (3). From both theſe Sentences the preſent Emblem is taken; a lighted Candle

(2) *Itaque Monarchas, non ut ſibi vendicent Monarchiam, invadunt, ſed ut famam & gloriam adipiſcantur.* Ariſt. Pol. 5. cap. 10. * Ennius.
(3) *Ut quicquid ſine detrimento accommodari poſſit, id tribuatur veligato.* Cicero.

in a Candleſtick, the Emblem of Divinity, and ſupream Authority, at which two others are lighted, to ſignifie that a Prince may beſtow Honour upon thoſe who deſerve it without Detriment to his own. His Honour, is borrowed, not his own, who is afraid of wanting it, when he confers it on others. Springs continually flow, and are never empty. The Fund of Honour in Princes is inexhauſtible, be they never ſo profuſe: All reſpect them as the only Magazines of Honours, from whence every one expects his ſhare; ſo the Earth with its Vapours refreſhes the Air, which returns them in Dew upon the Earth again. And this mutual Correſpondence between the Prince and his Subjects, King *Alphonſo* the Wiſe knew, when he ſaid, that "theſe in Honouring him, honour'd themſelves, becauſe "from him they expect Honour and Preferment; where "this mutual Honour is, there Affairs flouriſh in Peace and "War, and the Government is eſtabliſhed. Nor does a Prince ſhew his Majeſty more in any thing, than in the Honours he confers. All natural Bodies the more noble they are, are the more generous and free of their Vertues and Gifts. To give Riches is humane, but the diſtribution of Honour belongs to God or his Vicegerents. In theſe Maxims I would perfectly inſtruct your Highneſs, eſpecially in that of honouring the Nobility, who are the main ſupport of Monarchy.

Let your Highneſs hearken to your glorious Predeceſſor, King *Alphonſo* the Wiſe, who in laying down Maxims for his Succeſſors, ſpeaks to this Effect: "Furthermore he "ought to reſpect and honour the Nobility for their Riches, "and for that they are an Honour to his State; and he "ſhould reſpect and honour the Gentry, as being his Guard "and the Bulwark of his Kingdom.

Without Rewards Services flag, but rewarded they flouriſh, and make the Kingdom glorious Under an ungrateful King never any great Action was atchieved, nor any glorious Example tranſmitted to Poſterity. Thoſe three brave Souldiers, who broke through the Enemies Squadrons and fetch'd water from the Ciſtern, ſcarce did any thing elſe remarkable, becauſe *David* did not gratifie them.

them. A Prince by once rewarding the Merits of a Family, binds them to his Service for ever. The Nobility is as much urg'd to Glory, by the noble Exploits of their Anceſtors, and by Honours with which they were rewarded, as by thoſe which they themſelves expect; 'twas upon this Account that your Royal Highneſſes Predeceſſors beſtowed eternal marks of Honour upon the Services of ſome great Families of *Spain*. So King *John* II. rewarded thoſe of the Counts *Ribadeo*, by permitting them to eat at the King's Table upon *Twelfth-day*, and to have the ſame Coat which his Majeſty wore that day; his Catholick Majeſty granted the ſame Honour to the Marqueſs of *Cadiz*. And order'd, that they ſhould have the Coat which he wore upon the Feaſt of the *Bleſſed Virgin*; to the Marqueſſes of *Moya*, he gave the Cup which the Kings ſhould drink out of upon St. *Lucia*'s Day; to the Earls of *Roca*, of the Family of *Vera*, and to all of that Houſe a Grant for each, to exempt thirty perſons from all Taxes; the ſame King *Ferdinand*, when he met the King of *France* at *Savona*, invited the great Captain *Gonſalvo* to Table with him, at whoſe houſe alſo he ſtaid at his Entry into *Naples*; and what wonder ſince he ow'd him his Kingdom and all *Spain*, its Glory and Succeſs †? Of him might well be ſaid, what *Tacitus* ſays of another brave and valiant General. In his Body was all the beauty of the *Cheruſci*; and whatever was done with Succeſs was the reſult of his Counſel (4). The Valour and Conduct of one Miniſter is often the Foundation and Riſe of a Kingdom That which is founded in *America* is owing to *Herman Cortez*, and the *Pizarrs*. The ſingle Valour and Induſtry of the Marqueſs of *Aytona*, kept the *Netherlands* from revolting upon the Death of the *Infanta Iſabella*, and ſome of our preſent Miniſters have been the chief Inſtruments in preſerving the Empire in the Houſe of *Auſtria*, and of the Tranquility which *Italy* has ſo long enjoyed, whoſe great Rewards have been a ſpark to kindle a glorious Emulation in others. By recompencing one Service you purchaſe many

† Mar. Hiſt. Hiſp. (4) *Illo in corpore decus omne Cheruſcorum, illius conſilia geſta, qua proſpere ceciderint teſtabatur.* Tac. 2. ann.

more;

more; 'tis a noble Uſury which enriches Princes, and enlarges and ſecures their Eſtates; the *Ottoman* Empire flouriſhes, becauſe it encourages and prefers Valour in whomſoever it is conſpicuous. The Fabrick of the *Spaniſh* Monarchy arrived at this Perfection, becauſe King *Ferdinand* the Catholick, and after him *Charles* V. and *Philip* II. knew how to hew out, and proportion the Stones to its bigneſs. Princes complain of this Age of being barren, and not productive of ſuch great Spirits, not conſidering that the Reaſon is that they don't look for them, or if they do find them, that they don't give them ſufficient Encouragement, but only promote thoſe who are about them, which depends more upon Chance than Choice. Nature always produces ſome great Genius's, but Princes don't always make uſe of them. How many excellent Genius's and great Spirits are born and die in Obſcurity, who if they had been imployed and exercis'd in Buſineſs, had been the Admiration of Mankind: *Oſſat* had died Chaplain of St. *Lewis* in *Rome*, without the Glory of having done ſo many ſignal Services to *France*, had not *Henry* IV. of *France* obſerving his great Abilities procur'd him a Cardinals Hat. If a Prince ſuffers a great Soul to herd with the common Rout, he will live and die like one of them, without performing any thing remarkable or glorious. Chriſt went up to the Mountain *Tabor* with three of his Diſciples only, leaving the reſt with the multitude, upon which their Faith immediately cool'd (5), ſo that they could not cure a poſſeſt perſon (6). Great Spirits do not flouriſh nor Bloſſom, unleſs they are water'd by the Dew of Favour. That Prince therefore, who ſhall ſow Honours ſhall reap able Stateſmen. But he ought to ſow them in Seaſon, and to have them always ready upon all Occaſions; for then they are rarely to be found. In this Princes are uſually careleſs while they live in Peace and Quiet, thinking they ſhall never have need of them.

(5) *Nam quod Domino in monte demorante, & ipſis cum turba reſidentibus quidam tepor eorum fidem retardaverat.* Hilar. cap. 7. Sup. Matth.
(6) And I brought him to thy Diſciples and they could not cure him, *Matth.* 17. 15.

Not

Nor ſhould a Prince honour and preſer only his Nobility and Miniſters, but alſo all others of his Subjects, whoſe Actions ſhall be meritorious. As King *Alphonſo* prudently adviſes in his Laws, where he ſays, that a Prince ought to honour Vertue whereſoever he finds it, though it be in the very meaneſt of his Subjects.

A Prince ought to be very cautious in the Diſtribution of Honours, conſidering the time and weighing the Qualifications of the perſons, that they may be exactly adapted to their Merit. For that diſtinguiſhes Dignities, as the intrinſick worth of a Diamond makes it more valuable; if Honours were all equal, they would be leſs valued; 'tis a kind of Tyranny not to reward Deſert, and nothing more incenſes the People than it; a whole Government is diſordered by the unequal Diſtribution of Preferments, Rewards above Deſert are a Scandal to the receiver, and an Affront to thoſe who deſerve better. One is gratified; many offended. To gratifie all alike is to reward none. Vertue thrives not by equality, nor will Valour ever attempt any conſiderable Action, without the hopes of ſome particular Reward. A Statue erected for one, affects many with a glorious Deſire of obtaining the ſame Honour. In a word, Honour ſuited to a perſons Merit, is a Spur to him, an Encouragement to others, and a means to preſerve Obedience in the people.

But though nothing more firmly ſettles, or more glorioufly adorns a Prince's Throne than Diſtribution of Honours, yet ought he diligently to take Care, not to Grant away thoſe which are proper to his own Dignity, and diſtinguiſh him from others: For they are not like Flames which paſſing to another Subject, ſtill remains entire in its own; but all ſuch which he ſhall confer on others, will no more ſhine in him, ſo that Majeſty will be obſcur'd, nor will any make their Applications to him, but to them to whom he has granted ſuch Honours; *Tiberius* would not permit even his Mother *Livia* to receive thoſe particular Honours which the Senate deſign'd, becauſe he thought 'twould diminiſh his Authority (7). Even Ceremonies which were

(7) *Caterum anxius invidiæ, & muliebre faſtigium in diminutionem ſui accipiens, ne littera quidem ei deſerni paſſus eſt.* Tac. 1. ann.

introduced

introduced either by Chance or Flattery, and are now peculiar to the Prince, he ought not to make common to others. For though they are vain and empty, they mark out the Borders of Majeſty to Reſpect and Veneration. *Tiberius* was diſguſted, that the ſame publick Prayers were made for *Nero* and *Druſus* which were made for him, tho' they were his Sons and Succeſſours in the Empire (8); the Honour of Princes vaniſhes, when made common by promiſcuous Flattery (9); ſometimes though, as when Miniſters do perſonate the Prince in his abſence, the ſame Honours and Ceremonies are to be paid them, as are due to the Prince if preſent; as we ſee in Vice-Roys and Courts of Supream Authority, which like Stars ſhine in the Suns abſence; but not in his Preſence, for then thoſe marks of Honour are paid to the Royal Dignity repreſented in the Miniſters, who are as it were the Pictures of Majeſty, and the reflection of Supream Authority.

(8) *Tum verò æquari adoleſcentes ſenectæ ſuæ, uis hoenèr indoluit.* Tac. 4. ann. (9) *Vaneſcit Auguſti honor, ſi promiſc* impati *moribus vulgatur.* Tac. 4. ann.

EMBLEM LIX.

NATURE, the provident Diſpoſer of all things, has divided Countries from one another, and hedg'd 'em in ſometimes with Mountains like vaſt Walls, ſometimes entrenched 'em about with deep Rivers, and ſometimes with the Ocean it ſelf, that ſhe might put a ſtop to the Deſigns of humane Ambition; for the ſame Reaſon ſhe has conſtituted different Climates, Natures, Languages, and Cuſtoms, that in this great Diverſity of Nations, each might live amicably, and in Unity among themſelves, not eaſily giving way to the Power and Tyranny of Invaders. Yet are not all theſe bars and fences of Nature, able to check this inſatiable Deſire of Rule; for Ambition is ſo great and ſo deeply rooted in Man's heart, that it thinks the five Zones too narrow for it. *Alexander*, they ſay wept, that he had no more Worlds to Conquer.

All the Bleſſings of Life, nay Life it ſelf, for all our natural Inclinations to preſerve it, are all ſlighted for a moments Reign. *Humaya* going to invade the Kingdom of *Cordova*, ſome of his Friends diſſwaded him from it, urging the danger of the Attempt: "Call me King to day, ſays "he, and to morrow kill me; there is no Paſſion in Man more blind and dangerous than this. This has coſt many their Lives, as well as Eſtates, which they would have thereby enlarged. A certain Prince of *Tartary* uſually drank out of a Cup on which was engraven the Head of a Prince of *Muſcovy*, who in invading his Kingdom loſt his own, with his Life; about the edge of which was this Inſcription:

This Prince by coveting mine, loſt his own.

Almoſt the ſame thing befell King *Sancho*, who would have rob'd his Brothers of the Kingdoms, which their Father King *Ferdinand* had divided between 'em. Ambition is in danger, when it but puts its Arm out of its Territories; like the Snail which runs a Riſque whenever it peeps out of its ſhell (1). And though *Tyridates* ſaid, That 'tis for private Men to maintain their own, but for Kings to invade others (2); yet this is only then, when reaſon and prudence adviſe it, and when Power has no other Tribunal than that of Arms; for whoever unjuſtly robs another of his Kingdom, gives others opportunity and right to do the ſame to him; firſt let a Prince conſider the Danger of his own, before he thinks of invading another's Kingdom (3): for which Reaſon the Emperour *Rodolphus* I. us'd to ſay, "'Twas better "to govern well than to enlarge a Kingdom; if King *Alphonſo* the Wiſe had took this Advice, he had never purſu'd his Pretentions to the Empire, to the ſo evident peril of his own Kingdom; ſo that the compariſon of *Alphonſo* King of *Naples* was very applicable to him: That ſuch ambiti-

(1) *Teſtudinem, ubi collecta in ſuum tegmen eſt, tutam ad omnes illus eſſe, ubi exeris partes aliquas, quodcunque nudavit obnoxium atque infirmum labore* Cic (2) *Et ſua retinere privatæ domus, alienis certare Regiam laudem eſſe.* Tac. 15. ann. (3) *Suam quiſque fortunam in conſilio habeat, cum de alieno deliberat.* Curtius.

out

ous Princes were like Gameſters, who cheated by a vain hope of winning, loſe even what they had. To defend his State is a Prince's Duty, but to invade another's is merely Arbitrary. Ambition hurries Men to new and dangerous Attempts (4); and the more it has the more it covets. It encreaſes with Empire (5). Opportunities, and the eaſineſs of the means charm Princes Eyes and Hearts, and hinder them from underſtanding, that they ought not to covet all that they can obtain; a generous mind ſhould be regulated by Reaſon and Prudence; he is not ſafeſt who poſſeſſes moſt, but he who poſſeſſes moſt lawfully. Too great an extent of Power, creates Emulation and Envy, and increaſes Danger. For they arm and unite againſt the ſtrongeſt, as the Kings of *Spain* did againſt *Alphonſo* III. whoſe Greatneſs and Proſperity they ſuſpected. For which Reaſon 'tis more deſirable to have Power well grounded and eſtabliſh'd, than to exerciſe it; for there is as much Danger in maintaining as in procuring it. Were there no foreign Enemies, affluence of Plenty would ſufficiently enervate it; as the Grandeur of old *Rome* found (6), which *Auguſtus* foreſeeing, propoſed to Remedy it by preſcribing Bounds to it (7), which the Emperour *Adrian* afterwards effected. Let a Prince bridle his Felicity and he will Reign well (8). 'Tis no difficult matter for Injuſtice and Tyranny, if arm'd with Power, to raiſe and extend Kingdoms; the Difficulty is in the preſervation thereof, it being a harder matter to Govern well than to Conquer (9).

For in Arms uſually Fortune takes place, but Government depends on Prudence (10). Succeſs enters the gate without being called, by Merit or Induſtry, but 'tis Prudence only that keeps her there. *Alphonſo* the Wiſe gave

(4) *Quibus nova & ancipitia precolere avida, & plerumque fallax ambitio eſt.* Tac. 14. ann. (5) *Vetus, & jampridem inſita Mortalibus potentiæ cupido, cum imperii Magnitudine adolevit crupitque.* Tac. 2. Hiſt. (6) *Et quæ ab exiguis profecta initiis eo creverit, ut jam Magnitudine laboraret ſua.* Liv. lib. 1. (7) *Addideratque conſilium coercendi intra terminos imperii.* Tac. 1 ann. (8) *Inpone felicitati tuæ frana, facilius reget* Curtius. (9) *Facilius eſt quodam vincere quam ſervare.* Curt. (10) *Fortunam virtutem etiam invenies quam retinere.* Publ.

this Reaſon, why 'twas leſs difficult to get, than to maintain when got; "Becauſe the preſervation depends upon "Judgment; but the Acquiſition upon Chance. Hold Fortune with both hands, or ſhe'll ſlip from you (11). A Hedge-hog [from whence I took this Emblem] is found with eaſe, but to hold it requires Prudence; that is, you muſt apply your hand ſo as gradually to ſmooth down her thorny Briſtles, which when erected reſemble a Squadron of Pikes.

Claud. *Arm'd with her ſelf ſhe does ſecurely go,*
Her ſelf, the Quiver, Arrow, and the Bow.

Scarce were the Arms of *Spain* retir'd from the *Netherlands*, in the time of *Don John* of *Auſtria*, when thoſe of the Rebels enter'd. 'Twas an eaſie matter for the King of *France* againſt the Laws of God and Man to ſeize upon the Dutchy of *Lorrain*, but to maintain it now, he finds it expenſive and dangerous; ſo he is oblig'd always to keep an arm'd hand upon it, and the Cauſes which occur in the Acquiſition don't always in the Preſervation.

But if 'tis once ſetled, time will help to fix it; whence it happens, that ſometimes one perſon may eaſily maintain a Government which was not rais'd, but by the great Toils and Perils of many.

Wherefore ſince 'tis a Prince's chief Duty to preſerve his States, I will here ſubjoyn the means which it may be done by, whether they deſcend by Succeſſion, or are acquir'd by Conqueſt or Election. I firſt premiſe the general Cauſes, which uſually concur in attaining and maintaining them, and thoſe are *God*; that is, when he aſſiſts us with Religion and Juſtice; *Opportunity*, when a concurrence of Cauſes open the way to Grandeur; and *Prudence*, either in making theſe Opportunities, or in uſing them when offer'd. There are other Inſtruments common to the Art of Government, as Valour, the Prince's Aſſiduity and Prudence, the Peoples Eſteem, Reſpect and Love for him; the Reputation of the

(11) *Fortunam tuam preſſis manibus tene, lubrica.* Curtius.

Crown,

Crown, the force of Arms, Unity in Religion, a due Adminiſtration of Juſtice, the Authority of the Laws, the Diſtribution of Rewards; the Severity of Puniſhments; the Integrity of the Magiſtracy; the good Election of Miniſters; the Preſervation of Privileges and Cuſtoms; the Education of Youth; the Modeſty of the Nobility; the Purity of the Coin; the Encreaſe of Trade and Arts; the Peoples Obedience; Concord, Plenty, and publick Riches.

By theſe means all States are maintain'd, and though the Government of each requires great Care and Attention, yet do thoſe which deſcend lineally from Father to Son require leaſt; for Sovereign Power and Obedience being become habitual, and as it were natural to the Subjects, they forget that it was of their own Inſtitution, not an original Propriety. No one dares deny him Reſpect and Veneration, whom he has own'd for his Lord from his Birth; all are aw'd by fear of Puniſhment from the Succeſſour, for Crimes which they ſhall commit in the preſent Reign: The Subjects eaſily bear and wink at his Failures The very Tide of Affairs, which long Cuſtom and Experience has confin'd to a Channel, ſecures him, though he be incapacitated for Government, provided he be of an eaſie docile Nature, and one that will Act for the beſt in all things, and can make Choice of good Miniſters, or ſhould happen on them by Chance.

But thoſe States which deſcend by an indirect Line, or by Marriage; a Prince ought to manage with particular Care and Circumſpection, eſpecially at the beginning of his Reign; in this thoſe Princes run great Riſques, who thro' too much Zeal, or too fond a Deſire of Glory, reverſe the Actions and Inſtitutions of their Predeceſſours, introducing Novelties of their own, without that due Moderation and Prudence which is neceſſary even in changing 'em into better; for *Plato*'s Opinion that all change is dangerous except from bad, muſt not be underſtood of Governments, which run great Riſques unleſs remedied by degrees, according to the Order of Nature, which does not leap from one extream to the other; but interpoſes the Temperature of the Spring and Autumn, between the Extremities of the Win-

ters cold, and Summers heat: "A sudden and violent change "is troublesome and doubtful; that which is slow and gra- "dual is always more easie (12). 'Tis dangerous in sailing to shift the Sails upon a contrary mind, because they must on a sudden be changed from one side of the Ship to the other. Wherefore 'tis requisite for a Prince at the beginning of his Reign, to observe the methods of the last, taking Care to reform it by Degrees with that easiness and moderation, that the People shall find themselves on t'other side without knowing how they got over. *Tiberius* durst not at the beginning of his Reign abolish the publick Sports introduc'd by *Augustus* (13). *Galba* reigned but a few Months, because immediately upon coming to the Throne, he began to punish past Crimes, to moderate extravagant Donatives, and to curb the Licentiousness and Insolence, which the People had been so us'd to in *Nero*'s time (14), that they as much loved their Princes Vices, as formerly they esteem'd their Vertues. The same befel the Emperour *Pertinax*, for designing to reform the Militia, enervated under the Luxurious Reign of *Commodus*. *Lewis* XI King of *France* fell into the same Errour, for that he began his Reign with the severe Punishment of some of his principal Nobility. The Excellence of a new Government ought to be Benignity; since too much Rigour and Severity is the Vice of an old one.

What dare not old Kings do? The softest Chain,
Of Kingdoms is in a new Princes Reign.

To settle a Government is a work of time, for 'tis as troublesome to reform, as to new model one (15); for this

(12) *Accepti & operosa minis est mutatio, quæ subitò, & cum quâdam violentiâ inferuntur; facilior autem quæ sensim & gradatim adhibetur.* Arist. 6. Pol. (13) *Sed populum per tot annos mollitèr habitum, nondum audebat ad duriora vertere.* Tac. 1. ann. (14) *Augebat veterem disciplinam, atque ita quæ in duodecim annis à Nerone assumta fuerant, ut haud minus vitia Principis amarent, quam olim virtutes exercebantur.* Tac. Hist. 1. (15) *Non minus negotii est Rempublicam emendare, quam ab initio constituere.* Arist. 4. Pol. cap. 1.

reason

reaſon *David* excus'd himſelf from puniſhing *Joab* for the Murther of *Abner*, as being weak and newly anointed King (16); that is, he fear'd by too much Severity, he ſhould make his new gotten Government odious. *Reboboam* had never ruined himſelf had he conſidered this, when by the Counſel of the young Men, he anſwer'd the People of *Iſrael*, who deſir'd he would treat 'em with leſs Severity than his Father had done; "My Father made your Yoke "heavy, and I will add to your Yoke; my Father alſo cha-"ſtiſed you with Whips, but I will chaſtiſe you with Scor-"pions (17). There is nothing more ſerviceable to a Prince at his entrance upon the Government, than to ſignalize himſelf by ſome glorious Exploits, for Reputation once got is not immediately loſt; for which Reaſon *Domitius Corbulo*, when he was ſent into *Armenia* took particular Care to raiſe his Reputation (18). The ſame *Agricola* did in his Government of *Britain*, knowing that the Reputation of his firſt Actions would byaſs all the reſt (19.)

The compariſon which the People make between the paſt and preſent Adminiſtration is always of ill conſequence, when they don't find in this the ſame Felicity they did in t'other, or don't perceive the ſame Parts and Qualifications in the preſent Prince, as in his Predeceſſour; let him therefore take Care as much can be, that there be no difference; but that the ſame hand may ſeem to hold the Reins. But if the Prince, either cannot, or knows not how to adjuſt his Actions to the Peoples humour as his Predeceſſour did, let him more particularly avoid occaſion, which may breed Compariſons. Which was the reaſon that *Tiberius* was never preſent at publick Shews, fearing that his rough melancholy Temper, compar'd to the complaiſant Gaiety of *Auguſtus*, would be offenſive to the People (20). Wherefore as

(16) 2 Sam. 3. 39. (17) 1 Kings 12. 14 (18) *Ubi famæ inſerviret, quæ in novis cœptis validiſſima eſt.* Tac. 13. ann. (19) *Nec ignora noſcendum famæ, & prout prima ceſſiſſent, fore univerſa.* Tac. in vit. Agr. (20) *Cur abſtinuerit Spectaculo ipſe, varie trahebant; alii tædio cœtus, quidam triſtitia ingenii, & mota comparationis, quia Auguſtus eumdem interſuiſſet.* Tac. 1. ann.

ſoon as a Prince comes to the Helm of Affairs he ſhould diligently enquire, what things were diſtaſteful in the paſt Reign, that he may avoid them; this was *Nero*'s Maxim at his Acceſſion to the Throne, preſcribing it as a Plan of his future Government, ſedulouſly declining thoſe things which had lately bred Diſguſt (21).

Let a Prince alſo adjuſt his Actions to the Cuſtoms of the Countrey, and methods of his Predeceſſour, for even the Vertues of the Succeſſour which are new, and ſuch as the Predeceſſour and the Nation in general were unacquainted with, the People look upon as Vices and loath 'em, The *Parthians* demanded *Vono* for their King, a Perſon endu'd with the Gentile Accompliſhments of *Rome* (where he had been as Hoſtage) but thoſe Vertues loſt him the Affections of his People, who regarded them as nothing but new Vices (22); they were diſguſted, that he did not give his mind to Horſes and Hunting, as his Predeceſſors did; and on the contrary they all loved *Nero*, becauſe he accommodated himſelf to their Cuſtoms (23). And if this difference of Manners in the Princes Perſon produces theſe Effects, how much greater will the Alteration of the Cuſtoms and Ways of the People create? But if Correction be neceſſary, it muſt be apply'd with ſuch Moderation, as may neither make the Prince ſeem ſevere nor remiſs, but when the negligence of the Predeceſſour was very great, and the People require a Remedy, then the Activity and Diligence of the Succeſſour is very opportune; as was viſible in the firſt Years of your Royal Highneſſes renown'd Father.

'Tis a generous piece of Juſtice, for a Prince to begin his Reign with pardoning all offences againſt himſelf, and puniſhing thoſe committed againſt others; nothing gains People's eſteem and reſpect more than this (24). As the Emperours *Veſpaſian* and *Titus* found, as alſo *Charles* VII.

(21) *Tum formam futuri Principatus præſcripſit, ea maximè declinans, quorum recens flagrabat invidia.* Tac. 13. ann. (22) *Sed prompti aditus, obvia comitas, ignotæ Parthis Vertutes, nova vitia.* Tac. 2. ann. (23) *Quæ hic prima ab infantia inſtituta & cultum Armeniorum æmulatus, ornatu, epulis, & quæ alia barbari celebrant proceres, plebemque juxta devinxerat* Tac. 2. ann. (24) *Novum Imperium inchoantibus utilis clementia.* Tac. 4. Hiſt.

King

King of *France*. Upon this Conſideration *Witiza* remitted the Baniſhment of thoſe whom his Father had condemned, and cauſed their Tryals to be burnt, by this great means the better to ſecure the Crown upon his Head.

Though theſe Acts are highly requiſite, yet the main Point is the gaining the Love and Obedience of the Subjects; which two Kings of *Arragon* were abſolute Maſters of †: One was King *Alphonſo* I. who going to take Poſſeſſion of the Kingdom of *Caſtile* for his Wife *Terraca*, behaved himſelf with great Complaiſance and Affability to all; he heard Cauſes, and adminiſter'd Juſtice himſelf; he protected Widows and Orphans, reliev'd the Poor, honour'd and reward'd the Nobility according to their Deſert, prefer'd Vertue, and made the Kingdom plentiful and populous, which acquir'd him the Affections of all. The other was *Alphonſo* V. King of *Naples*, who made himſelf extreamly beloved by the People, by his care and prudence in Affairs, by a due Diſpoſal of Rewards and Puniſhments, by Liberality, Complaiſance and Eaſineſs of Acceſs, by his Love for the publick Well-fare, and by ſo exact a Conformation to the Manners and Cuſtoms of the Kingdom, that he ſeem'd a natural, not a foreign Prince. Thoſe Kings who have their Reſidence among their Subjects, may gain their hearts more eaſily, than thoſe who reſide in diſtant Provinces, for if their Loyalty does not grow quite cold, 'tis at moſt but Luke-warm, and nothing but the Excellence of the Conſtitution can preſerve its heat; that is by providing able Miniſters, and by ſeverely puniſhing their Faults, eſpecially thoſe which they commit againſt Juſtice, and the Reputation and Eſtates of others, all the Comfort abſent Subjects have is that if the Prince be good, they ſhall feel the Effect of it as well as if preſent, but if otherwiſe, they ſhould be leaſt under the Laſh of his Tyranny (25). But becauſe ſuch Kingdoms love Novelty and Change, and require the Preſence of the Prince himſelf to govern them;

† Mar. Hiſt. Hiſp (15) *Laudatorum Principum uſus ex æque, quamvis prout agentibus, ſæpè proximis ingruunt.* Tac. 4 Hiſt.

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the Confidence which he puts in them, ſhould be arm'd and fenced from all Accidents, uſing the ſame means which we preſcrib'd for the preſervation of a Conquer'd Kingdom? Elective Kingdoms which are obtain'd by Favour are alſo maintain'd by the ſame, though this very rarely continues long. And though all new-Empires begin with Applauſe, yet in this 'tis but ſhort and ſoon over; amidſt the very Acclamations, when *Saul* was anointed King, the People began to diſtruſt and ſlight him, though he was choſen by God himſelf (26). But there are Ways by which the perſon Elected, may preſerve the Peoples good Opinion of him, that is to ſay, by maintaining thoſe Vertues and Qualifications, which made him at firſt thought worthy of the Crown; for Men uſually change their Manners with their Fortunes. *Tiberius* had a very good Character and Reputation, while he was a private Perſon and liv'd under *Auguſtus* (27); as alſo had *Galba*; let him be Courteous and obliging to all (28). Grateful and Liberal to thoſe who Elected him; civil to thoſe who gave their Votes againſt him; let him be a zealous Lover of his Countrey. And a vigorous Aſſertor of its Laws and Privileges; let his Council be compos'd of the Natives of the Countrey, imploying them alone in Offices and places of Truſt, not admitting Foreigners and Relations; let him maintain his Family with modeſty; let him temper Majeſty with Conſideration, and Juſtice with Clemency; let him ſo govern as if his Kingdom came by Deſcent, which he ſhould tranſmit to his Poſterity, not as if it were Elective, fleecing it of what he can during his Reign; according to the Poet.

A ſhort Reign never ſpares the People (29):

For 'tis very difficult to be moderate in Grandeur which muſt die with us (30).

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(26) 1 Sam. 10. 27. (27) *Egregium vitæ, famæque quoad privatus, vel in imperiis ſub Auguſto fuit.* Tac. 6. ann. (28) *Major privato viſus, dum privatus fuit.* Tac. 1. Hiſt. (29) *Non parcit populis Regnum breve.* Statius. (30) *Difficilius eſt temperare felicitati, qua te non putes diu uſurum.* Tac. 2. ann.

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The Prince ought moreover to be peaceable, not an Invader of others: for Elective Kingdoms fear ſuch a Maſter, whoſe mind is bent upon Conquering others; but they love him who is only careful in preſerving his own, as we ſee in *Poland*, for 'tis evident that all Kingdoms were at firſt Elective, and that 'twas only Ambition of enlarging them by invading their Neighbours, by which ſo many have loſt that Liberty, which they would have taken from others. Nor is it poſſible, that among ſo many Caſualties and Dangers of Election, this Enlargement of States ſhould be laſting, for thoſe very Arms which make thoſe additional Conqueſts, will reduce them to Hereditary Kingdoms; which was (31) *Galba*'s excuſe for not converting the Empire into a Commonwealth. Elective Monarchies love Liberty, and ſo ought not to be governed without it, and ſince Election is the Scale in which they weight it, the Prince ſhould always ſtand on that ſide, for if he gives the leaſt Suſpicion that he intends to make the Crown Hereditary, he will certainly loſe it.

In States acquir'd by Conqueſt, there is more difficulty in attaining than preſerving them, for they are like wild Colts, in which the main Trouble is backing them, for afterwards they willingly take the Bit, and ſubmit to the burthen. Fear and Flattery open the way to Dominion; the firſt Aſcent of which is ſteep and difficult (32), but once ſetled you want neither Partizans nor Miniſters; yet ſince theſe Services are generally forced and counterfeit, they eaſily revolt when they have opportunity, and are therefore to be entertain'd and cheriſh'd with great Care, eſpecially at firſt, ſince from the firſt Actions we eaſily Judge of the future Government; as *Vitellius* experienced, who grew hateful and odious to all, for the Death of *Dolabella* (33). And though *Piſo* ſaid, that a Kingdom acquir'd by ill Pra-

(31) *Si immenſum Imperii corpus ſtaret, ac librari ſine rectore poſſet, dignus eram à quo Reſpub. inciperet.* Tac. 1. Hiſt. (32) *Prima dominandi ſpes in arduo; ubi ſis ingreſſus, adſunt ſtudia & Miniſtri.* Tac. 4. ann. (33) *Magna cum invidia novi Principatus, cujus hoc primum ſpecimen noſcebatur.* Tac. 2. Hiſt.

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ctices could never be maintain'd by good ones (34), yet King *Sancho* did this way eſtabliſh his doubtful Title to the Kingdom, which he got by Conqueſt. Princes are ſoon ruin'd by ſtriving to preſerve that by Force which they got ſo. This pernicious piece of Policy has been the ruin of all Tyrants, and if any one has preſerved himſelf; 'tis becauſe he chang'd his Tyranny into Benevolence, and his Cruelty into Clemency: Vice cannot ſubſiſt long unleſs Vertue be its ſubſtitute; Ambition unjuſt in acquiring at firſt, muſt change into Zeal for the publick Good to maintain it ſelf. Subjects love their Prince for the publick, and their private Intereſts, and when they ſucceed in both, their Fear ſoon changes into Reverence, and their Hatred into Reſpect: but Care muſt be taken that this Reformation of Vices, which are now publickly known, be not ſo ſudden nor affected, as to proceed from Deſign not Nature, whoſe Operations are ſlow and methodical, ſo *Otho* thought; that a ſudden Moleſty, or affected Gravity could not preſerve the Empire which he had attain'd by Villany (35). The People are more apprehenſive of ſuch Changes than of Vices themſelves; for they ſuſpect greater miſchief at the Bottom. Feign'd Vertue is worſe than Vice; for this is executed under the ſhape of the other.

Auguſtus was an admirable Pattern of Prudence and Valour, in raiſing and ſupporting his Empire, which all Princes ought to Copy. At nineteen years of Age he ſhew'd himſelf worthy of the Empire, by ſuſtaining the Civil (36) Wars. From which time he began to raiſe his Fortunes. Empires are not obtain'd by deſerving, but by having merited them. One Victory proclaim'd him Emperour (37), becauſe he knew how to make uſe of Opportunity and Prudence; of Opportunity in triumphing over *Anthony* and *Lepidus* (38), of Prudence in not entering by open Force,

(34) *Nemo enim unquam imperium flagitio quæſitum, bonis artibus exercuit.* Tac. 1. Hiſt. (35) *Simul reputans non poſſe Principatum ſcelere quæſitum, ſubita modeſtia & priſca gravitate retineri* Tac. 1. Hiſt. (36) *Nono decimo Cæſar Octavianus civilia bella ſuſtinuit.* Tac. 13. ann. (37) *Manſiſſe, Cæſare Auguſto victore, Imperium.* Tac. 1. Hiſt. (38) *Lepidi atque Antonii arma in Auguſtum ceſſere.* Tac. 1. ann.

every

every one was weary of Civil Wars (39), the Empire was naked and defenceleſs (40), all the moſt Couragious being taken off, by the Wars or Proſcriptions (41). The Provinces were diſguſted at the Government of the Senate, and ſhew'd their Inclination to change it (42); Diſſentions and civil Diſcords, oblig'd 'em to apply the uſual Remedy of turning Ariſtocracy into Monarchy (43). All theſe Concurrents manag'd by Prudence, facilitated his Acceſs to the Empire; which by the ſame Conduct he maintain'd, he oblig'd the Mobb, by defending them by the Authority of a Tribune (44); and to avoid giving Diſguſt, he neither took upon him the name of a King, nor Dictator, but only that of Prince (45). He continued the Titles of the Magiſtrates, he engag'd the Souldiery by Gratuities; the People by Plenty, and all in general by the ſweets of Peace, by Affability, Civility and Clemency (46). He was courteous even to his Rivals, *Anthony* and *Lepidus* (47), and reward'd thoſe with Honours and Riches, who had been zealous in his Service (48). He very rarely was ſevere, and then not through Paſſion, but to procure the publick Quiet (49). He captivat'd the minds of all, by a ready and copious Eloquence, very becoming his Dignity (50); he us'd Juſtice among his Subjects, and Modeſty to his Allies (51); he ſhew'd his Integrity, in puniſhing the Debauching of his Daughter and Neice (52).

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(39) *Cuncta diſcordiis civilibus feſſa.* Ibid. (40) *Nulla jam publica arma.* Ibid. (41) *Nullo adverſante cum ferociſſimi per acies aut proſcriptione cecidiſſent.* Ibid. (42) *Neque Provincia illum rerum ſtatum abnuebant, ſuſpecto Senatus populiq; Imperio ob certamina, potentiam & avaritiam magiſtratuum.* Ibid. (43) *Non aliter diſcordantis patria remedium fuiſſe quam ut ab uno regeretur.* Ibid. (44) *Ad tuendam plebem tribunitio jure contentam.* Ibid. (45) *Non Regno tamen neq; Dictatura, ſed Principis nomine conſtitutam Remp.* Ibid. (46) *eadem Magiſtratibus vocabula, militem donis populum annona, cunctos dulcedine otii pellexit.* Ibid. (47) *Multa Antonio & multa Lepido conceſſit.* Ibid. (48) *Quanto quis ſervitio promptior, opibus & honoribus extollebatur.* Ibid. (49) *Pauca admodum ui tractata, quo cæteris quies eſſet.* Ibid. (50) *Auguſto prompta ac profluens, qua decorat Principem, eloquentia fuit* Tac. 13. ann. (51) *Jus apud cives, modeſtiam apud ſocios* Ibid. 3 ann. (52) *Of Impudicitiam filiæ & neptis, quas urbe depulit.* Tac. 3. ann.

He

He took Care to preſerve noble Families, as is viſible in his Bounty to *Marcus Hortalus* (53). He ſeverely puniſh'd the Authors of Libels upon any of the Nobility (54), and ſlighted, thoſe upon himſelf and Government (55). He very much adorn'd and beautified the City of *Rome* (56). He fix'd the Bounds of the Empire, keeping a Book of his Revenues and Expences (57) He erected a Military Treaſury, and ſo diſpos'd his Forces, that his Armies, Fleets and Provinces might as it were take hands (58): Theſe good Qualities made the *Romans* chuſe the preſent Government which was ſecure and ſafe, rather than run the Riſque and uncertainty of the Paſt (59); Hence they firſt became fond with Tyranny. I don't relate all theſe Arts with a Deſign to inſtruct Tyranny, but that Tyrants may by theſe ways reform, by joyning theſe to the Fear, which Force and Oppreſſion have created. For that which is gain'd by the Sword muſt be preſerved by it. For which Reaſon in ſuch States, 'tis requiſite to erect Caſtles and Forts, but ſo contriv'd as they mayn't ſeem a curb to the Peoples Liberty, but a Protection againſt foreign Invaſions, Garriſons appointed for their Safety not to keep 'em in awe, for this always makes 'em deſperate. The *Spaniards* were ſo offended, that the Emperour *Conſtans* ſhould commit the Guard of the *Pyrenæan* Hills to Foreigners, that they invited (though to their great Detriment) the *Vandals*, *Alans*, *Swedes*, and other Nations into *Spain*. Confidence makes Subjects Loyal, which made the *Scipio's* give the *Celtiberians* leave to march under the ſame Colours, and lodge in the ſame Tents with the *Romans*. Alſo *Auguſtus's* Life Guard were *Spaniards* of the *Calaguritan* Legion. Let a Prince endeavour gradually to

(53) *In locum a Divo Auguſto liberalitate decies ſeſtertium ducere uxorem, nè clariſſima familia extingueretur.* (54) *Primus Auguſtus cognitionem, de famoſis libellis, ſpecie legis ejus tractavit. &c.* Tac. 1. ann. (55) *Sed ipſe Divus Julius, ipſe Divus Auguſtus & tulêre ea, & reliquêre* Tac. 4. ann. (56) *Urbem ipſam magnifico ornatu.* Tac. 1. ann. (57) *Mari, oceano, aut amnibus longinquis ſepium imperium* Tac. 1. ann. (58) *Regiones, Provincias, Claſſes, cuncta inter ſe connexa.* Ibid. (59) *Novis ex rebus auctis tuta & præſentia quam vetera & periculoſa malunt.* Ibid.

tranſplant

tranſplant into his conquer'd Provinces, the Cuſtoms, Genius and Language of the conquering Nation, as they did in *Spain*, in thoſe Colonies which were founded in the time of *Auguſtus*, this they are eaſily brought to, being inclin'd to imitate their Conquerours, flattering them by accommodating themſelves, to their Manners and Genius, and eſteeming their Privileges, and Honours more than their own. For which Reaſon the *Romans* gave their Friends and Confederates the Title of Citizens, thereby to preſerve their Fidelity. The Emperour *Veſpaſian* to oblige the *Spaniards* granted them all the Privileges of *Italy*. Acquir'd Provinces if they are uſed like Strangers, never forget their Enmity; this was the Reaſon, why the Emperour *Claudius* gave the Dignity of *Roman* Citizens to *Gallia Comata*, ſaying, that the *Lacedæmonians* and *Athenians* were ruin'd by nothing, but by uſing their conquer'd Nations as Foreigners, but that their Founder *Romulus* acted with more Prudence, who in the ſame day ſaw his Enemies, his Fellow-Citizens (60). By theſe and ſuch like means, foreign Government becomes natural, after continuance of time has fix'd and ſetled it, and blotted out the Memory of former Liberty. *Spain* in its Reſtauration ſlighted this Policy. Eſteeming more the Preſervation of its Nobility, than to debaſe it with the Blood of *Africk*, and ſo would not ſhare any of its Privileges, and Honours with this conquer'd People, whence though united in one Body, they kept their own Cuſtoms, and Language, together with ſuch an indelible Hatred, and Treachery that they were forced, that they might free themſelves from them, to drive 'em quite out, and to deprive themſelves of ſo many Subjects, ſo uſeful in Agriculture; which made all the world wonder at their Policy, in preferring the Splendour of their Nobility, to their advantage and intereſt, and their Religion to humane Prudence.

(60) *Quid aliud exitio Lacedæmoniis & Athenienſibus fuit, quamquam armis polleren̄t, niſi quod victos pro alienigenis arcebant? Et conditor noſter Romulus tantum ſapientia valuit, ut plerosq; populos, eodem die hoſtes, deinde cives habuit.* Tac. 11. ann.

In

In changing one form of Government into another, ſuch Skill ſhould be us'd that the People mayn't perceive the change, and regret the loſs of the former. It was at the Expulſion of Kings at *Rome*, where all things, as well Sacred and Profane were manag'd with that Prudence, that the People did not perceive the want of thoſe Kings, who had before the Care and management of both, and afterwards when the Commonwealth was turn'd into an Empire, the Magiſtrates retain'd the ſame Titles (61), and the ſame order of the Senate remain'd, with a ſhew of their ancient Liberty (62), and 'twas this eſtabliſhed the Empire. The Dukes of *Tuſcany* did the ſame in the Dukedom of *Florence*. The Emperour *Auguſtus* was a great Maſter of this Policy: Diſpoſing things by Degrees, executing ſome out of hand, and remitting others to another opportunity, fearing he ſhould not ſucceed in endeavouring to do all together (63). But *Samuel* was more worthy of admiration, in changing as he did the Government and Policy of the people of God, without giving any one occaſion of Complaint (64). The very ſhadows of Liberty ſhould be ſo diſſipated, that they ſhould inſenſibly diſappear as Dominion takes Root; this *Agricola* judg'd the beſt way to manage *Britain* (65).

There is no Force more mild and effectual in maintaining and preſerving acquir'd Provinces than Liberality. Men have worſhipped and attributed Divinity, even to things Inanimate, which they have received any benefit from; they are eaſily gain'd by Intereſt; nor do they much care what hand holds the Scepter, whether Foreign or Natural, provided it be Liberal; they who ſuffer themſelves to be oblig'd by Benefits received, and afterwards prove falſe, can never do the Prince any great damage by their Deſigns againſt him, for no Body will take the part of an ungrateful Per-

61) *Eadem Magiſtratuum vocabula.* Tac. 1. ann. (62) *Sed Tiberius vim Principatus, ſibi firmans, imaginem antiquitatis ſenatui præbebat.* Tac. 3. ann. (63) *Non omnia ſtatim, uti decretum erat, executus eſt; veritus, ne parium ſuccederet ſi ſimul homines tranſferre & invertere vellet, ſed quædam extempore diſpoſuit, quædam rejicit in tempus.* Dion. (64) Eccleſ. 46. 16. (65) *Idque adverſus Britannium profuturum, ſi Romanas ubique arma, & velut è conſpectu libertas tolleretur.* Tac. in vit. Agricolæ.

ſon. For this Reaſon *Scipio* upon the taking of *Carthage*, order'd all their Goods to be reſtor'd to the Inhabitants; and *Sertorius* gain'd the Affections of the *Spaniards* by moderating their Taxes, and conſtituting a Senate in *Spain* like that at *Rome*, and King *Ervigius* the better to ſecure his Throne, leſſen'd the Impoſts which were laid upon his Subjects, and forgave all that was due to his Treaſury. The *Romans* in their conquer'd Provinces leſſen'd their Taxes, to make their Dominion ſeem the more eaſie (66); for Subjects can better brook Slavery it ſelf, than Avarice in their Commanders, as the *Romans* found in the Rebellion of the *Friſians* (67). A Prince ought therefore to be very cautious of oppreſſing his new acquir'd Provinces with Taxes, but eſpecially of introducing thoſe which are us'd in other parts; for ſuch an Introduction is odious: The *Cappadocians* revolted, becauſe *Archelaus* would have introduced Taxes among them, after the *Roman* Faſhion (68).

Modeſty is alſo neceſſary to the preſervation of acquir'd Kingdoms; the Senators were more diſguſted at *Cæſar's* not riſing up when they entred the Senate, than at the loſs of their Liberty. Which *Tiberius* obſerving, carried himſelf reſervedly and modeſtly toward them (69); the People take more notice of Accidents than the ſubſtance of Things, and ſometimes for frivolous empty Punctilio's of Honour Princes loſe their Eſteem, and become odious to 'em. *Sejanus* thought 'twas better to ſlight the empty ſhadows of Grandeur, and to augment real Prower (70). The *Romans* valu'd not vain Ceremonies, but were intent upon the increaſe and preſervation of their Empire (71): For which Reaſon *Tiberius* like a prudent Politician, was a vigorous contemner of Honour (72). Nor would he ever permit

(66) *Quædam ex Regiis tributis diminuta, quo mitius Rom. Imperium ſperaretur.* Tac. 2. ann. (67) *Pacem exuere, noſtræ magis avaritiæ, quam obſequii impatientes.* Tac. 4. ann. (68) *Quid noſtrum in morem diverſæ Cenſus, pati tributa adigebatur.* Tac. 4. ann. (69) *Verba fuere honeſta, & ſenſu permodeſto.* Tac. 1. ann. (70) *Et minus ſibi invidiam, adempta ſalutantium turba, ſublatiſque inanibus, vera potentia auctori.* Tac. 4. ann. (71) *Apud quos vis imperii valet, inania tranſmittuntur.* Tac. 15. ann. (72) *Validus alioqui ſpernendis honoribus.* Tac. 4. ann.

the farther *Spain* to erect Temples to him, nor admit of the Title of Father of his Countrey (73), well knowing the Danger of inordinate Ambition, when expos'd to the View of every one (74). For the ſame Reaſon of State the Dukes of *Florence*, demean themſelves with great Civility to their Subjects not permitting them to ſtop, to pay their Reſpects when they paſs by, as is uſual at *Rome*. After that *Caſtile* had refus'd Obedience to Kings, they baniſh'd thoſe high ſounding Titles, calling their Governours only Judges, that they might be the better received by the People. By the ſame Prudence and Moderation; *Don Ferdinand* the Catholick refus'd the name of King [after the Death of the Queen] and would be call'd only Governour of *Caſtile*. Some States in *Italy* which aſpire to Royal Dignity, will I believe at laſt (pray God I may be miſtaken) find the ill Conſequences of their having left their former Modeſty, for *Italy* will not be able to ſupport itſelf, when ſhe ſhall ſee ſo many Crown'd Heads within her Territories. 'Tis leſs inconvenient to extend the limits of any State, than to alter the Form of its interiour Greatneſs, either through the jealouſie of the Nobility, or the Contempt of the Commons, for about thoſe they are both mighty Captious; from the inequality of Communities proceeded common Government; in which not to admit Sovereignty is the means to preſerve their Freedom; but if the Seeds of Royalty are once ſown, they will produce the Deſire of Monarchy, which puts an end to their Liberty. In a word, 'tis Peace alone (as we ſhall ſhew elſewhere) that preſerves acquir'd Kingdoms; provided that Peace be cautious and arm'd. For ſo it gives opportunity to Poſſeſſion, to ſettle its Government, and juſtifie its Title, without the trouble of War which confounds all Right, and gives opportunity to turbulent uneaſie Spirits, and robs the Commander of his Authority. Wherefore a Prince ought not only to endeavour to procure Peace, to his new Kingdoms, but alſo

(73) *Nomen Patris Patriæ Tiberius à populo ſæpius ingeſtum, repudiavit.* Tac. 1. ann. (74) *Cuncta mortalium inſerta, quantoque plus adeptus foret, tanto ſe magis in lubrico diffitans.* Tac. 1. ann.

to the neighbouring Provinces; for the ſame ſparks of Fire eaſily catch, and the fury of Arms ſoon embroils thoſe that are near them. This was the Reaſon that King *Philip* III. took up Arms againſt *Emanuel* Duke of *Savoy*, when he would have taken *Monferrat* from the Duke of *Mantua*, his Majeſty endeavouring to decide thoſe Pretentions by Juſtice, not Force, nor would he ſuffer the Ambition of one perſon to diſturb the Quiet of all *Italy*. The ſame Danger is at preſent to be fear'd, unleſs theſe Animoſities which have put ſo many Princes in Arms, be accommodated; for the Sword once drawn, either revenge thinks of ſatisfaction for Affronts received, or Juſtice of recovering her Right, or Ambition of extending its Dominions, or *Mars* himſelf of trying his Strength. I conclude this Diſcourſe with four Verſes of *Taſſo*, in which he very judiciouſly, and conciſely comprehends the true Grounds, upon which any new Kingdom ſhould be eſtabliſhed.

EMBLEM LX.

AN Arrow ſent from a Bow, either mounts or falls, without ſuſpending in the Air; like time preſent, which is ſo imperceptible, that it no ſooner is, but is paſt: Or like Angles in a Circle, where the acute becomes obtuſe, without ever forming a right Angle. The firſt point of the Arrows conſiſtence is the firſt of its Declination; the higher it mounts, the nearer 'tis to its fall. All things when they arrive at their higheſt Pitch, muſt neceſſarily decline: *Hippocrates* obſerv'd this in humane Bodies, that when they are paſt thriving, they immediately begin to decay (1). Nothing in Nature is Permanent; the Heavens themſelves never reſt, no more do their Effects

(1) *Nec enim in melius verti, nec diu ſiſtere valent, reliquum eſt, ut in deterius dilabantur.* Hippoc.

which

which they imprint on things below; for which Reaſon *Socrates* attributed all changes of Government to them (2). Monarchies differ not from Animals and Vegetables, they are born, live and die like them, nor have they any time of Conſiſtence, ſo that their falls are natural (3). In not increaſing they decreaſe. There is no interval in the fall of the higheſt Fortune; when it once begins to fall 'tis impoſſible to ſtop it; 'tis more difficult for the Majeſty of Princes to fall from the higheſt Pitch to the middlemoſt, than from thence to the loweſt Degree (4). But all Kingdoms don't riſe and fall by the ſame Degrees; when they are got up to the higheſt Point, they fall with more ſpeed than they roſe (5). *Alexander* was twelve years in raiſing his Kingdom, which decay'd in a very ſmall time, being rent and divided at firſt into four, and afterwards into more Principalities. The Cauſes of the Riſe and Fall of States are many; thoſe who attribute them to Motion, or the power of the Stars, or the number of *Plato*, or Climacterick years, deny Providence the care of Sublunary things. He who has deſign'd to make the World, will not diſdain to govern it: Nay to create, and not take care of the World, would be diſapproving his own work. If God vouchſafed himſelf to paint the Peacocks Tail, and the Butterflies Wings, ſhall we think he will commit to Chance the management of Empires and Monarchies, upon which depend the Happineſs or Ruin of Mankind, for whom all things were created? 'Twould be impious to believe it, and to attribute the Succeſs of things to our own Counſels, the higheſt Arrogance. By him Kings Reign, and with his own Hands he diſpoſes of Scepters, and though in their Preſervation he give their free Courſe to thoſe natural Inclinations, which were either born with us, or imprinted in us by ſome other

(1) *Qui cauſam eſſe tradit, quod nihil perpetuò maneat, ſed omnia motu quodam orbiculari mutentur.* Ariſt. 5. Pol. (3) *Naturales eſſe [illegible] rerumpub.* Cic. lib 2. de nat. Deor. (4) *Regum majeſtatem [illegible] alias à ſummo faſtigio ad medium detrahi, quam à medio ad [illegible] capitari.* Livius. (5) *Fati maligna, perpetuaq; in omnibus rebus [illegible] ad ſummum perducta, rurſus ad infimum velocius quidem quam [illegible] relabantur.* Seneca.

influence, without giving any check or reſtraint to Free-Will; yet does God himſelf order and diſpoſe them ſo that no Government was ever ruin'd, without the intervening of ſome humane Folly and Bindneſs (6). I cannot forbear thinking that Empires would be pepetual, if Princes would accommodate their Will to their Power, their Power to their Reaſon, and their Reaſon to Accidents.

Since then Prudence and humane Counſel have their part in the falls of Empires, we may eaſily find the Cauſes thereof; which are either general or particular; general which comprehend all Kingdoms, whether acquir'd by Succeſſion, Election or Conqueſt, and are many, but may be reduced to four Principal ones, from whence proceed the reſt; as in the Horizon of the World, from the four Cardinal Winds proceed many collateral ones. Theſe Cauſes are Religion, Honour, Life and Eſtate; for the Conſervation of which Civil Society was firſt inſtituted, and the People became ſubject to the Government of one, a few, or many; and whenever they find themſelves oppreſs'd in any one of theſe four, they rebel and change the Form of the Government. We will therefore touch upon theſe, with as much brevity as the Subject will admit.

Though Religion, as we ſaid before, be the ſtrongeſt Bond of Governments, yet is it that which diſunites them moſt, and reduces them into many Forms, when it is not univerſal, for thoſe who are of different Opinions about God, never live in Unity among themſelves. If they diſagree and quarrel about trivial Cuſtoms and Manners, how much more will they about their Affection and Loyalty, due to the Creator of all things, and furious Zeal of underſtanding things of ſuch importance. Liberty of Conſcience is the ruin of any State. Thoſe who diſagree in matters of Religion, are to one another (as the Holy Spirit ſays) Pricks in their Eyes, and Thorns in their Sides (7).

(6) *Ego ita comperi omnia Regna Civitates, Nationeſq; uſque eo proſperum imperium habuiſſe, dum apud eos vera conſilia valuerunt; ubicunq; Gratia, Timor, Voluptas ea corrupere, poſt paulo immunuta opes, deinde adimpetum imperium, poſtremò ſervitus impoſita eſt.* Salluſt. (7) Numb. 33. 55. Thy

The Duty of Subjects, and the greater Ties of Friendſhip, and Relation are loos'd, and broken upon account of Religion. King *Witeric* was put to Death by his own Subjects, for endeavouring to introduce Arianiſm, the ſame befel *Witiza* for altering the Rites and Ceremonies of Divine Worſhip. *Galicia* rebelled againſt King *Froilus*, for the abuſe of the Marriage of the Clergy: As ſoon as Diverſity of Religions was introduced among the Dutch, they rebell'd againſt their lawful King and Maſter.

So Honour, as it is the Defence and Preſervation of States, and the chief Spur to Loyalty, ſo it alſo diſturbs them to clear it ſelf from Affronts, Contempt and Injuries, the People preferring Honour before Life and Fortune (8). Count *Julian* invited the *Moors* into *Spain*, becauſe he ſuſpected that King *Roderick* had violated the Honour of his Daughter *Cava*; the Nobles of *Caſtile* took up Arms againſt *Alphonſus* III. for that he would infringe their Privileges, and oblige 'em to pay Taxes; as did the Subjects of *Ramires* III. King of *Leon*, for his ſevere and ſervile uſage of them. For Affronts received by the People always provoke to Revenge upon the Prince (9); and Contempt creates Seditions (10). And this either, when the Prince contemns the People, or the People the Prince, which is when they don't find him fitly qualified, thinking it baſe to obey one who knows not to Command, and make himſelf reſpected, and takes no Care of the Government. So the People of *Arragon* ſerved their King *John* I. the ſame thing befel *John* II. of *Caſtile* for his Inſufficiency, *Henry* IV. for his Vices, and *Alphonſo* V. of *Portugal*, for ſuffering himſelf to be govern'd by others. Nor do Subjects take it as a leſs Injury and Contempt, for the Prince to make Foreigners his chief Miniſters, and to diſpoſe of all Dignities and Preferment among them: for (as King *Henry* ſaid)

(8) *Honor quoque quantum valeat, & quomodo ſit cauſa ſeditionis, manifeſtum eſt* Ariſt. 5. Pol. c. 3. (9) *Et multæ conſpirationes, & inſurrectiones in Monarchas propter pudendas contumelias, in corpus illatas factæ ſunt.* Ariſt. 5. Pol. l. 10. (10) *Propter contemptum etiam ſeditiones conſpirationeſque fiunt* Ariſt. 5. Pol. c. 3.

"That is declaring plainly, that his own native Subjects "are inſufficient and unworthy *. This was the cauſe of the Commotions of *Caſtile*, in the time of the Emperour *Charles* V. The ſame thing happens upon an unequal Diſtribution of Honours, for that Men of great Spirits can't brook (11); and take it as an Affront, that Men of leſs Deſert are preferr'd before them (12).

The greateſt Diſeaſe of a Government is Incontinence and Luſt in the Governours; hence proceed Seditions and Revolutions of States, for that violates the Honour of many, and is ſeverely puniſhed by God. One ſuch Action buried *Spain* in aſhes for many Ages; the ſame call'd down great Plagues upon *Egypt* (13). And *David* ſuffered great Troubles, both in his own Perſon, and in his Poſterity (14), who were continually perſecuted and deſtroy'd by the Sword.

There is danger in thoſe States, where many are excluded from Offices; for they are all ſo many Enemies (15); no Man is ſo ſtupid as not to deſire Honour, and take it ill to be deprived of it (16). Thoſe States alſo are ſubject to the ſame Inconveniency, in which the Magiſtracy is divided among a ſet number of the Nobility, all the reſt being excluded.

The third Cauſe of the Revolutions and Troubles of States is the deſire of preſerving Life, that is, when the Subjects think the Prince ſo Lazy, and Cowardly as that he can't preſerve and defend them; or elſe when they hate him for his Severity, as they did King *Alphonſo* III. or for his Cruelty, as they did King *Peter*; or for his Injuſtice and Tyranny, which endangers all their Lives, as they did King *Ordonius*, for the ill uſage and Murther of the Counts of

* L. 14. tit. 3. lib. 2. recop. (11) *Non multitudo quidem gravitèr fert inæqualitatem patrimoniorum, præſtantes autem honorum inæqualitatem.* Ariſt. lib. 2. Pol. c. 5. (12) *Nam homines tum quod ipſi inhonorati ſiunt movent ſeditiones, tum quod alios videant in honore.* Ariſt. 5. Pol. 3. (13) Gen. 12. 17. (14) 2 Sam. 12. 10. (15) *Cum enim multitudo impura eſt in civitate, eademq; ab honoribus excluſa, neceſſe eſt eam civitatem plenam hoſtium Reipub* Ariſt. lib. 3. Pol. c. 7. (16) *Honori incumbit, tam ignarus quam bonus.* Ariſt. 2. Pol. 5.

Caſtile,

Castile, whence proceeded the Change of his State *.

The last is, Estates, that is when a Prince idlely squanders away his Subjects Fortunes; which occasion'd *Garcias* King of *Galicia*, to lose both Kingdom and Life too; or when he extravagantly spends his Revenues, which was *Ramon*'s Pretence for killing his Brother-in-Law, *Sancho* King of *Navarre*; or when he is very covetous, as was King *Alphonso*; or when through his ill management, the State suffers by Scarcity, or when the Price of things rises, or Trade fails, which render'd the same *Alphonso* so odious; or when the Coin is bad, as 'twas in the time of *Peter* II. King of *Arragon*, and in many other Kings Reigns; or when Places of Profit, or Riches are unequally despos'd of. For Envy and Necessity take up Arms against the Rich and so raise Commotions (17). This also happens from the Male-administration of Justice, from the quartering of Souldiers, and from other Burthens, which oppress the Subjects Estates and Goods.

Besides these general Causes, there are others particular to the three Distinctions which I made of Kingdoms, in the last Emblem, which may be inferr'd from what I propos'd for their Preservation; for the Knowledge of preserving a State, implys the Knowledge of what will ruin it, and so on the contrary (18); for all this I cannot but enlarge a little, though I run a Risque of repeating what has been already said.

Hereditary States are usually ruined, for want of Care and Diligence in the Successour, especially when they are considerable; for then their Greatness makes him secure and negligent, careless of all Danger, and dubious in his Councels. In Execution timorous, least he should disturb the Quiet he injoys; he takes no Care to prevent misfortunes, but thinks it sufficient if he can remedy them; not considering that this latter is more chargeable and less

* Mar. Hist. Hisp. (17) *Insuper seditiones oriuntur, non solum ob patrimoniorum, verum etiam ob honorum inaequalitatem.* Arist. lib. 2. Pol. 5. (18) *Sed illud primum omnium dubitari non potest, quin cognitis iis quæ Reipub. interitum important, ea quoq; quæ salutem afferunt, intelligantur.* Arist. lib. 5. pol. cap. 8.

esse-

effectual (19). He thinks Bravery too dangerous; and in procuring Peace by certain idle and uncertain means, he brings a War upon himſelf, and ſo ruins himſelf by the very means he us'd for his Preſervation. This is the misfortune of Monarchies, that in taking Repoſe they find ruin, endeavouring to ſtop they fall, and ceaſing to labour they grow feeble. *Ezekiel* aptly repreſents all this in his Viſion of the four wing'd Animals, which are the Emblems of Princes and Monarchies: "Which when they "went I heard the noiſe of their Wings, like the noiſe of "great Waters, as the Voice of the Almighty, the Voice "Speech as the noiſe of an Hoſt (20); when they ſtood "they let down their Wings. But 'tis not neceſſary to a Prince's Preſervation to be always making new Conqueſts, for this would be endleſs, and run into Tyranny and Injuſtice; a State may eaſily maintain it ſelf within the Circumference of its own Circle, provided it preſerves its Activity and Vigour, and thoſe Arts by which it at firſt acquir'd its Graudeur; running waters preſerve their Purity, but once ſtanding they taint; yet is it not neceſſary, that they ſhould be always running; it ſuffices that they keep a Motion within themſelves, like Lakes mov'd only by the Winds; ſo Monarchies in which Diſcipline flouriſhes, and which are fenced againſt all Accidents, are of long continuance, though they make no Excurſions; for without War Arts Military may be exerciſed; ſo *Caſſius* in time of Peace caus'd all the old Military Diſcipline to be obſerved (21). A Prince for want of Exerciſe of his Arms, ſhould not grow wholly enervate by the Sloth and Lazineſs of Peace; but ſhould then enterpize ſome glorious Action, that may preſerve his Reputation. *Auguſtus* during the Repoſe of his Empire, ſuffer'd not his fiery Soul to be extinguiſh'd by the aſhes of Idleneſs, for when he wanted what to do as Man, he employ'd himſelf as God, ſtudying

(19) *Tardiora ſunt remedia quam mala.* Tac. in vit. Agr. (20) Ezek. 1. 24. (21) *Attamen quantum ſine bello dabatur, revocare priſcum morem, exercitare Legiones cura proviſus agere, perinde acſi hoſtis ingrueret.* Tac. 12. ann.

the

the Motion of the Spheres, correcting the Months, and preſcribing Laws to time. To this end *Philip* II. Erected that admirable Fabrick of the Eſcurial; in which he aim'd to outdo Nature her ſelf in Art, and to ſhew the whole World the greatneſs of his Soul, and of his Piety.

But Hereditary Kingdoms are alſo in Danger, when the Succeſſour forgetting the Laws and Inſtitutions of his Anceſtors, thinks that the Subjects Duty, and Subjection is from Nature, and not remembring that his Grandeur is deriv'd from them, he looks upon 'em as Slaves, and is more bent upon his own Intereſt, than the publick Good, his Adminiſtration being turn'd into Tyranny (22). Whence the People conceive a diſreſpect to the Prince, and an *Odium* and abhorrence of his Perſon and Action, by which the reciprocal Union between the King and People is broken (23); ſince one obeys, and t'other commands by the mutual Benefit they receive, one in the Splendour and Grandeur of his Government, t'other in the Happineſs of being well govern'd; without this reciprocal Bond, Hereditary Kingdoms would go to ruin, or at leaſt ſuffer a Change; for the Prince ſeeing himſelf deſpiſed and ſlighted by all, is in perpetual Fear, from which fear proceeds Cruelty, and from that Tyranny; which the Nobles not being able to bear, conſpire againſt him, and by the aſſiſtance of the People dethrone him: Whence it comes that the People looking upon them as the Reſtorers of their Liberty, offer them the Government, and thus Ariſtocracy is introduc'd; but even this ſoon falls into the Inconveniences of Monarchy; for as their Children ſucceed, the Magiſtracy and Government becomes Hereditary, and they abuſe them, and convert them to their own Intereſt, whence the People finding themſelves oppreſs'd by them, wreſt their Power from 'em, and will ſet up for Governours themſelves, as if their Liberty was greater in a Democracy, in which it being impoſſible to preſerve Equality, Inſolence, and Injuſtice rule, from whence

(22) *Aliæ Tyrannides ex Regibus, qui moribus inſtitutiſq; majorum violatis, imperia magis concupierunt.* Ariſt. Pol. 5. cap. 10. (23) *Nam ſi jam volentibus imperet, protinus deſinit eſſe Regnum.* Ariſt. 5. Pol. cap. 10.

proceed

proceed Seditions and Tumults, and thence Confuſion, which obliges 'em to chooſe ſome one Perſon to command 'em, and ſo the Government becomes once again Monarchical. This Circle uſually States run, in which they very often wholly loſe their Liberty, when ſome Potent Neighbour makes uſe of the opportunity of their Commotions, to conquer and enſlave them.

Elective Kingdoms, or at leaſt the Peoples Affections for the Prince are loſt; when the Actions of the Elected Prince correſpond not to the Opinion which had been once conceived of him; for many appear capable of Government, before they come to it, as *Galba* did (24); thoſe who voted not for the Election are in continual Danger and Fear, which makes them deſire and contrive a Change. Thoſe who aſſiſted him with their Votes, promiſe themſelves ſuch a ſhare of his Favour, that finding themſelves diſappointed in their Hopes, they fall into diſguſt and complaint; it being impoſſible for the Prince to ſatisfie all. Or whether it be that humane Gratitude is tir'd with the continual ſight of its Benefactors, and looks upon them as ſo many Creditors. Subjects us'd to frequent Elections are always fond of them, and ſtill fancy the new Prince will be better; thoſe who have the Privilege of voting take it to heart, that their Power in which their Honour conſiſts ſhould lie ſo long dormant and uſeleſs. The Prince Elected on t'other hand, proud of his Power endeavours to extend it, and ſo break the Oaths and Covenants of his Election, and deſpiſing the Natives of the Countrey, if he be a Foreigner, admits only his own Countreymen into Offices, and endeavours only the Preferment of his own Family, by which he incurs the hatred of his Subjects and his own ruin: For few Nations can endure the Command of Strangers. *Jeremiah* told this as ſad Tidings to *Jeruſalem* (25).

Kingdoms acquir'd by Conqueſt are alſo ſoon loſt, for Luxury enervates the Strength and Vigour of the mind; Felicity diſturbs Counſels, and miſleads Princes from thoſe

(24) *Omnium conſenſu capax imperii, niſi imperaſſet.* Tac. 1. Hiſt.
(25) Jerem. 1. 16.

ways

ways by which they attain'd their Grandeur; they obtain'd it by Valour, Clemency and Reputation, and they loſe it by Lazineſs, Severity and Contempt. Which changing the Government, changes alſo the Affection and Obedience of the Subject (26); the Reaſon why the *Carthagenians* were expell'd *Spain* was, that they did not know that States ſhould be maintain'd by the ſame Arts they were acquir'd by; which uſually the Conquerours of Provinces are more obſervant, than their Succeſſours, for they imploy all their Courage and Wit, in attaining and preſerving them, but Succeſſion makes theſe negligent and careleſs. Whence 'tis an Obſervation, that thoſe who acquire Kingdoms uſually keep 'em, and thoſe who receive them loſe them (27). The Holy Spirit ſays, that Kingdoms paſs from one Nation to another, becauſe of Injuſtice, Injuries and Deceit (28).

I conclude the preſent Diſcourſe with two Cautions, firſt that the Preſervation of States does not always depend on their being far from the Cauſes of their Ruin, but ſometimes on their being near them (29), for Fear creates Care and Diligence; the other is, that either in the Perſon of the Prince, or in the Body of the State, the leaſt ill ſhould be taken moſt Care of, for they increaſe inſenſibly, without being perceived till they are paſt Remedy (30). A ſmall Worm deſtroys the talleſt Cedar; the little *Remora* ſtops the Courſe of a Ship under ſail; frivolous Loſſes caus'd the Ruin of the *Roman* Empire. A ſlight diſorder of Body is often more dangerous than a real Sickneſs, for that is not minded, this diligently taken Care of: We immediately apply Medicines to a Fever, but never heed a Cold, from which the greateſt Diſtempers proceed.

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(26) *Illud clarum teſtatumq; exemplis eſt, quod homines felicitatem aſſequantur benignitate in alios, & bona de ſe opinione, iidem cum adepti, quæ voluerant, ad injurias & impotentiam in imperiis dilabuntur, ſit meritiſſimo, ut una cum imperantium mutatione, ipſi ſubditi ſe & affectus mutent.* Polyb. (27) *Qui occuparunt imperia, eorum pleriq; eadem retinuerunt, qui vero tradita ab aliis accepere, hi ſtatim ferè omnes amiſerunt.* Ariſt. 5. Pol. 9. (28) Eccleſ. 1. 8. (29) *Conſervantur etiam Reſpub. non ſolum, quia procul ſunt ab iis, quæ interitum afferunt, ſed etiam, quia prope ſunt, nam Timor intentiore cura Reipub. conſulere cogit.* Ariſt. 5. pol. cap. 8. (30) Ibid.

EMBLEM LXI.

61

AN Harp Forms a compleat Ariſtocracy, compos'd of Monarchy and Democracy; underſtanding Preſides, ſeveral Fingers govern, and many Strings obey, not with a particular, but general and common Harmony, ſo that the Diſproportion between the great and little ones don't ſpoil the Tune. One may juſtly compare to a a Harp every Republick, in which long Practice and Experience, have appointed who ſhall command, and who obey; in which they have eſtabliſh'd Laws, elected Magiſtrates, diſtinguiſhed Offices, preſcribed ſet Rules and Methods of Government, and inſtituted in each part of the Republick, ſuch Cuſtoms and Laws as are moſt conformable and conſentaneous to its Nature. This makes the firſt Inſtitutions durable, and not eaſie to be chang'd. This Harp of Kingdoms and Commonwealths being thus fitted up, and all the Strings

Strings tun'd and diſpos'd in Order, though any one ſhould fanſie he could better tune any one of them, he ought to have a better opinion of the Prudence and Judgment of his Anceſtors, whom long Practice, and dear bought Experience had inſtructed: for ſome Ways and Methods of Government, though they have ſome Inconveniences are yet better born with than alter'd. A prudent Prince tunes the ſtrings in the ſame Order they ſtand in, not changing them without time or other accidents have ſo diſcompos'd them, that they can't perform the Office they were firſt deſign'd for, wherefore a Prince ſhould perfectly underſtand this Harp of his Empire, and the Grace and Majeſty that attends it, and be throughly vers'd in the Nature, Qualities, and Genius's of the Nobility and Commons, which are its main Strings. For as King *Alphonſo* ſays in one of his Laws: "A King's greateſt Care ſhould be to know Men, for ſince "'tis them he has to do with, an exact Knowledge of them is "abſolutely neceſſary *. In this conſiſts the principal Art of Government.

To know his Subjects is a King's beſt Art †.

Thoſe who have moſt apply'd themſelves to this Study have govern'd with moſt Succeſs. Many take this Harp in their hand, but few can finger it with Judgment, few underſtand its Nature, and can touch it agreeably. Let therefore a Prince know, that a Kingdom is nothing but an Union of many Cities and People; and a joynt Conſent to the Command of ſome one, and the Obedience of the reſt, which Conſent, Ambition and Force introduc'd. Concord at firſt rais'd, and Concord preſerves it. Juſtice and Clemency keep it alive; 'tis the Care of others Safety; its Spirit conſiſts in Unity of Religion; its Increaſe, Preſervation or Ruin depends upon the Parts of which it is compos'd. It admits of no Companion; is expos'd to all Dangers. In it more than any thing, Fortune ſhews her Inconſtancy. 'Tis liable to Envy and Emulation; 'tis in more danger in Pro-

* L. 13. tit. 5. p. 2. † Mart.

ſperity

ſperity than Adverſity; for then it lives in Security, which creates Pride, from whence proceeds its Ruin; when young 'tis weak, and when old decrepid; 'tis as much in danger in continual Peace as in War. It falls of its ſelf, when not exercis'd by foreign Arms, and when it once begins to fall it cannot ſtop it ſelf; there is no Interval between its higheſt Elevation, and its Ruin. Emulation ſometimes raiſes it, and ſometimes oppreſſes it. If it be ſmall it can't defend it ſelf, if great it can't govern it ſelf, it is better govern'd by Art than Force; 'tis fond of Novelties though they are its bane, Vertue is its Health, and Vice its Sickneſs. Labour raiſes it, and Idleneſs is its Ruin; 'tis fortified by Forts and Alliances, and eſtabliſh'd by Laws, the Magiſtracy is its Heart, Counſel its Eyes, Arms its Hands, and Riches its Feet.

This Harp is attended with a certain Majeſty, which is a Harmony ſpringing from the ſtrings of the People, and approv'd by Heaven (1). An Emblem of Power, and Splendour of ſupream Juriſdiction; a certain Force which draws Authority and Obedience to it; the Safeguard and Preſervation of the Government. Opinion and Fame give it Life; Love, Security; Fear, Authority; Oſtentation, Greatneſs; Ceremony, Reverence; Severity, Reſpect; Pomp, Eſteem; in Retirement the more venerable; 'tis in danger of Contempt and Hate. It neither bears Equality nor Diviſion, for it conſiſts in Admiration and Unity; 'tis conſtant in either Fortune; Reſpect ſtrengthens it; Arms and the Laws maintain it; it laſts not in Pride, nor falls in Humility It lives by Prudence and Beneficence, and dies by Force and Vice.

The ſtrings of a Harp are the People, which are naturally monſtrous, different from themſelves, inconſtant and various; govern'd by outward appearances, without ſearching to the bottom of things; they take Counſel of Report, ſo void of means and reaſon, that they cannot diſtinguiſh Truth from Falſhood, always prone to miſchief. The ſame minute of two contrary Affections, by which they are al-

(1) 1 Kings 2. 24.

way

ways guided not by Reaſon; by Violence not Prudence, by the ſhadow not the reality. Only to be tam'd by Puniſhment. Their Flatteries are an aukward medly of Truth and Falſity; they know no *Medium*; they love or hate to Exceſs; are extreamly Complaiſant, or extreamly Inſolent; either fear or frighten; and when they fear, are moſt contemptible. Small Dangers at hand terrifie them ſtrangely, but great ones at a diſtance, they are unconcern'd at. If a Servant ſlaviſh, if a Maſter haughty; know not what Liberty is themſelves, and will not ſuffer it in others. Bold and courageous in Words, but cowardly and baſe in Action. They riſe upon the leaſt occaſion, and are ſoon compos'd. Do not lead, but follow; bear themſelves the ſame to all; are ſooner forc'd than perſwaded. In Succeſs arrogant and impious, in Adverſity timorous and ſuperſtitious; as prone to Cruelty as Mercy. Equally blind in their Favours as their Perſecutions; they abuſe Clemency by Licenciouſneſs, and rebel againſt ſtrict Diſcipline; if they once ſhall attack the Rich, neither Reaſon nor Shame will reclaim them. They raiſe and are fond of Stories, and by their own Credulity enlarge them; they follow the Advice of the many, not the wiſe few; they attribute ill Succeſs to the Malice of the Magiſtracy, and common Calamities to the Prince's fault. Nothing makes them more ſupple and obedient than Plenty of Proviſions, for upon that their Care and Thoughts are fixt. Intereſt and Diſhonour ſoon put them in Commotion. Loaden they fall, lighten'd they kick back; they love hot and raſh Spirits, and an ambitious and turbulent way of Government; they are never content with the preſent State of Affairs, but are always greedy of Change. A ſervile Imitator of the Vertues and Vices of thoſe in Authority. They Envy the Rich and Wealthy, and plot againſt them; are mighty fond of Plays and Shews, nor is there any other way, than that to gain their Favour. Superſtitious in Religion, paying more reſpect to the Prieſts than their Princes. Theſe are the chief Qualities and Affections of the Mob. But a Prince may be ſatisfied that there is no Community, or Councel, though never ſo great and grave, and of Seleſt Perſons, in which there is not ſomething of the vul-

gar, and which does not in many things resemble the Popularity? The Court makes another part of the strings of this Harp; which if a Prince can't touch with great Prudence and Dexterity, the whole Harmony of Government is spoil'd; wherefore that he many know to tune them well, 'tis necessary he should know their Nature.

The Court is presumptuous and inconstant, changing its Colour, *Camelion* like, each moment according as the Wind of Prosperity or Adversity blows; though it all speaks one Language, yet all don't alike understand it; it Worships and Adores the rising Prince, but slights him when declining towards his West; it censures and carps at his Actions, and yet imitates them; it hawks after his Favour, with the Nets of Flattery; ever bent upon Ambition and Self-interest; it lives by Lyes and hates Truth. Easily swallows Vice, but Vertue not without Difficulty; loves Change and Novelty; fears every thing, and distrusts all. Haughty and arrogant in Authority, servile and cringing in Obedience. Envys even it self as well as others; wonderful cunning and dissembling, in concealing its Designs; it veils its Hatred with Smile and Ceremony. Praises, and commends in publick, and defames privately. Is its own Enemy, fantastical in its Appearance, and unperforming in its Promises.

This Instrument of Government being known, and the Qualities and Sound of each string, the Prince ought to touch 'em with that Dexterity, that they may all sound Harmoniously without jarring; in which he ought to keep time and measure, and not favour one String more than another, in those which are to make the Consort, and wholly forget others; for in this Instrument of the Government all have their proper Functions, tho' they are unequal and easily jarr, which Discord is very dangerous, when he shall grant too great Authority to the Magistracy; or too much Favour the Commons, and slight the Nobility; or Administer to some, and not to others; or confound Offices Military with Civil, or does not well know to sustain his Majesty by Authority; his Kingdom by Love; the Court by Gravity; the Nobility by Honour, the People by Plenty,

Justice

Juſtice by Equality; the Laws by Fear; Arms by Rewards; Power by Frugality; War by Riches, and Peace by Reputation; every one of theſe Inſtruments are different, both in their Nature, and the Diſpoſition of the Strings, which are the Subjects; and ſo ſhould be manag'd and play'd upon by different ways, and a different hand; one Kingdom is like a Harp, which not only requires the ſoftneſs of the Fingers ends, but alſo the hardneſs of the Nails too. Another is more like an Organ, which requires both Hands to expreſs the Harmony of the Pipes. The third is ſo delicate, like a Guitarre, that it won't bear the Fingers, but muſt be touch'd with a fine Quill, to make it exert its Harmony. A Prince ought therefore to be well vers'd in the Knowledge of theſe Inſtruments, and their Strings, to keep 'em always in Tune, and to take Care not to ſtrain too hard upon the Notes of Severity or Avarice (as St. *Chryſoſtom* obſerv'd in God himſelf) (2) for even the beſt String when too much ſtrain'd, if it does not break, at leaſt ſpoils the Sweetneſs of the Conſort.

(2) *Neque nervum intendit, neque remittit ultra modum, ne harmonia conſonum ladat.* Chryſoſt.

EMBLEM LXII.

THE ingenuous and induſtrious Bee cautiouſly conceals the Art by which it makes its Combs. They are all buſie, and none can find out their Oeconomy and method of Government. And if any one more curious than ordinary ſhall endeavour to inſpect it, by means of a Glaſs Hive, they ſoon plaiſter it over with Wax, that they may have no Spyes, nor Witneſſes of their Domeſtick Tranſactions. O prudent Commonwealth, Miſtreſs of the World! Thou hadſt long ſince extended thy Empire over all Animals, had Nature furniſh'd thee with Strength equal to thy Prudence. Let all others come to thee to learn the importance of Silence and Secrecy, in the management of Affairs; and the Danger of diſcovering the Artifice and Maxims of Government, Negotiations and Treaties, Counſels and Reſolutions, the Ails and inward Infirmities of States; if

Druſus

Druſus the Tribune had duly conſider'd this Prudence of Bees, when a Builder promiſed him to make the Windows of his houſe, ſo that no Body ſhould look in, he had not given him this Anſwer: "Rather, ſays he, ſo contrive my "Houſe if you can, that all may ſee what I do (1); this was a piece of Pride of an open ingenuous Spirit, or the confidence of a private Perſon, not of a publick Miniſter, or a Prince, in whoſe Court there ſhould be ſome Retirements, where they may unſeen treat and deliberate of Affairs. Counſel is like a Myſtery, to be communicated but to few (2). Ancient *Rome* erected Altars to the God (whom they called *Conſus*) who preſided over Counſels, but they were Subterraneous ones, to intimate, that Counſels ought to be private; by the benefit of which Secrecy it grew to that Greatneſs, and maintain'd it ſelf ſo long; "For Silence is the "beſt and ſtrongeſt Bond of Government (3). Their Senate was ſo cloſe and truſty, that never any of their Debates were publiſh'd; there was not one for many Ages who diſcover'd 'em. They had all Ears to hear, but none Tongues to divulge. I queſtion whether the ſame may be ſaid of preſent Governments. That which was yeſterday debat'd in Council, is to day the Subject of Womens Chat; who with eaſe (notwithſtanding the Prophet *Micah*, (4) coaks them out of their Husbands, and ſo tell 'em again to others; as it was in that Secret, which *Maximus* told his Wife *Martia* (5), and ſhe to *Livia*. By theſe Channels, thoſe Secrets ſoon come to the Ears of foreign Ambaſſadours, whoſe inquiſitiveneſs nothing ſcapes. They are publick Spies, and Plummets that always ſearch the bottom; prudent are thoſe Governments, which allow them not continual Reſidence. They are more prejudicial, than beneficial to the publick Peace, and they oft'ner breed Diſturbances than promote Tranquility. They are ever making Glaſs-Hives, that they

(1) *Tu vero, inquit, ſiquid in te artis eſt, ita compone domum meam, ut quicquid agam, ab omnibus perſpici poſſit* Vell. Pat. lib. 2. (2) Judith. 2. 2. (3) *Taciturnitas optimum atque tutiſſimum rerum adminiſtrandarum Vinculum* Val. Max. l. 2. c. 2. (4) Micah. 7. 5. (5) *Quod Maximus uxori Martiæ aperuiſſe, illam Liviæ.* Tac. 1. ann.

may treacherouſly inſpect the Deliberations of Councils. Let a Prince therefore attentively indeavour to ſtop all thoſe Creviſes, through which inquiſitive Curioſity may pry into his Concerns. For if an Enemy penetrates them, he eaſily prevents and fruſtrates them. As *Germanicus* did, who underſtood all the Deſigns of his Enemies (6). This was the Reaſon of the Advice which *Salluſt* gave *Livia*, that the Secrets of the Family, nor the Counſels of Friends, nor the Miniſtery of the Militia, ſhould by no means be divulg'd (7). *Sampſon* in diſcovering wherein his Strength lay to *Daliah* (8), gave his Enemies opportunity of robbing him of it (9). Private Deſigns ſtrike a Fear upon all, and create a Veneration for the Prince; and though at firſt they are not well grounded, yet may a prudent Judgment afterwards find means to make them Succeſsful. The Reſpect and Eſteem which we have for Princes and Commonwealths, would all be loſt, if their private Conſultations were made publick. They are carv'd Gyants, which ſeem tall and vaſt to the Eye, and which frighten more than hurt, but if that Fear ſhall approach nearer, 'twill find them govern'd and fram'd by Men of no higher Stature than themſelves. States which are cloſe in their Counſels, and Actions are reſpected, but otherwiſe deſpis'd by all (10). How ſmooth and pleaſant does a deep River glide along; and how rough and uncouth that, which diſcovers the Pebbles and Weeds at the bottom! None dare wade that, but this every one skips over. Thoſe things which Opinion magnifies, the Eye ſhews leſs. Reverence proceeds from diſtance (11). For this Reaſon, God when he conferr'd with *Moſes* upon *Mount Sinai*, about the Laws and Government of his People, he veil'd its Top not only with Fire, but alſo with a thick Cloud (12), leaſt any one ſhould treacherouſly obſerve them; he alſo Commanded upon pain of Death, that none ſhould approach the very Foot of the Moun-

(6) *Nihil ex iis Cæſari incognitum; conſilia, locos, prompta multa noverat, aſtuſq; hoſtium in perniciem ipſis vertebat.* Tac. 2. ann. (7) *Ne arcana domus, ne conſilia amicorum, ne miniſteria militum vulgarentur.* Tac. 1. ann. (8) Jud. 16. 3. (9) Ibid. (10) Prov. 20. 5. (11) *Major è longinquis reverentia.* Tac. 1. ann. (12) Exod. 19. 6.

tain

tain (13). If God himself, is so cautious in his Commands and Consultations, what then should Man be, whose wisest Counsels are Ignorance? When their Resolutions are publish'd in due time, they seem elaborate and compos'd with profound Judgment; they shew the Majesty and Prudence of the Prince, and we believe there are Reasons and Considerations which we can't comprehend; nay we many times imagine some, that the Ministers never so much as thought of. But if we were to hear the Debates, Grounds, and Reasons of their Resolves, we should perhaps deservedly ridicule them. As upon the Stage the Actors appear, Gay and Splendid, and move the Respect of all; but behind the Scenes is despicable Misery and Confusion. 'Tis yet more dangerous to entrust the Mysteries of Government to Foreigners, these King *Henry* II. ever suspected*. And though perhaps many would be true, yet the safest way is, not to admit any of 'em to the management of Affairs, especially those of the Treasury; chiefly when they are not Subjects, or of equal Capacity. Least they should dive into the Maxims of the Government (14); 'tis our unhappy Temper to slight and contemn our own, and admire all foreign Commodities. We think there is no Courage, Knowledge, or Prudence but is imported, not regarding the Advice of the Holy Spirit: Admit not a Stranger within thy Door, for he will raise a Whirlwind against thee, and at last turn thee out of thy own Dwelling.

If a Prince would have his Counsels kept secret and close, let him himself set a good Example of Prudence and Taciturnity. Let him imitate *Q. Metellus*, who we are told us'd to say, That if his Shirt knew his Thoughts, he would order it to be burnt. Let him diligently endeavour to conceal his Mind; for he who is Master of his Thoughts, has already the main Instrument of Government. This *Tiberius* knew, who even in Matters which he had no Design to conceal, either naturally, or through use, always spoke intricately and obscurely; but then most of all, when 'twas

(13) Exod 19. 12. * L. 4. tit. 3. lib. 1. Recop (14) *Ne alieni Regni, quod non convenit, scrutentur arcana.* L. Mercatores C. de Commer.

diſcours'd of his ſucceeding *Auguſtus* (15). Secrets are not to be communicated to all Miniſters, though they are never ſo faithful; but only to thoſe to whom they ſome way belong, or thoſe from whom they can't be conceal'd without greater Damage. Chriſt when he deſir'd to have one of his Miracles private, made only three of his Apoſtles privy to it, thinking it not ſafe to intruſt it to them all (16). The keeping of a Secret requires great Care; for though we can be Silence, yet it is not in our Power to Command the interiour Paſſions (17), or to ſuppreſs that quick Motion of the Blood, which betrays the Secrets of the heart, by the Face and Eyes (18). The Mind being like the fineſt Paper, which diſcovers on the other ſide what is written within; ſo *Britannicus*'s Death appear'd in *Agrippina*'s Face, though ſhe did what ſhe could to ſtifle it (19). *Auguſtus* and *Tiberius* knew this, and becauſe they doubted they could not enough diſſemble their Joy for *Germanicus* his Death, durſt not appear in publick (20). The Tongue is not the only blabb of the Secrets of the Heart; Man has many as great Tell-tales as that about him; as Love, which being a Fire gives light to, and diſcovers the darkeſt Deſigns: Anger which froths and boils over; fear of Puniſhment; violence of Sorrow; Self-intereſt, Honour or Infamy; Vainglory of our own Thoughts, which prompts us to diſcloſe them before they are put into Execution. In ſhort, the weakneſs of the Mind, either from Wine, or any other Accident. No caution can deceive theſe natural Spies. Nay, the more Care is taken to blind them, the ſooner they diſcover the Secret. As it befel *Sevinus* in a Conſpiracy, which he was concern'd in, who diſcover'd his Care and Concern through all his pretended Joy (21), and though

(15) *Tiberioq; etiam in rebus, quas non occuleret, ſeu natura, ſive adſuetudine ſuſpenſa ſemper, obſcura ſemper: tunc vero nitenti ut ſenſus ſuos abderet* Tac. 1. ann. (16) Luk. 8. 51. (17) *Si tam in noſtra poteſtate eſſet oblivi ſci quam tacere.* Tac in vit. Agric. (18) Pſal. 54. 16. (19) *At Agrippinæ is Pavor, ea conſternatio mentis, quamvis vultu premeretur emicuit.* Tac. 13. ann. (20) *Anne omnium oculis vultum eorum ſcrutantibus falli intelligerentur.* Tac. 3. ann. (21) *Atque ipſe mœſtus & magnæ cogitationis manifeſtus erat, quamvis lætitiam vagis ſermonibus ſimularet.* Tac. 15. ann.

long

long uſe may in time correct Nature, and make it more retentive, as *Octavia*, who though very young could hide her Grief and other Affections (22); and *Nero* who beſide his natural Propenſity, had almoſt an acquir'd Faculty of diſguiſing his Hate with falſe Flatteries (23); yet Art can't be ſo vigilant and attentive, as not ſometimes to forget it ſelf, and give Nature its free Courſe, eſpecially when urg'd and provok'd by deſigning Malice; which is done many ways, which I will here deſcribe, that the Prince may beware of them, and not ſuffer any one to fathom his private Sentiments.

Malice then ſometimes touches the peccant Humour, that it may exert and declare it ſelf (24). So *Sejanus* Egg'd on *Agrippina*'s Relations to incenſe her haughty Spirit, that ſhe might be urg'd to diſcover her deſire of Reigning, and ſo give *Tiberius* occaſion to ſuſpect her (25).

Injuries and Affronts alſo do the ſame, being the Keys of the Heart. As cloſe and reſerv'd as *Tiberius* was in his Thoughts, he could not contain himſelf when *Agrippina* affronted him (26).

He who concealing his real Sentiments pretends contrary ones, will ſoon diſcover peoples thoughts of them; with which Artifice the Emperour *Tiberius* us'd to fathom the Thoughts of the Senate, making a ſhew as if he would not accept of the Empire (27).

There is yet another piece of Cunning, which inſinuates it ſelf into matters, by extolling or diſcommending that, which it would know the bottom of, pretending to be of the Party to gain Credit, and induce the other to diſcloſe his Sentiments. This way *Latiaris* by commending *Germanicus*, pitying *Agrippina*'s misfortune, and accuſing *Sejanus*, ſo ingratiated himſelf with *Sabinus*, that he diſcover'd to him his Averſion to *Sejanus* (28).

(22) *Octavia quoq; quamvis rudibus annis omnes affectus abſcondere diſcerat.* Tac. 13. ann. (23) *Factus Naturæ, & conſuetudine exercitus, vertere odium fallacibus blanditiis.* Tac. 14. ann. (24) Eccleſ. 22. 24. (25) *Agrippina quoq; proximi inlicichantur pravis ſermonibus tumidas ſpiritus perſtimulare.* Tac. 4. ann. (26) *Audita hæc raram occultè pectoris vocem elicuit correptamq; Græco verſu admonuit, ideo lædi quia non regnaret.* Tac. 4. ann. (27) *Poſtea cognitum eſt ad introſpiciendas etiam procerum voluntates, inductam dubitationem.* Tac. 1. ann. (28) Tac. 4. ann.

Many

Many Queſtions ask'd at a time, are like ſo many Bullets diſcharged at once, which no Caution can avoid, and which diſarm the moſt retentive Breaſt; as were thoſe of *Tiberius*, to *Piſo*'s Son (29); the Mind is alſo confounded by ſudden and unexpected Queſtions; as *Tiberius* once found, by thoſe of *Aſinius Gallus* (30), when though he had taken time to anſwer, yet he could not hide his Concern ſo, but that *Aſinius* took notice of it (31).

The Authority of the Prince, and the Veneration due to Majeſty, are means to diſcover Truth, and ſometimes more than Truth; as *Tiberius* found, as often as he examin'd the Criminals himſelf (32).

By Diſcourſe and Talk, which ſome can promote with great Dexterity, the Mind is diſcover'd; as by joyning the ſeveral pieces of a torn Letter, you may read the Sence of it, and by this method the Conſpirators againſt *Nero*, knew that *Fenius Rufus* was of their Party (33).

From all which a Prince may inferr, how difficult a matter 'tis to keep a Secret, and if it is ſafe within our own Breaſts, it is much leſs ſo, when committed to others; wherefore it ſhould without abſolute neceſſity be entruſted to none; 'tis like a Mine, which if it has too many Vents the force of the Powder is loſt, and it proves ineffectual, but if there is a neceſſity of a Prince's communicating his Secrets to his Miniſters, and he ſeeing 'em divulg'd would know by whom, let him feign ſeveral important Secrets, and commit one to each, and by that which he hears of firſt, he will find who was Tardy before. Let not theſe Cautions ſeem frivolous for from very ſmall Cauſes, great Commotions often proceed (34). The moſt Potent Empires are in danger of being ſapp'd by the Sea, if its Curioſity could find but the leaſt Chink to enter at. When this Worm has once found the Root of the Secret, it ſoon brings the talleſt Tree to the ground.

(29) *Crebris interrogationibus exquirit, qualem Piſo diem ſupremum Nolleno; exegiſſet, atq; ille pleraq; ſapienter, quædam inconſultius reſpondente.* Tac. 3. ann. (30) *Perculſus improviſa interrogatione paululum reticuit.* Tac. 1. ann. (31) *Etenim Vultu offenſionem conjectaverat.* Ibid. (32) *Non temperante Tiberio quin premeret voce; Vultu, eò quod ipſe crebrimè interrogabat: neque reſellere aut eludere dabatur; ac ſæpe etiam conſtendum erat nè fruſtra quæſiviſſet.* Tac. 3. ann. (33) *Crebro ipſius ſermone facta fides.* Tac. 15. ann. (34) Tac. 4. ann.

EMBLEM LXIII.

63

IN all Affairs the Beginnings and Ends ought mutually to correſpond; the Form ſhould be perfect, and not eaſily to be chang'd. The Potter does not give his Wheel ſo much Liberty, nor uſe his hand ſo careleſly, as to form a different Pot from what he began. Let any undertaking be uniform and agreeable to its ſelf.

* *When you begin with ſo much Pomp and Shew,*
Why is the End ſo little and ſo low?
Be what you will, ſo you be ſtill the ſame.

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* Ld. Roſcom. Hor. Art Poet.

There

There is nothing more pernicious than this, inequality of Actions and Government, when the Beginnings don't anſwer the Ends. He makes himſelf ridiculous to all, who begins his Reign with Care and Diligence, and afterwards grows negligent and careleſs. It had been better always to have kept the ſame Pace though dull and ſlow, the Commendation which the beginning of his Reign merited accuſes the end. *Galba* loſt his Reputation, for that, at the beginning of his Empire he promis'd to reform the Militia, and afterwards admitted Perſons wholly deſertleſs (1). Many Princes ſeem very good, and are very bad. Many Talk and Diſcourſe prudently, and Act without Diſcretion. Others promiſe much, and perform little; ſome are very valiant in Peace, and mere Cowards in War; others undertake every thing and do nothing. This Diſagreement is much below the Majeſty of a Prince, in whom a firm Conſtancy ſhould appear in all his Words and Actions. The People can never be firm in their Obedience to a Prince, who ſtaggers thus himſelf. Wherefore he ſhould attentively conſider, before he concludes any thing, whether in the Executions of his Counſels, the middle will be anſwerable to the Beginning and End; as *Godfrey* adviſes.

Let him who does at great Beginnings aim,
Make the Thread even; and both Ends the ſame.

The Web of Government, tho' never ſo finely wrought, cannot be good and ſtrong unleſs it be even. Nor is it ſufficient to know, how to enter upon an Affair, but 'tis expedient too, to know how to end it. By the Head and Stern of a Ship, the Ancients repreſented perfect Counſel, duly weigh'd from the beginning to the end (2). Whence I took the Figure of this preſent Emblem, repreſenting prudent

(1) *Nec enim ad hanc formam cætera erant.* Tac. 1. ann. * Taſſ. eant. 1. (2) *Mihi prora & puppis, ut Græcorum proverbium eſt, fuit à me tui dimittendi ut rationes meas explicarem; Prora itaque & Puppi ſummam conſilii noſtri ſignificamus; propterea quod à prora & puppi, tanquam à capite, & calce pendeat tota navis.* Cicero.

Counſel,

Counſel, careful of its Beginning and End, by a Ship moored between two Anchors, one a Head, and the other a Stern, to preſerve it from the violence of Tempeſts; only one at the Bow would be of ſmall effect, if the Wind blowing hard a Stern, ſhould drive her upon the Rocks.

There are three things requiſite in Reſolutions, Prudence to deliberate, Diligence to diſpoſe, and Conſtancy to proceed. All the heat and toil about the beginning of Affairs would be inſignificant, if (as it uſually is) we are careleſs about the end (3); 'tis at each end that Prudence ought to caſt Anchor. But ſince Prudence only regards things preſent and paſt, not future, upon which all Affairs depend; 'tis neceſſary by Diſcourſe and Reaſon, to conjecture and foreſee what ſuch and ſuch means ſhould produce; to make uſe of Deliberation and Counſel; which are as the Wiſe *Alphonſo* ſays, "The beſt Foreſight a Man can have "in dubious Matters. And in thoſe there's three things to be conſider'd, the Probability, Juſtice, and Profit of the thing propos'd; and alſo the Capacity and Experience of the Miniſter, who gives the Counſels; whether he be moved by Intereſt or private Ends; whether he offers himſelf to the Danger, what are the Difficulties of the Enterprize, and upon whom the Blame and Honour of the event will fall (4). Theſe Cautions premis'd, and the Matter ſtated, ſuch means ought to be apply'd, as are conformable to the above-mentioned Qualities; for nothing will be juſt and beneficial, which ſhall be attain'd by indirect or extravagant means: In this alſo ſhould be conſider'd, four Diſtinctions of time, which occur in all Affairs, but eſpecially in Diſeaſes of States, as well as thoſe of humane Bodies, and theſe are the Beginning, the Growth, or Progreſs, the Conſiſtence, and Declenſion; by which, and a timely Application of proper means, the deſir'd End is eaſily obtain'd; as on the

(3) *Acribus ut ferme talia initiis, incurioſo fine.* Tac. 1. ann (4) *Omnes qui Magnarum rerum conſilia ſuſcipiunt, æſtimare debent, an quod inchoatur Reip. utile, ipſis glorioſum, aut promptum effectu, aut certè non ardnum ſit, ſimul ipſe qui ſuadet conſiderandus eſt adjiciatne conſilio periculum ſuum: Et ſi fortuna cœptis fuerit cui ſummum deſus acquiratur.* Tac. 2. Hiſt.

contrary,

contrary, by tranſpoſing theſe Methods, 'tis retarded; as the Courſe of a Ship would be, if the Rudder were chang'd to the Head; the Art conſiſts in ſelecting means proper to the Ends deſign'd, uſing ſometimes theſe, and ſometimes thoſe thoſe being not leſs uſeful and aſſiſtant which are omitted, than thoſe which are apply'd; as in a Conſort of Voices, where ſome ceaſe while others Sing, and yet all equally make the Harmony. Affairs will not move of themſelves, tho their good Diſpoſition, and Juſtice, or common Intereſt ſeem to drive 'em, and if not guided by Judgment, they certainly miſcarry (5); few Princes would Err, if they govern'd with Aſſiduity and Circumſpection; but either they tire, or elſe deſpiſe theſe Arts, and will obſtinately accompliſh their Deſigns by their own methods. This is the way of ſtubborn Ignorance, but Prudence uſes other means. What Force can't ſubdue, is eaſily obtained by Dexterity, adapted to time and circumſtance. So *Cæcinus*, when he could neither by Prayers, nor by Threats ſtop the Flight of the *German* Legions poſſeſs'd by a vain Fear, he at laſt threw himſelf in the Gate-way, and by the Horror, they conceiv'd of trampling over their Generals Body, ſtopt them (6). The ſame thing *Pompey* did in another Caſe; one ſingle word ſpoken to Purpoſe has gained the Victory. *Ferdinando Gonſalez* Count of *Caſtile*, having drawn up his Army againſt the *Moors*, a certain Perſon putting Spurs to his Horſe, rode out of his Rank towards the Enemy, and immediately the Earth open'd and ſwallow'd him, the whole Army was in a Conſternation at it, but the Count turning to 'em: "Courage Gentlemen, ſays he, If the Earth can't "bear us, much leſs will our Enemies, and inſtantly joyning Battle he gain'd the Victory. That which happen'd at the Battle of *Cirniola* is not leſs remarkable; an *Italian* thinking the *Spaniards* were routed, ſet Fire to two Waggons of Powder, the great Captain *Gonſalvo* readily and cheerfully animated them with theſe words: "Courage my Friends,

(5) *Nam ſæpe honeſtas rerum cauſas, ni judicium adhibeas, pernicioſi exitus conſequuntur.* Tac. 1. Hiſt (6) *Projectus in limina portæ, miſeratione demum, quia per corpus Legati eundum erat, clauſit viam.* Tac. 2. An.

"theſe

" these are the Bone-Fires for our Victory; which the Event prov'd *; so much it imports a Minister to have a quick ready Wit, and address to make use of Opportunities, and by proper means to turn Misfortunes to his Advantage.

If after the Election of good Ministers, and the Application of proper means, Events don't answer the Prince's Desire, let him not be discouraged, but rather shew his Constancy; for Resolutions should not be measur'd by Chance, but Prudence. Casualties which can't be foreseen, or prevented, accuse not the Action; and to blame a Man for doing his endeavour is Impudence. This usually befalls Princes, who either want Judgment or Courage; who being oppress'd by ill Success, and as it were beside themselves, give themselves up to Melancholy, and lose that time in vain Reflections upon what has happen'd, which should be imploy'd in remedying it, quarrelling with themselves, that they did not take another method(7); and laying all the Fault upon him who was the Author of this, not considering whether 'twas grounded upon Reason or no. Whence 'tis that Ministers are afraid of declaring their Opinions, and let slip many Opportunities, without advertising the Prince thereof, for fear of exposing their Favour and Reputation to the uncertainty of Casualties. These Inconveniences a Prince ought most industriously to avoid, by persisting constant in Adversity, and excusing their Ministers, when they are not notoriously to blame, that they may more readily and couragiously assist him in overcoming them. And tho' there are palpable Errours in some Resolves and Executions, yet he ought to bear it calmly; for what is once done, as we say, can't be undone; we ought to reflect upon past Actions, for Instruction not Affliction; it requires as much Courage, to pass by Faults, as to encounter Dangers; there is no Empire free from 'em. He who is too timorous cannot resolve, and oftentimes Irresolution is worse than Errour it self. Business requires a quick and ready Genius; if each particular should take up his whole time, many must of necessity be neglected, to the utmost Detriment of the Parties concern'd, and of the Government in general.

* Mar. Hist. Hisp. (7) Eccles. 22. 24.

EMBLEM LXIV.

THE Ancients in War made uſe of certain Chariots arm'd with Scythes, which mov'd and executed at the ſame time; the Wheels and Scythes being both govern'd by the ſame Motion; thoſe were no ſooner whirl'd about, but theſe did Execution, with equal Speed and Effect, and are therefore in the preſent Figure, the Emblem of ſpeedy Execution; as thoſe fiery Wheels in the Throne of God, ſignified the Activity of his Power, and the Quickneſs of his Operation (1). Let Prudence (as we ſaid before) chuſe a fit time for Conſultation, but let its Reſolves, and Executions have ſuch a mutual Correſpondence, as they may both ſeem to move together, without any interpos'd

(1) Dan. 7. 9.

Delay.

Delay. For Conſultation and Execution ſhould joyn hands, that they may aſſiſt each other in the Production of the deſir'd Effects (2). The Emperour *Charles* V. us'd to ſay, That delay was the Soul of Counſel, and ſpeed that of Execution, and that both joyn'd together were the Quinteſſence of a Princes Prudence. King *Ferdinand* the Catholick had not been ſo ſucceſsful in his undertakings, had he not maturely weigh'd, and ſpeedily executed his Reſolutions. Were a Prince indued with both theſe Vertues, he would never want Succeſs, which is ever the Daughter of opportunity, which once paſt is not to be recall'd. One minute brings us great Advantage, or great Detriment, wherefore *Demoſthenes* blam'd the *Athenians*, for ſpending too much time in Preparations, ſaying that Opportunities would not wait their Delays. If the Counſel be advantageous, that time which is ſpent in Delay deducts from its Advantage. There is no room for Delay in Counſels which are not valuable, but in their Effects (3). Counſel is an *Embryo*, and unleſs Execution which is the Soul thereof gives it Life, it dies. 'Tis the Product of the Underſtanding, and an Act of practick Prudence, which if it exert not it ſelf but remains in Contemplation, 'tis nothing but a vain Imagination and Fancy. Reſolution, ſays *Ariſtotle*, ſhould be executed with haſte, but deliberated with leiſure. *James* I. King of *England*, adviſed his Son to be prudent and cautious in his Deliberations, firm and conſtant, in his Reſolutions, and prompt and reſolute in his Executions; for that, for this laſt Nature had ſupplyed the Hands and Feet with ſo many Joynts and ſuch ready Motion. Delay is baſe and mean but ſpeed great and Royal. (4). This Vice of Delay is very frequent in great Kingdoms, and proceeds from their too great Confidence of their Power, as was

(2) *Priuſquam incipias, conſulito, & ubi conſuluris mature facto opus eſt: ita utrumque per ſe indigens alter alterius auxilio viget.* Salluſt.
(3) *Nullus cunctationi locus eſt in eo conſilio, quod non poteſt laudari, ni peractum.* Tac. 1. Hiſt. (4) *Barbaris cunctatio ſervilis; ſtatim exequi regium videtur.* Tac. 6 ann.

viſible in the Emperour *Otho* (5). As alſo from the unweildineſs of the Wheels, upon which its Grandeur is carry'd, and leaſt the Prince ſhould run the Riſque of loſing what he already has, he lives content within the Bounds of his own Empire. That which is really Lazineſs and Sloth is call'd Wiſdom, as was that of the Emperour *Galba* (6). Empires in their Infancy acquire Strength and Vigour by diſpatch, whilſt the Blood boyls, and the Spirits of Glory and Ambition are active. The *Roman* State throve by Action and Bravery, not by thoſe Dilatory Counſels which Cowards call Cautions (7). But after they are at their full growth, their very Majeſty and Authority ſupports 'em long, though that Vigour and heat of Glory, and Ambition be extinguiſh'd, as the Sea keeps its Motion for a conſiderable time after the Wind ceaſes. When therefore Empires are in this Vigour, I don't ſo much diſapprove of theſe tedious Deliberations. For ſo they gain more time to enjoy quietly what they have gotten: too ſpeedy Reſolutions being often attended with Danger. In this Sence that of *Tacitus* is to be underſtood, that Power is better preſerv'd by cautious than raſh Counſels (8). But when this Age decays, and the Eſteem and Authority of the Empire begins to Flag, other methods ought to be us'd, Counſels ſhould be ſpeedy, and other means apply'd to recover its former Vigour, before decrepid old Age comes on, and renders it irrecoverable; this difference of Ages is not conſiderable in ſmall States, but they ſhould always be ready to ſpread their Sails to every favourable Wind, which ſits ſometimes this way, ſometimes that. As in the Circumference of the Horizon, the Winds rule alternatively upon the Earth; the *Goths* and other Nothern Nations, had formerly very favourable Winds, of which they made ſo good uſe, looſing all their Sails, that they penetrated even

(5) *Quo plus virium ac roboris, è fiducia tarditas inerat,* Tac. 1. Hiſt (6) *Et motus temporum obtinuit, ut quod ſegnities erat, ſapientia vocaretur.* Tac. 1. Hiſt (7) *Agendo, audendoque res Romana crevit, non his ſegnibus conſiliis, quæ timidi cauta vocant.* Tit. Liv. (8) *Potentiam cautis, quam acrioribus conſiliis tutius haberi.* Tac. 11. ann.

to

to *Hercules*'s Pillars, the then utmoſt limits of the World; but this Wind ceaſing another ſucceeded more favourable to other Empires.

Conſtancy in executing Reſolutions, whether they are the Prince's own, or given him by others, is always of great Importance. For want of this *Pætus* could not triumph over the *Parthians* (9). All eager and fiery Spirits quickly reſolve, and ſoon repent, they are hot at the beginning, but cold in the end of Affairs; they aim at all, but bring nothing to Perfection; they are like the Animal call'd *Calipes*, which moves with great haſte, but advances not a Foot in an hour. The management of all Affairs requires Conduct and Valour, one to form and t'other to execute them; to a reſolv'd and brave Spirit nothing is difficult; but he who is ſcrupulous, and timorous, meets with a world of Difficulty, and loſes many lucky Opportunities. Great Men are long in their Deliberations, and jealous of what may happen, but once reſolv'd they Act with Vigour and Confidence (10), without which the Courage fails, and not applying convenient means, wholly deſiſts from the Enterprize.

There are few Affairs which cannot be accompliſhed by Wit, or which time, and Opportunity cannot facilitate; wherefore 'tis not proper wholly to confound them, but to preſerve 'em entire. Chryſtal once broken can't be rejoyn'd, and ſo Affairs; be the Tempeſt never ſo great, 'tis ſafer to keep ſome Sail abroad, than to furl all. Moſt Affairs die by being deſpair'd of.

'Tis alſo highly conducive, that he who is to execute Orders, ſhould firſt approve them, otherwiſe he will not think 'em neceſſary, or elſe find Difficulties in them, and ſo not apply himſelf to them as he ought, not caring whether they ſucceed or no. That Miniſter is moſt proper to execute who firſt gave the Counſel. For his Honour and Reputation are concern'd in its Succeſs.

(9) *Eludi Parthus traſtu belli poterat, ſi Pæto aut in ſuis, aut in alienis conſiliis conſtantia fuiſſet.* Tac. 15. ann. (10) *Vir ea ratione fiet optimus: ſi in deliberando quidem cunctetur, & prætimeat quicquid poteſt contingere, in agendo autem confidat.* Herod.

EMBLEM LXV.

A Stone caſt in a Pond creates ſuch a continual Series of Waves, that they at laſt become innumerable, and wholly diſturb that tranſparent Element, and calm Looking-Glaſs; from which the Species of things which were before diſtinctly repreſented, appear now in Diſorder and Confuſion. 'Tis the ſame with the Mind, in which from one Errour proceeds many, ſo that the Judgment being confounded and blinded, and the Waves of Paſſion raiſed, the Underſtanding can't perceive the truth of things repreſented, but ſtriving to remedy the firſt Errour falls into another, and thence into a third, which at length become infinite, and the further they are from the firſt the greater they are, like Waves that are moſt diſtant from the Stone that caus'd 'em. The Reaſon of this is, "That the Beginning is ſaid to be half of the whole,

whole, ſo that a ſmall Errour in the Beginning correſponds to the other Parts (1). Wherefore great Care of the firſt Errour ſhould be taken, for from thence all others proceed (2). This is viſible in *Maſiniſſa*, who being checked by *Scipio* for marrying *Sophoniſba*, thought to remedy that Fault by a far greater, in poiſoning her. King *Witiza* by his Vices obſcured the Glory of the Beginning of his Reign, and that the number of the Miſtreſſes he kept might not ſeem ſcandalous, he allow'd all his Subjects the ſame Liberty; nay, and made a Law for impowering the Clergy to marry; and at laſt finding his Errours contradictory to Religion, he deny'd the Pope's Authority, and thence incurr'd the *Odium* of the whole Kingdom, wherefore to prevent their rebelling he demoliſh'd the Fortifications of moſt Cities and Caſtles, and ſo laid all *Spain* open to the Incurſions of the *Moors* *, and all theſe Faults proceeding, as you ſee, at laſt occaſion'd his Death. The ſame Series of Crimes is viſible in Duke *Valentine*: He endeavoured to build his own Fortune upon the Ruin of others, to which End he omitted no ſort of Tyranny, one piece of Cruelty being follow'd by a greater (3), which at laſt coſt him his State and Life too, proving himſelf an unfortunate Scholar, and *Machiavel*, a pernicious Maſter.

The Faults of Princes are Difficultly corrected, for that they uſually affect many; or ſometimes becauſe of Obſtinacy or Ignorance. Great Spirits which are often more ingenuous and tractable than others, eaſily acknowledge their Errours, and being convinced of them, ſtudy to amend them, pulling down the ill built Edifice Stone by Stone, to rebuild it with more firm and durable Materials. The Motto of the Emperour *Philip* III. was, "Be not aſham'd

(1) *In principio enim peccatur; principium autem dicitur dimidium totius, itaque parvum in Principio erratum correſpondens eſt ad alias partes.* Ariſt. pol. lib. 2. cap 4. (2) *Cum fieri non poſſit, ut ſi in primo, atque principio peccatum fuerit, non ad extremum malum aliquod evadat.* Ariſt. pol. 5. cap. 2. * Marian. Hiſt. Hiſp. lib. 6. cap. 19. (3) *Ferox ſceleratum, & quæ prima provenerant, volutare ſecum, quonam modo Germanicos liberos perverteret.* Tac. 4. ann.

" to alter that which was ill began. He who returns by the ſame way he went, will find his miſtake, and ſoon recover the right Road; Repentance would be afterward inſignificant.

To own you, have at laſt your Errour found *,
Is of ſmall uſe, when once the Ship's aground.

Policy is a certain Chain, in which if one Link be broken, the whole is uſeleſs, unleſs ſoon ſolder'd: A Prince who knows the Danger of his Reſolutions, yet ſtill perſiſts in them, is a greater Lover of his own Opinion, than his Countrey; eſteeming an empty ſhadow of Glory more than Truth; and while he would be thought conſtant, he is ſtubborn and perverſe, 'tis the general Vice of Sovereign Power, to think it beneath 'em to retire when they have once advanced.

——————*He thinks it Brave* †,
Who graſps the Scepter in his Royal Hand
Not to retreat————

Though the Emperour *Charles* V. was better adviſed, who having Sign'd a Grant, which he was afterwards informed was illegal and diſallowable, order'd it to be brought him, and immediately tore it: " I had rather, ſays " he, tear my writing than my Soul. To know ones Errours, and ſtill to perſiſt in them is tyrannick Obſtinacy; but to defend them upon pretence of Honour, is to reſolve to Sin on, and to incourage Ignorance and Folly, 'tis gilding Iron with Gold, which ſoon wears of, and the Iron appears in its ruſty Hue. An Errour corrected makes us more cautious for the future, and to commit Faults ſometimes is a means to prevent greater. So ſmall is our Capacity, that we are to be inſtructed by our very Faults, and are taught by them how to Act diſcreetly. 'Tis certain, that the beſt Laws and Examples proceed from others Crimes (4). The

* Claud. † Seneca. (4) *Uſu probatum eſt P. C. leges egregias, exempla honeſta, apud bonos ex deliciis aliorum gigni.* Tac. 15. ann.

moſt

moſt prudent State committed many miſcarriages, before it arriv'd to Perfection. God alone could compleat the Fabrick of this World without Errour, and yet even he did afterwards in a manner repent him, that he had made Man (5). We are ſometimes more indebted to our miſcarriages, than to our Succeſs; for thoſe inſtruct us, but theſe are only the Seeds of Pride and Vanity. The Patriarchs Inſtruct not on'y the Wiſe, but the Sinful (6), 'tis the Shades give light to a Picture, to them we owe the Excellency of that Art.

Errour does not always proceed from Imprudence, time and other accidents are often the occaſion of it. For that which was at firſt convenient, is afterwards prejudicial. The greateſt Prudence can't give Counſel, which will be proper at all times; which makes it neceſſary to alter Reſolutions, and repeal Laws and Statutes, eſpecially when there is an apparent Advantage (7); or Danger, or when the Prince finds himſelf miſ-inform'd of Matters, upon which ſuch Reſolutions were grounded.

This was the Reaſon King *Abaſuerus* gave for recalling the Sentence, which he had pronounced againſt the People of God, upon the unjuſt Accuſation of *Haman* (8). In theſe and the like Caſes, 'tis not levity of Mind, but Prudence to alter Counſels and Reſolutions, nor can it be called Inconſtancy, but a firm Zeal to be guided by Reaſon in all things, as the Weather-Cock is by the Wind; and the Needle by the North Pole. The Phyſician varies his Medicines according to the Accidents, having Reſpect to nothing, but the recovery of his Patient. The different Diſeaſes which States labour under, require different methods of Cure. Let a Prince then think it a Credit to review, and correct his Decrees, and his Errours too, without being aſham'd of 'em, to commit 'em might be Inadvertency; but to amend is Prudence; Obſtinacy is ever a certain Sign

(5) Gen. 6. 6. (6) *Inſtruunt Patriarchæ, non ſolum docentes, ſed etiam errantes.* Amb lib. 1. de Abr. C. 6. (7) *Non debet reprehenſibile judicari, ſi ſecundum varietatem temporum, Statuta quandoque varientur humana, præſertim cum urgens Neceſſitas, vel evidens utilitas id expoſuit.* Cap. non debet de Conſ. & Affi. (8) Heſt. 16. 9.

of Folly. Yet 'twill be Prudence to make this Alteration with ſuch Addreſs and Dexterity, that the People may not perceive it: for they ignorant and fooliſh as they are, call Miſtake want of Prudence, and Amendment, Levity.

But tho' I adviſe a Prince to correct his Errours, yet I would not be underſtood of all in general; for ſome are ſo ſmall and inſignificant, that the Danger of being cenſur'd for Levity in the amendment of them is more than the Damage they can do by continuing. So that where they will by Degrees ceaſe of themſelves, without drawing on greater, 'twill be better to let 'em remain. There are ſome of that Nature, that 'tis better to follow 'em, nay, and vigorouſly to perſiſt in them, there being perhaps more danger in retracting; and theſe frequently happen in War; there are ſome Affairs, in which that you may ſucceed, 'tis requiſite to uſe indirect means, tho' you incur ſome ſmall Inconveniencies, as the way to ſtraiten a crooked Stick is to bend it the contrary way; in theſe Caſes ſmall Errours are not to be valu'd, nor their Cauſes, nor Means, provided they be not wholly oppoſite to Honour and Juſtice, and when the Advantage to be reap'd from 'em is conſiderable: For ſo they are allowable, and ought rather to be call'd Diſpoſitions to Succeſs than Errours. Others are ſo interwoven in great Attempts, that like Roſes there is no approaching them without pricking ones hand. And this in thoſe Counſels which concern the general Good of a Nation, which are always prejudicial to ſome private Perſons. The Bodies of States are compos'd of different and oppoſite Parts, as to their Qualities and Humours, and a Remedy which is apply'd to the whole Body, is uſually diſagreeable to ſome Part: A Prince therefore has need of great Prudence, to weigh and compare Advantages with Damages, and of a great Courage to execute without hazarding the loſs of thoſe for fear of theſe.

EMBLEM LXVI.

RENOVATION perpetuates the moſt fading things in Nature; each individual Eternizes it ſelf in another, and by that means preſerves its Species. 'Tis for this the Husbandman carefully preſerves young Plants to ſubſtitute in the room of thoſe Trees which die. He does not leave this to Chance, becauſe perhaps they will either not ſpring at all, or not ſuch as he deſires, or elſe not in proper places, nor will they of themſelves grow ſtrait and handſome, without his Care in ſetting them while they are young; for when once grown up no Force can ſtraiten them. The ſame Care ought to be taken in the Education of Youth, eſpecially in thoſe Countreys, where the Conſtitution of the Climate is apt to produce great and noble Spirits, which are like fertile Fields ſoon over-run with Wood and Brambles, unleſs their

their Fertility be corrected by the Art and Industry of the Husbandman. The greater the Spirit is, the more dangerous it is to the State, unless timely moderated by Education. A high aspiring Spirit cannot contain it self; it shakes off the Curb of the Laws, and is eager for Liberty, and should therefore be restrain'd by Art and Instruction, and afterwards by being busied in some honourable Exercise, but when a little more advanc'd in years, the Cure for its Levity is, to employ it in Affairs of State; I take this to be the Reason, why some States admitted young Persons into their Senates. But the best way is, that which Gardiners use, to transplant their young Trees into another Ground, that the superfluous Roots may be prun'd, and the Tree grow strait and tall. Youth seldom thrives well in its own Countrey. For their Friends and Relations by too much Indulgence make them Extravagant. In other Countries 'tis otherwise, for their Necessity obliges them to regulate their Actions, and to endevour to gain People's Esteem. At home we generally expect a little more Liberty, and are apt to promise our selves Pardon; but abroad when we are not known, we are afraid of the Rigour of the Laws, besides Travel polishes our Behaviour, and corrects the Roughness of our Nature, and that foolish Vanity, which attends our home-bred Gentlemen. There Languages, and Men are learn't, and their Manners and Customs observed, the Knowledge of which qualifies a Man for Affairs, as well of Peace as War. 'Twas Travel made *Plato*, *Lycurgus*, *Solon*, and *Pythagoras*, such prudent Lawgivers and Philosophers. At home Men are born and die with the same Fortune, but abroad they raise it. No Planet is exalted in its own House, but in anothers, though not without Detriment and Inconveniency to it self.

Travel is the great Mistress of Prudence, if made for Information, as well as Direction. In this the Northern People are very much to be commended, who with great Curiosity and Attention travel the World over to learn Languages, Arts and Sciences. The *Spaniards* who have greater Conveniency for travelling than any other Nation, because

becauſe of the great Extent of their Kingdom, have the leaſt Inclination to it, lazily ſpending all their time at home, unleſs ſometimes they 'are call'd out by War; when nevertheleſs 'tis abſolutely neceſſary for Princes, who have often occaſion to bring their Armies into ſeveral Countries, to have a perfect Knowledge of them. The two chief Reaſons which detain our *Spaniſh* Nobility at home, are firſt, becauſe *Spain* being almoſt wholly ſurrounded by the Sea, 'tis more inconvenient Sailing, than Travelling by Land; the other is a vain Conceit, that they can't appear abroad without great Pomp, and expenſive Equipage, in which Strangers, though Perſons of the beſt Quality are more modeſt.

Nor is it ſufficient only to tranſplant Youth, but Nurſeries ſhould be alſo rais'd, of which vacant Offices may be ſupply'd, to avoid the neceſſity of employing freſh Perſons, who muſt buy their Experience at the hazard of the State. This is repreſented in the preſent Device by a bundle of Rods, the Emblem of Magiſtracy; for theſe being planted produce more of the ſame; and becauſe in each of the three Forms, that's ſay Monarchy, Ariſtocracy, and Democracy, the methods of Government are different, ſo ſhould alſo the methods of Education of Youth, according to the different Inſtitutions and Cuſtoms of each State; and according to thoſe things, in which they have moſt occaſion for able Men. The *Perſians*, *Ægyptians*, *Chaldæans*, and *Romans* were particularly careful about this; but principally about the Education of Youth for the Magiſtracy, the Welfare or Ruine of States, depending upon the Capacity, or inſufficiency of the Magiſtrates, who are as it were their Soul, and according to the Affections of it the whole Body is govern'd. There were ſeveral Colleges erected in *Spain* for this Purpoſe, which were ſo many Seminaries of able Men for the Adminiſtration of the Government; theſe though their Inſtitutions might ſeem vain and frivolous, yet were they of great uſe upon this account, that they firſt taught thoſe to obey, who were afterwards to command.

I have elſewhere ſaid, that the Knowledge of Sciences was a neceſſary Qualification for a Prince, and will now examine whether it be proper for Subjects, or whether the young Commonalty ſhould be inſtructed therein. Nature has plac'd in the Head, as having the Command over the whole Body, the Underſtanding to apprehend Sciences, and the Memory to retain them. But to the Hands and other parts ſhe has given only a Diſpoſition to Obedience. Men at firſt enter'd into Society, for the mutual Aſſiſtance of each other, not for Contemplation; more for the conveniency of Action, than the Subtilty of nice Speculation: The Happineſs of Governments proceeds not from the Vivacity of the Wit, but the Activity of the Hands. The leiſure of Studies is imploy'd in Vices, and Eternizes all thoſe upon Paper, which the wickedneſs of the Times ſhall invent; plotting againſt the Government, and raiſing Seditions among the People. The *Spartans* thought it ſufficient to learn Obedience, Patience, and Conqueſt (1). Too ſubtil and learn'd Subjects are always fond of Novelty, continually reflecting upon the Government, and diſputing the Princes Orders, and raiſing Commotions among the People; Obedience ſhould be prompt not ingenious, ſincere not cunning (2). Ignorance is the principal Foundation of the *Turkiſh* Empire. And the readieſt way to Ruin it is to ſow Literature among the People. The Happineſs and Tranquility of the *Swiſſe* proceeds from the ſame Cauſe, for frivolous Sophiſtry is forbid among them, yet are they govern'd with as much Policy and Prudence, as any Nation whatever. Study enervates the Body, and debates the Mind, giving it too quick an apprehenſion of Danger. Moſt Men are charm'd by the Pleaſure, Honour, or Profit of Learning, ſo that few would apply themſelves to Arms, or Military Exerciſe for the defence of the State, whoſe Intereſt is in having its People Valiant, rather rather than Learned. The

(1) *Literas ad uſum ſaltem diſcebant, reliqua omnis diſciplina erat, ut pulchrè parerent, ut labores perferrent, ut in pugna vincerent.* Plutar.
(2) *Patres valere decet conſilio, populo ſupervacanea calliditas eſt.* Salluſt.

Genteel

Genteel Politeness of Learning, makes the Mind wholly averse to all laborious Exercises. Study makes Men melancholy, and Lovers of a retired and single Life; which is wholly opposite to the Design of Government, which is to multiply, and raise Men fit and capable of publick Imployments, and such as are able to Act offensively, or defensively with an Enemy. The *Neatherlands* shew us, that it is not Learning and Ingenuity, but Arts, Industry and Trade, that makes a Nation flourish. The *Germans* and other Nations consider'd these Inconveniencies, and therefore founded their Nobility upon Arms, not regarding the Honour and Reputation of Learning; whence almost all the Nobility apply'd themselves to War, and Arts Military. Though Literature conduces much to the Knowledge of the true Religion, yet 'tis evident, that from thence arise different Opinions, which create as many Sects, whence proceed the Confusion and Ruin of Empires, so that the true Religion being now found, a sincere and credulous Ignorance would be much safer, than a presumptuous and conceited Knowledge, which is expos'd to so many Errours. These and some other Reasons which might be alledg'd, seem to advise an utter Extirpation of Learning, according to the Rules of Policy, which regard more the Authority of the Prince, than the advantage of the Subject; but these are Maxims of a Tyrant, not a good and just Prince, who should have no other Object than the Honour and Welfare of his People; to whom Learning is absolutely necessary to confute the Errours of Sectaries, which always flourish where Ignorance Reigns, and also to administer Justice, and to preserve and improve Arts Military, as well as Civil. For Scholars are as useful in defending Cities as Souldiers; as *Syracuse* formerly found in the Person of *Archimedes*: And *Dole* in its learn'd Senate, by whose prudent Counsel, ingenious Machines, and vigorous and resolute Defence, it resisted the whole Power of *France*; changing their Libraries into Magazines, their Gowns into Coats of Mail, and their Pens into Swords, which dip'd in *French* Blood, recorded their Names and Actions to Eternity. 'Tis only too great a

number

number of Universities and Students, which is prejudicial to the Publick, as *Spain* found, whence 'tis highly necessary, that the greatest number should apply themselves to Arts of Navigation and War, not to Law or Speculative Sciences: For which Reason there should be greater Incouragement given to those than the other, that Men may be the more inclined to follow them; for want of such Incouragement in *Spain*, there are so many apply themselves to Learning, that there wants Souldiers to defend the Kingdom. This ought to be remedied by the Care and Prudence of the Prince, who should so judiciously dispose the Education of Youth, that the number of Scholars, Souldiers and Tradesmen might be proportioned to his State.

The same Proportion should be observ'd in those who would lead a religious Monastick Life, of whom too great a number is very prejudicial, both to the Prince and State. Though Religion and Piety ought not to be measur'd by the Rule of Policy, and in the Church Militant, Spiritual Arms are of more use than Temporal, he who was the first Founder of that State, will maintain and preserve it without Detriment to the Publick; nevertheless since human Prudence ought to believe, not expect Miracles, I leave it to him whose Duty 'tis, to consider, whether if the number of Ecclesiasticks, and religious Orders should exceed the Laity which should support 'em, it would not be of great Detriment even to the Church it self. The Council of *Lateran* in the time of *Innocent* III. provided a Remedy for this Inconveniency, by prohibiting the Introduction of new Religions (3). The Royal Council of *Castile*, also perswaded his Majesty to request of the Pope, that there might be none admitted into any Convent under the Age of sixteen years, and not be ordain'd under twenty; but pretended Piety and nice Scruples of Conscience, easily pass over these Inconveniencies.

(3) *Ne nimia Religionum diversitas gravem in Ecclesia Dei confusionem inducat firmiter prohibemus, nequis de cætero novam Religionem inveniat,* &c. Conc. Later.

But

But this Proportion in thoſe who are deſign'd for Buſineſs or Speculation, will be of ſmall uſe, unleſs the Prince alſo take Care of the Nurſeries of the Commonalty, which ſhould produce a ſufficient number of well qualified Citizens to ſucceed in the room of thoſe whom Death daily takes off. The Ancients were always very careful of Propagation, that each Individual might be ſucceeded by another. Of the neceſſity of this, the Romans in particular were ſo well ſatisfied, that they not only propoſed Rewards for Procreation, but alſo looked upon a ſingle Life as infamous. *Germanicus* the better to oblige the People to revenge his Death among the reſt of the Services, he had done the Government, he urg'd, that he had ſix Children by his Wife (4). *Tiberius* alſo told it, as a good *Omen* to the Senate that *Druſus*'s Wife, was brought to Bed of Twins(5). The Strength of Kingdoms conſiſts in the number of Subjects; and he is the greateſt Prince whoſe State is moſt populous, not he whoſe Territories are largeſt: For they of themſelves can neither defend nor offend; but by means of their Inhabitants, on whom all their Glory depends. The Emperour *Adrian* us'd to ſay, *That he had rather his Empire ſhould abound with Men than Riches*; and with a great deal of Reaſon, for Riches without Subjects do only invite Wars, without being able to defend themſelves, as on the contrary, Subjects without Riches, want neither Power to acquire, or maintain them (6), in the multitude of People is the King's Honour: but in the want of People, is the Deſtruction of the Prince (7). The Wiſe *Alphonſo* would have a Prince take particular care to People his State, and that not only with Commonalty, but alſo with Nobility; in which he judg'd with great Prudence, for one without the other is like a Body without a Soul, the Commonalty being inſignificant without the Nobility,

(4) *Oſtendite populo Romano Divi Auguſti neptem, eandemque conjugem meam, numerate ſex liberos.* Tac. 2. ann. (5) *Nulli ante Romanorum ejuſdem faſtigii viro geminam ſtirpem editam.* Tac. 2. ann. (6) *Cura ampliare imperium hominum addictione potius, quam pecuniarum copia malim.* (7) Prov. 14. 28.

which

which are their Life, and by whose Example they learn to covet Glory, and despise Danger. It ought therefore to be a Prince's chief Care, to preserve and maintain them. As *Augustus* did, who not only caus'd *Hortalus* to marry, but also allowed wherewithall to his Quality, that that Noble Family might not be extinct (8). The *Germans* are very circumspect in this Point, for which Reason they anciently gave no Portion with their Women (9), and even now give very small ones, that their Vertue and Nobility might be their only Dowry, and that their Lovers might respect the Endowments of their Minds and Bodies, more than their Fortunes, that Marriages might be sooner concluded, without losing so much time in Fortune-Hunting; for which Reason *Lycurgus* wholly prohibited the giving Dowries to Women; and the Emperour *Charles* V. regulated them; 'tis said also, that *Aristotle* reprehended the *Lacedæmonians*, for giving such large Fortunes to their Daughters (10). King *Alphonso* also advises, that a Prince unless upon extraordinary occasions should not People his State with Foreigners, and truly with a great deal of Reason, for different Manners and Religions are the worst Domestick Enemies. This made the *Spaniards* drive the *Jews* and *Moors* out of *Spain*. Foreigners introduce with them their Vices, and Errours, and are ready upon every occasion to rise against the Natives (11). But this Inconveniency would not be much to be fear'd, if only Labourers and Husbandmen were admitted, nay, this is sometimes of great Advantage. So the Grand Signior *Selim* sent a vast number of Labourers from *Cairo* to *Constantinople*. The *Poles* having Elected *Henry* Duke of *Anjou* King, among other Articles 'twas agreed, That he should bring with him several Families of Artificers. *Nebuchadnezzar* upon the taking of *Jerusalem*, carried away all the

(8) *Ne clarissima familia extingueretur.* Tac. 2. ann. (9) *Dotem non uxor marito, sed uxori maritus affert.* Tac. de Mor. Germ. (10) *Statuit virgines sine dote nubere: jussit uxores eligerentur, non pecunia.* Trog. lib. 3. (11) *Quare qui inquilinos & advenas antehac in Civitatem receperunt, hi magna ex parte seditionibus jactati sunt.* Arist. l. 5. pol. c. 3.

Men

" Men of might even ſeven thouſand, and Crafts Men, " and Smiths a thouſand, and all that were ſtrong, and " kept for War, even them the King of *Babylon* brought " Captive to *Babylon* (12). But becauſe this method may be too troubleſome and chargeable, and alſo becauſe ſuch a Supply may be inſufficient, I will here ſet down the uſual Cauſes of want of People in Nations. And theſe are either internal or external; External are Wars and Plantations; War is a ſort of Monſter which feeds on humane Blood; and ſince 'tis the Intereſt of each State to maintain it abroad as the *Romans* did, it muſt neceſſarily be done at the Expence of the Lives and Eſtates of the Subjects (13). Neither can Plantations be long maintain'd, without great Supplies of Men, as we have found in *Spain*; for which Reaſon the *Romans* during the War with *Hannibal*, and for ſome years after, took little Care of planting new Colonies (14); they having more reaſon to recruit than weaken their Forces. *Velleius Paterculus* eſteem'd the planting Colonies out of *Italy* as very pernicious, becauſe being ſo far diſtant from the Heart of the Empire, they could not aſſiſt it upon occaſion (15). The other Cauſes are Internal. The principal of which are Taxes, want of Husbandry and Trade, and too great a number of Holy Days, the Inconveniencies, and Remedies of which I have ſet down elſewhere.

The Court is alſo a great Cauſe of the want of People, for as a hot Liver draws all the natural Heat to it ſelf, leaving other parts of the Body ſpiritleſs and faint, ſo the Pomp, Eaſe, Delight, Profit, and hopes of Reward at Court, allure the Minds of moſt, eſpecially of the Artificers and Tradeſmen, who think it a more pleaſant and eaſie

(12) 2 Kings 24. 16. (13) *Fuit proprium Pop. Rom. longe à domo bellare, & propugnaculum imperii ſocierum fortunas, non ſua tecta defendere.* Cic. pro leg. Man. (14) *Deinde neque dum Annibal in Italia morabatur, nec proximis poſt exceſſum ejus annis vacavit Romanis Coloniae mittere, cum eſſet in bello conquirendus potius miles, & poſt bellum vires refundae, potius quam ſpargendae,* Vell. lib 1. (15) *In legibus Gracchi inter pernicioſiſſima numeraverim, quod extra Italiam Colonias peſuit,* Vell. lib. 2.

Life to ſerve ſome Perſon of Quality, than to toil at their own Trade; the Nobility alſo, invited by the Prince's Preſence, or the Charms of the Court, leave their Eſtates in the Countrey for a Court Life; whence not being able to look after them, but ſpending their Revenues upon extravagant and unneceſſary Expences, their Eſtates become poor and uninhabited, whereas they would have been rich and populous, had their Lord reſided there. The Emperor *Juſtinian* prudently reflected upon theſe Inconveniencies, and appointed an Officer on purpoſe to prevent them (16). King *John* II. alſo order'd, that all the Nobility at his Court ſhould at certain times, viſit their own Eſtates, as alſo the Emperor *Trajan* did before him.

Birth-right alſo, eſpecially in *Spain*, is very prejudicial to Propagation; for the eldeſt Brother Claims the whole Eſtate (which King *Theodorick* thought very unjuſt) (17), ſo that the youngeſt not having wherewithal to maintain a Family, inſtead of marrying, either ſhut themſelves into Convents, or turn Soldiers. For this Reaſon *Plato* call'd Riches and Poverty, the ancient Plagues of Commonwealths, knowing that almoſt all their miſfortunes proceeded from an unequal Diſtribution of Riches. If the Citizens had all an equal Dividend, States would undoubtedly flouriſh more. But though the advantage redounding from hence wou'd be great, the Preſervation of the Nobility by means of Fiefs would not be leſs, for by that means they would be in a Capacity to ſerve the Prince and State; ſo that thoſe may be allowed to the ancient Nobility, not to the modern, by making a Law, that all Relations to the fourth Degree, ſhould be joynt Heirs, if not of the whole, yet of the greateſt part of the Eſtate (18); thus the Inconveniencies of Lega-

(16) *Invenimus enim quia populatim Provinciæ ſuis habitatoribus ſpoliantur: Magna vero hæc noſtra civitas populoſa eſt, turbis diverſorum hominum, & maxima Agricolarum ſuas civitates & culturas relinquentium,* Auth de Quæſt. (17) *Iniquum eſt enim ut de una ſubſtantia, quibus competit æqua ſucceſſio, alii abundanter affluant, alii paupertatis incommoda ingemiſcant;* Caſſ. lib. 1. Epiſt. 7. (18) *Commodum eſt etiam, ut hæreditates non donatione ſed jure cognitionis tradantur,* Ariſt l. 5. pol. 7

cies

cies and Gifts would be prevented, which are more the Effects of Vanity, than a design to serve the Publick, as also of that religious Prodigality, which observing neither Bounds, nor Proximity of Blood, gives all to the Church, not leaving so much as Subsistence to Brethren, or any other Relations, whence Families become Extinct, the Royal Revenues are exhausted, the People impoverish'd, and unable to pay Taxes, the Power of those who are exempted is increased, and the Authority of the Prince diminished. This *Moses* considering (19) forbid by Edict, any one from offering any more towards the Work of the Sanctuary (20), though God himself was the Author of those Offerings, and they were offer'd through pure Devotion (21); the Republick of *Venice* have made very prudent Provisions against this.

'Tis necessary also, that a fit time should be observed in Marriages: for if too late the Succession is endanger'd, and the Government would be too much expos'd to the Incontinency of Youth: And if soon the Children being almost of the same Age with their Fathers, would soon forget their Duty, and grudge 'em the time they live.

(19.) Exod. 36. 5. (20) Exod. 36. 6. (21) Exod. 35. 29.

EMBLEM LXVII.

THE Policy of our Times presupposes Malice and Fraud in all things, and therefore arms it self with greater, without any regard to Religion, Justice or Honour. It thinks nothing disallowable that is advantageous; but as these Practices are now common, they must need justle and confound one another, to the Detriment of the publick Tranquility, and without obtaining their propos'd Ends. But let a Prince cautiously avoid such Doctrine, and learn rather of Nature the Mistress of true Policy, without Malice, Fraud, or any ill Practice, there being none so certain, firm and solid, as that which she observes

obſerves in the Government, of Vegetables and Animals, more eſpecially that which ſhe dictates to every Man by his Reaſon. Particularly to Shepherds and Husbandmen, for the Preſervation of their Flocks, and improvement of their Ground: Hence may be 'tis, that thoſe Kings who have been choſen from the Crook or the Plow, have made the beſt Governours. Though the Shepherd (whoſe Office is almoſt the ſame of a Prince's) (1) enjoys the Benefit of the Wool and the Milk of his Flock, yet 'tis with ſuch moderation, that he neither draws Blood from their Duggs, nor ſhears their Skin ſo cloſe as to leave 'em wholly expos'd to the Inconveniences of cold and heat. So a Prince, ſays King *Alphonſo*) "ought more to value the common Good of his "People, than his own particular Intereſt, for the com-"mon Good and Riches of his Subjects, are as it were "his own". The Husbandman cuts not down the Body of the Tree, for his Domeſtick occaſions, but only Lops the Branches, and not all of them neither, but leaves enough to ſprout out and ſerve his Occaſions the next Year; but the Farmer is not ſo careful, who is for making the beſt of his Farm while his Leaſe continues, not caring how much he impoveriſhes his Ground for his Landlord (2). This is the difference between a lawful Prince and a Tyrant, in reſpect of Taxes and Impoſitions. This having an unjuſt Title, and fearing ſoon to be dethron'd, makes the beſt uſe of his time, ſtocking up all by the Roots, fleaing inſtead of ſhearing his Flock, inſtead of feeding them he glues himſelf, (3) and inſtead of defending them, leaves them a naked Prey to every Wolf (4). But a juſt and lawful Prince in Impoſing Taxes, conſiders the Juſtice of the Cauſe, the Quantity, Quality, and Occaſion, and alſo Proportions them to his Subjects Eſtates and Perſons, treating his Kingdom not as a Body which

(1) Jerem. 23. * L. 19. tit. 2. p. 3. (2) *Aliter utimur propriis, aliter commodatis*, Quint. de Orat. (3) Ezek. 34. 2. (4) John 10. 12.

is to die with him, but to remain to his Posterity; knowing that though Princes are Mortal, States are Eternal, (5) and since he expects a new Crop from his Kingdom every Year, he preserves it carefully, as his best Treasury, which he may make use of upon urgent Occasions: for as King *Alphonso* said in one of his Laws, borrowing his Thought from a Precept of *Aristotle* to *Alexander* the Great: "The best and most last-"ing Treasure of a King, is his People, when they "are well defended; according to a saying of the Em-"peror *Justinian*, that the Kingdom was always rich, "and the Exchequer full when the Subjects were weal-"thy, and the Land plentiful".

When therefore a Prince raises Taxes with this Moderation, the Subjects ought chearfully to pay them, nor can they without a sort of Rebellion refuse them; for Sovereignty has no other Portion, nor publick necessity any other Assistance; there is no Peace without Soldiers, no Soldier without Pay, no Pay without Taxes (6). For this Reason when *Nero* would have remitted the Taxes, the *Roman* Senate oppos'd him, saying, that without them the Empire would be ruin'd (7). Taxes are the Price of Peace; but if they are too heavy, and the People not well satisfied of their necessity, they soon rebel against their Prince. 'Twas for no other Reason that King *Alphonso* Sirnamed the Great, grew so odious to the People, that after many Troubles and Vexations he was oblig'd to quit his Crown: for the same also *Garcias* King of *Galicia* lost both his Kingdom and Life too †. K. *Henry* III. consider'd this Danger, when being advised by some, to raise new Taxes to defray the Expence of War, he answer'd, "I fear "the Discontent of my People more than my Enemies.

(5) *Principes mortales, Rempub. æternam esse*, Tac. 3. ann. (6) Lib. 11. tit. 5 p. 2. *Neque quies gentium sine armis neque arma sine stipendiis, neque stipendia sine tributis haberi queunt*, Tac. 4. Hist. (7) *Dissolutionem Imperii docendo, si fructus quibus Resp. sustinetur removerentur*, Tac. 13. ann. † Mar. Hist. Hisp. lib. 9. cap. 8.

Money

Money collected from unjuſt Taxes, is mingled with the Subjects Blood, as was ſeen to drop from that piece which St. *Francis* of *Padua* broke in the Preſence of *Ferdinand* King of *Naples*, and this ever crys for Vengeance againſt the Prince.

Great Taxes therefore ought not to be rais'd till the People be well convinced of the Neceſſity of them; for when they are ſatisfied of that, and of the Juſtice of the Cauſe, they patiently bear the heavieſt Impoſitions, as we ſee in thoſe which were rais'd by K. *Ferdinand* IVth, and in the Grant which the Parliament, of *Toledo* made of a Million, in the times of *Henry* III. permitting him alſo to raiſe more of his own accord, to carry on the Wars againſt the *Moors*. For though 'tis not for private Perſons to examine into the Juſtice of Taxes, though they cannot often apprehend the Cauſes of Expences, nor can they be communicated to them without evident Danger (8), yet are there ſome general Reaſons which they may without Damage be inform'd of, and though Natural and Divine Reaſon do allow the Power of levying Impoſitions to the Prince, without the Subjects Conſent, when they are juſt and neceſſary (as King *Alphonſo* us'd to ſay) yet will a prudent Prince ſo manage the matter, and diſpoſe the Minds of his Subjects, that it may ſeem to be done with their Approbation; Taxes are (according to the Scripture) the Bridle of the People (9); they keep them in Obedience, and uphold the Prince's Authority. Thoſe who are free from all Taxes are ungovernable; yet this Bridle ſhould be ſo eaſie, as not to gall them too much; as King *Flavius Herwegius* prudently conſider'd in the Thirteenth Council of *Toledo*, ſaying, That that Government was beſt which neither oppreſs'd the People with too

(8) *Tibi ſummum rerum judicium dii dedere: nobis obſequii gloria relicta eſt*, Tac. 6. ann. (9) 2 Sam. 8. 1. Vide.

great Taxes, nor made them remiſs and negligent by too little *.

The Command which Princes have over the Lives of their Subjects, is executed without Danger, it being done by Law, which puniſhes ſome as Examples to the reſt; but not ſo that Command which they have over their Goods and Eſtates, for that comprehends all in general, and People are more ſenſible in what concerns their Eſtates than their Bodies; eſpecially when they are got by Sweat and Blood, and are to be imployed to ſupply the Prince's Luxury. In which that remarkable Action of K. *David* ought to be conſider'd, when he refus'd to drink the water which his three Soldiers brought him from amidſt the Enemies Camp, leaſt he ſhould ſeem to drink the Blood of thoſe Men (10). 'Tis no good Policy to impoveriſh the People by Taxes the better to keep them in Obedience, for though Poverty, whether Original or Accidental, debaſes our Spirits, which always riſe and fall with our Condition; yet does Oppreſſion provoke our Minds, and urge us to Rebellion (11). All the *Iſraelites* that were in Diſtreſs, and every one that was in Debt, and every one that was diſcontented joyn'd *David* againſt *Saul* (12). The People are always moſt obedient when they are richeſt. The plenty of *Egypt* made the People of God, though very ſeverely us'd, forget their Liberty; but afterwards when they came to want in the Wilderneſs, they complain'd heavily of their Slavery and Bondage.

When a Kingdom is given upon Condition, that no Taxes ſhall be levy'd without its Conſent, or if this be afterwards provided by ſome general Decree, as was in the Parliament of *Madrid*, in the time of King *Alphonſo* XIth. or when it has acquired this Privilege

* *Ut nec incauta exactio populos gravet, nec indiſcreta remiſſio ſtatum gentis faciat deperire*, Concil. Tol xiii. (10) 2 Sam. 23. 17. (11) *Ferociſſimo quoque adſumpto, aut quibus ob egeſtatem, ac metum ex flagitiis maxima peccandi neceſſitudo*, Tac. 3. ann. (12) 1 Sam. 22 2.

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by long Preſcription, as in *Spain*, and *France*; in ſuch Caſes the Prince muſt wait the Conſent of the Parliament, leaſt he ſhould expoſe himſelf to the ſame Danger, as *Charles* VIIth. of *France* did formerly, when he went to raiſe a certain Tax without communicating it to his Council. 'Tis alſo of great advantage to a Prince to be ſo well eſteem'd of his People, that from their Opinion of his Zeal for their Good, they may think whatever Taxes he impoſes upon them are juſt and reaſonable, and blindly agree to whatever he propoſes, committing themſelves wholly to his Prudence and Management, as the *Egyptians* did to *Joſeph's*, when he exacted the fifth part of their Eſtates (13). When the People have once this Confidence in the Prince, he ought diligently to take Care, not to burthen them without ſufficient Cauſe, and mature Deliberation. But if neceſſity does require it, let him at leaſt take Care that the Taxes be well expended; for the People take nothing more hainouſly, than to ſee no advantage from their Oppreſſions, and to ſee their Eſtates ſquander'd away to no purpoſe. They are alſo very uneaſie to ſee Taxes continued, when the Occaſion for which they were rais'd is over. As 'twas in *Veſpaſian's* time, when the Taxes rais'd for the neceſſity of War were continued in time of Peace (14). For afterwards Subjects dread them, and grudge to pay them though never ſo ſmall, thinking that they will be perpetual. Queen *Mary* gain'd the Hearts of her Subjects, and preſerv'd their Loyalty in the moſt difficult times, by remitting the Exciſe which her Husband King *Sancho* IVth. had laid upon Proviſions.

'Tis difficult to perſwade People to part with their Money to maintain a foreign War, nor can they eaſily

(13) Gen. 47. 25. (14) *Neceſſitate armorum excuſata, etiam in pace manſere*, Tac. 2. ann.

apprehend how much it conduces to their Intereſt, to keep War from their own Doors, and maintain it in foreign States, and how much ſafer is the Defence of a Shield than that of a Helmet, that being farther diſtant from the Head. The Purblind Mobb can ſeldom ſee ſo far. They weigh rather the preſent Burthen, than the future Benefit, not thinking all the Riches of the Kingdom will be afterwards too little to make good the Damage they have ſuffer'd by their obſtinate Negligence (15). It requires therefore, all the Prudence and Dexterity of a Prince to make them know their Intereſt.

In raiſing Taxes, Care ought always to be taken not to oppreſs the Nobility: for Exemption from Taxes being the chief Diſtinction between them and the Commons, they can't brook to ſee themſelves degraded, and their Privileges violated, which were acquir'd by the Valour and Vertue of their Anceſtors. This was the Reaſon why the Nobility of *Caſtile* took up Arms againſt *Henry* III. who tax'd 'em at five Marvedees of Gold apiece, towards the Charge of the War.

Neither ſhould Taxes be laid upon ſuch things as are abſolutely neceſſary for Life; but rather upon Toys, Curioſities, Pride and Vanity: for ſo beſides correcting Luxury, they would fall in the greateſt meaſure upon the Rich, and would be Encouragement to Husbandmen and Tradeſmen, which part of the Government ought moſt to be cheriſhed and ſupported; ſo the *Romans* laid great Taxes upon the Spices, Pearls and Jewels, which were imported from *Arabia*; as *Alexander Severus* did upon thoſe Offices which tended more to Debauchery, than Uſe and Neceſſity,

(15) *Plerumque accidit, ut qua provinciæ pecunia parcendo, remota pericula contemnunt incumbentibus demum malis, deſperata ſæpe remedio graviora ſentiant detrimenta*, Paul. Jov.

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'tis the readieſt way to Reformation, to inhance the Price of Vanity. There are no Taxes paid more eaſily than thoſe which are laid upon Commodities imported; for the greateſt part of them is paid by Foreigners; wherefore in *England* the Royal Revenue is very prudently raiſed from theſe kind of Taxes, the Kingdom it ſelf being Exempt.

The greateſt Inconveniency in raiſing Taxes and Exciſe is, in the Collectors and Receivers, who are often more burthenſome than the Taxes themſelves; for there is nothing that the Subjects take more grievouſly, than the violence and importunity of theſe ſort of Men in collecting their Money. 'Tis an Obſervation that only *Sicily* endur'd them with Patience: God himſelf complains of them by the Prophet *Iſaiah*, that they oppreſs'd his People (16). In *Egypt* ſome Prophet was always Preſident of the Cuſtoms, for they thought it not ſafe to truſt 'em to any but God's immediate Servant; but now they are committed to Pedlars and Broakers, who wreck a Ship in Port, which had eſcaped the Fury of the Wind and Sea (17), like Robbers plundering Travellers of their Goods and Money. What wonder therefore that Trade decays, and that Riches and Merchandice are not imported, if they are expos'd to ſuch as theſe, who plunder 'em by Authority, what Wonder, I ſay, That the People complain of Taxes, if for one Shilling that comes to the King, ten goes to the Collectors and Receivers for this Reaſon, when in the Parliament of *Guadalajara*, the Kingdom of *Caſtile* offer'd to raiſe 150000 Ducats, it was upon Condition, that they themſelves ſhould keep Books of the Receipts and Diſburſements of it, that they might know what was imployed to the publick Intereſt, and

(16) Iſa. 3. 12. Vid. (17) *Portus noſtros navis veniens non paveſcat, ut certum nautis poſſit eſſe naufragium, ſi manus non incurrerent exigentium: quos frequenter plus affligunt damna, quam ſolent naufragia*, Caſſiod. lib. 4. Ep. 19.

how

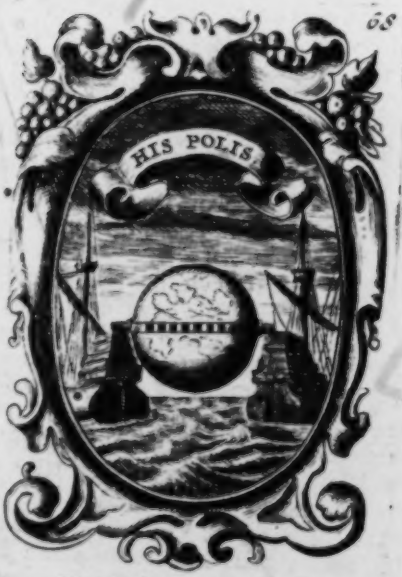
how it was expended, without truſting it to the Management of thoſe who had the Government of the Kingdom during the Kings Minority. For the ſame Reaſon, the People of *France* propos'd to King *Henry* II. that if he would diſcharge his Collectors, they would themſelves pay in their Aſſeſſments, where-ever he ſhould Order; which the King had agreed to, had not ſome of his Miniſters diſſwaded him. The Kingdoms of *Caſtile* have often offer'd the ſame thing, nay, and alſo to pay off the Crown Debts; but 'twas judg'd that it would be a Diminution to the Royal Authority, to be inſtructed and tutor'd by the Kingdom, and beſides, that ſuch a Power could not be without Danger. But I believe the true Reaſon was, that the Court was unwilling to loſe ſo many beneficial Offices, and ſuch ready means of getting Money. A Prince's Credit conſiſts not in the Adminiſtration, but in the Poſſeſſion of Riches. The *Roman* State was not leſs careful of their Authority than any other, yet by Reaſon of the Trouble and Charge of Collecting, it order'd each Province to Collect and pay in their own Taxes; taking Care to keep the Officers in their Duty, that they might not oppreſs the People through Avarice and Extortion; in this *Tiberius* took particular Care (18). Modeſty in the Collecting of one Tax, obliges the People more readily to grant others.

(18) *Ne Provincia nobis contribus turbarentur, atque vetera ſua avaritia, aut crudelitate Magiſtratuum tolerarent*, Tac. lib. 4. ann.

E M.

PAGINATION INCORRECT

EMBLEM LXVIII.



THE Ingenious *Greeks* included in certain pretty Fables, as the *Ægyptians* in Hieroglyphicks, not only all Natural Philoſophy, but alſo Moral and Politick; either to hide them from the Vulgar, or elſe that they might be the better imprinted in their Minds, by theſe pleaſant and delightful Fictions. So, to repreſent the Power of Navigation, and the Riches thereby acquir'd, they feign'd, that the Ship *Argo* (which was the firſt that durſt venture upon the main Ocean) obtained the famous Fleece, which inſtead of Wool, yielded Gold; for which glorious Exploit it was conſecrated to *Pallas*, the Goddeſs of War, and placed amongſt the Conſtellations, as a Reward of ſuch dangerous Voyages: ſhewing

the World, that by the Help of Oars and Sails, they might make Way through Mountains of Waves; and by the Aſſiſtance of the Wind, carry Arms and Merchandiſe all the World over. This Morality, and the Preferment of that Ship to the Skies, occaſion'd me to draw two in this preſent *Emblem*; as the Poles of the Globe Terreſtrial, to ſhew that Navigation is the Support of the World, by Commerce and Arms: Theſe Poles are Movable, but in their Motion conſiſts the Stability of Empires: There's ſcarce any Monarchy which has not receiv'd its Riſe and Preſervation from thence. If the Grandeur of *Spain* were not ſupported by both thoſe Poles, the *Mediterranean* and *Ocean*, it would ſoon fall: For 'tis evident, that Provinces ſo diſtant from one another, would be in imminent Danger, were it not, as 'twere, united by Oars and Sails, and timely ſupplied with Recruits for its Support and Defence: So that Ships and Gallies ſeem to be nothing but a kind of Sea-Bridge. For this Reaſon, the Emperor *Charles* V. and *Ferdinand* Duke *d'Alva*, adviſ'd King *Philip* II. to maintain a great Fleet at Sea. King *Siſebutus* well knew the Advantage of it, being the firſt that kept a Fleet upon the *Spaniſh* Seas. *Themiſtocles* gave the ſame Advice to his State; and the *Romans* made uſe of it afterwards to conquer the World. This Element begirts and conquers the Earth: In it Strength and Speed are united; and whoever can make uſe of them with Valour, has the World at command. Arms at Land attack and terrifie only one Nation, but at Sea they Alarm the whole World. There is no Circumſpection, or Power ſufficient by Land, to defend the Sea Coaſts. 'Tis the Sea which has civiliz'd all Nations, which had been rude and barbarous, without the Uſe of Navigation and Commerce, which has taught 'em to know one another's Languages and Cuſtoms: This Antiquity meant, when they feign'd that the Rudder of the Ship *Argo* ſpoke; intimating, that by the Help of that, foreign Languages were learn'd. 'Tis Navigation that ſupplies each Nation with the Goods and Riches of others, all Nations mutually

tually furniſhing each other with what they want; which Advantage promotes that mutual Love and Correſpondence between Men, which is neceſſary for their reciprocal Aſſiſtance.

This Marine Power is more neceſſary for ſome Kingdoms than others, according to their ſeveral Situation and Diſpoſition. The *Aſiatick* Monarchies have more Occaſion for a Land than Sea Force. *Venice* and *Genoa*, of which one lies upon the Sea, the other near it, being utterly unapt for Husbandry and Agriculture, apply themſelves wholly to Navigation: And as long as they maintain'd their Power at Sea, they were the Terrour and Glory of the World. So *Spain*, which is in a manner ſurrounded with the Ocean, muſt eſtabliſh its Power at Sea, if it would aſpire to Univerſal Monarchy. The Situation of its Ports is very commodious, not only for the Support of ſuch Force, but alſo for hindring the Navigation of other Nations, who, by our Trade, get Riches and Strength to make War upon us afterwards. For which Reaſon, 'twill be convenient to provide ſufficient Security for Commerce and Traffick, they being the principal Cauſes; 'tis they turn all the Ports into Magazines and Stores, furniſhing the Kingdom with all things neceſſary, making it flouriſh, and grow Populous. Theſe and other Conveniences the Prophet *Ezekiel* intimated, in the Allegory of the Ships which belong'd to *Sidon* (a City *ſituate at the Entry of the* (1) *Sea*,) which was full of Merchants and Mariners (2). *They of Perſia, and of Lud, and of Phut, were in its Armies, Men of War: they hang'd the Shield and Helmet in it, they ſet forth its comelineſs* (3). *Tarſhiſh was its Merchant, by reaſon of the multitude of all kind of Riches; with Silver, Iron, Tin, and Lead, they traded in its Fairs* (4). In a word, There was nothing in any Nation, which was not ſold in its Fairs; ſo that it might be truly called *glorious in the midſt of the Seas* (5). We find alſo its Prince exalted, and

(1) *Ezek.* 27. 3. (2) Ibid. (3) Ibid. ver. 10. (4) Ibid. ver. 12. (5) Ibid. ver. 25.

liſted up by its Traffick (6). The Republicks of *Sidon*, *Nineveh*, *Babylon*, *Rome*, and *Carthage*, flouriſh'd both in War and Peace, as long as they maintain'd their Trade and Commerce. When *Venice* and *Genoa* fail'd in Traffick and Navigation, their Grandeur and Glory ſoon faded. *Holland*, ſituate upon a barren Sand, not capable of being manur'd by either Spade or Plow, ſupports very numerous Armies by their Trade and Commerce; and maintains ſuch populous Cities, as the moſt fertile Plains would not be able to ſupply. *France* has neither Mines of Silver nor Gold, yet does it enrich it ſelf by its Trade in ſeveral kind of Toys and Gugaws in Iron, Lead and Tin: Whereas we, through Lazineſs, neglect theſe Riches, which the Conveniency of the Sea offers us. We, with great Toil and Danger, bring Home the Treaſures of both the *Indies*, as Diamonds, Pearls, Spice, *&c.* without proceeding any further; whereas other Nations reap the Benefit of this our Labour, by tranſporting them into all the Countries of *Europe*, *Aſia*, and *Africa*. We ſupport the *Genoueſe* with Gold and Silver to trade with, and afterwards pay 'em extravagant Prices for their Commodities, ſo paying Intereſt for our own Money. We furniſh other Nations with Silk, Wool, Steel, Iron, and many other Commodities; which, after they are wrought, are brought to us again, and we buy them at a prodigious Rate, by reaſon of the Carriage and Workmanſhip: So that we pay very dear for the Ingennity and Induſtry of other Nations. They bring us trifling, inſignificant Ware, and carry hence our ſubſtantial Gold and Silver. Whence it is, (as King *Henry* II. ſaid) *That Foreigners, nay, ſometimes our very Enemies, grow Rich and Powerful, while our own People are Impoveriſh'd and Beggar'd.* This the Emperor *Tiberius* formerly complain'd of, when he ſaw the Extravagance of the *Roman* Ladies in Pearls and Jewels (7). Your R. H. would gain Immortal Honour, in Encouraging

(6) *Ezek.* 28. 5. (7) *Quid? lapidum cauſa pecunia noſtra ad hoſtiles gentes transferuntur.* Tac. 3. Annal.

and

and Promoting Trade and Navigation, both in the Citizens and Nobility; for the Products of the Earth are not more Natural than those of Traffick and Commerce. The Kings of *Tyre* did not disdain to Trade; and the Fleets which *Solomon* sent to *Tarshish*, carry'd not only Necessaries, but also Merchandize and Effects to Trade with, that he might exceed all the Kings of the Earth for Wisdom and Riches (8). We read, that *Pompey* put out his Money to Use. The Nobility also of *Rome* and *Carthage* thought it not beneath 'em to Traffick. *Rome* Instituted a College of Merchants; whence, I believe, the *Dutch* took the Institution of their Companies. How much more commodiously might *Spain* Establish them, by securing them with Men of War; which would make it not only Rich, but Formidable. These Conveniencies the Kings of *Portugal* considering, setled their Commerce in the East, by Force of Arms; maintaining their Arms by their Trade; and by the help of both, founded a new and large Empire (9); Establishing Religion, before unknown to those remote Countries: As it was also to the Western Part of the World, till introduc'd by the Valour and Prowess of the *Castilians*, who instructed that Heathen Country in what before they never so much as heard of (10); so that receiving from them the True Religion of the Gospel, and the Mysterious Bread of the Eucharist, brought them so far (11), that they cried out for Joy, with the Prophet *Isaiah*, *Who hath begotten me these; seeing I have lost my Children, and am desolate, a Captive, and removing to and fro? and who hath brought up these? Behold, I was left alone, these, where had they been* (12)?

'Twould be also conducive, that if, as the *Romans* formerly establish'd Garrisons at *Constantinople*, *Rhodes*, upon the *Rhine*, and at *Cadiz*, as in the four principal Angles of the Empire; so now the *Spaniards* should

(8) 1 *King.* 10. 22. (9) *Psalm* 71. 8. (10) *Isai.* 49. 12
(11) *Prov.* 31. 14. (12) *Isai.* 49. 21.

erect Military Orders in ſeveral Places in the *Mediterranean* and *Ocean*, who might Cruiſe about the Seas, and clear them of Pyrates, and ſecure our Trade with other Nations. Theſe Badges of Honour and Nobility, are ſufficient Rewards for Vertue and Valour; and the Preſidency of theſe Orders are rich enough to give a Beginning to ſo Glorious and Royal an Undertaking. But if their Revenues ſhould not ſuffice, nor the Crown be willing to be depriv'd of ſo many Noble Poſts, the Adminiſtration of which is inveſted in it by the Apoſtolick See, ſome Eccleſiaſtical Rents might be apply'd to that uſe. This was the Advice of King *Ferdinand the Catholick*, who would have Conſtituted the Knights of St. *James* at *Oran*; and the Orders of *Alcantara*, and *Calatrava*, at *Bugia* and *Tripoli*; having obtained leave of the Pope, to convert the Revenues of the Convents *del Villar de Venas*, St. *Martin*, in the Dioceſe of Saint *James*, and that of *Oviedo*, to that uſe. But by reaſon of the War, which ſoon after broke out in *Italy*, this Deſign was not accompliſh'd, or perhaps becauſe God reſerv'd the Glory of this Inſtitution for ſome other King. Nor is the State-Objection, againſt Intruſting ſuch Potent Offices to the Nobility, of force. Military Orders were, 'tis true, the Occaſion of ſo many Rebellions in *Caſtile*: yet now, when the Power of our King is enlarg'd by the addition of ſo many Crowns, that Inconveniency is not to be fear'd; eſpecially if theſe Orders were ſetled out of *Spain*, and the Preſidency of them Ingrafted, as it were, in the Crown.

EMBLEM

EMBLEM LXIX.

DIvine Providence would not ſuffer this Monarchy of the World to be one moment without Gold and Iron; one to preſerve, and the other to defend it: For if it did not create them at the ſame time with the World; yet did the Sun, the Second Governor of all things, immediately after its Creation, operate in Purifying and Refining the Mineral Matter, and locking it up in Mountains, as in publick Treaſuries; where alſo *Mars*, after the Matter was harden'd and refin'd into Iron and Steel, erected his Armory. Arms are the Hands of Governments; and Riches their Blood and Spirit: And if theſe don't ſupply the Hands with Strength, and they again preſerve and defend them, the whole Body will

ſoon fall, and be expos'd to Ruine and Violence. *Pliny* tells of a ſort of Ants, in *India*, which inſtead of Grains of Corn, heap up Grains of Gold. Nature has not granted thoſe laborious Animals the Uſe of this Metal; yet it would have them, like Maſters, inform every Government of the Importance of laying up Treaſure. And though it be the Opinion of ſome Stateſmen, That hoarding up Riches, ſerves for nothing but to invite Enemies, as *Hezekiah* found, when he had ſhewn his Treaſure to the Embaſſadors of *Aſſyria* (1); and as the *Egyptians* knew, who, for this Reaſon, employ'd all their Royal Revenues in Building; yet are their Reaſons invalid, and theſe two Examples of no force: For 'twas not *Hezekiah*'s ſhewing his Riches, that brought the War upon him; but his Vanity and Pride, in putting his Truſt in them, more than in God: 'Twas this that made *Iſaiah* propheſie, That he ſhould loſe all that he had (2). Nor did the *Egyptians* employ their Treaſure in Building, through fear of loſing it, but through Vain-glory, and a deſign to amuſe the Peoples Minds, as we ſhall obſerve in its proper place. If a Prince amaſſes Treaſure, through Avarice, not making uſe of it, when Occaſion requires, to defend his Country, and offend his Enemy, and, to ſave Charges, leaves his State unprovided of Arms and Men, he will ſoon invite his Enemies to forge Keys to open his Cheſts, and plunder him of his Riches. But if he applies thoſe Treaſures to the Uſe and Service of his State, he will at once ſtrike an Awe and Reſpect into his Enemies. For Riches are the Nerves of War (3): 'Tis they procure Friends and Allies. In a word, A Full Exchequer does more Execution than Artillery, Fleets, or Armies. When thus apply'd, hoarding Riches, and Moderation of Expences, are not Avarice, but Prudence; as was that of King *Ferdinand the Catholick*, who, while living, was call'd

(1) 2 *King.* 20. 13. (2) Ibid. ver. 17. (3) *Sed nihil æquè fatigabat, quam pecuniarum conquiſitio; eos eſſe belli civilis nervos diſſitans,* Tac. 2. Hiſt.

Miſerable

Miſerable and Covetous; but after his Death, was clear'd of that Aſperſion, he leaving behind him but a very inconſiderable Summ; whatever he hoarded, he uſed to expend upon the Fabrick of the Kingdom, placing his Glory not in ſpending, but in having what to ſpend. It muſt be obſerv'd, That Treaſures are ſometimes collected with a true and Heroick Deſign, to execute ſome Great and Glorious Action: yet does this, by degrees, dwindle into Avarice, and the Ruine of States happens before the Treaſury is open'd for their Relief. Man's Mind is eaſily taken with the Love of Riches, and is wholly poſſeſs'd with a deſire of obtaining them.

Nor is it ſufficient, that theſe Treaſures be divided among the whole Body of the State, as *Chlorus* in *Eutropius* deſired (4): For Riches ſecure the Prince, but endanger the People. *Cerealis* told the People of *Treves*, That their Riches were the chief Cauſe of their Wars (5). When the Publick is Poor, and private Perſons Rich, Misfortunes arrive, before they can be prevented. Counſels are prejudiced; for the People avoid thoſe Reſolutions, which ſeek to redreſs the Publick Grievances, at the Expence of particular Perſons, ſo that they can very difficultly be induced to make War. *Ariſtotle*, for this Reaſon, blam'd the Conſtitution of the Commonwealth of *Sparta*, it having no Publick Treaſury (6). And if the People are more intent upon their own private, than the Publick Intereſt, with how much Regret will they be induced to remedy the Grievances of the Publick, at their own particular Expence (7)? The Republick of *Genoa* feels this Inconveniency. And *Plato* aſcribes the Ruine of that of *Rome* to no other Cauſe, in an Oration which *Salluſt* ſays he made in the Senate,

(4) *Melius publicas opes à privatis haberi, quam intra unum clauſtrum aſſervari.* Eutrop. (5) *Penes quos Aurum, & opes præcipuæ bellorum cauſæ.* Tacit. 6. Hiſt. (6) *Male etiam circa pecunias publicas conſtitutum eſt apud illos, quia neque in publico habent quicquam, & magna bella gerere coacti, pecunias agre conferunt.* Ariſt. l. 2. c. 6. Pol. (7) *Privato ſui bonum publicum poſtponitur.* Tac. 6. Annal.

againſt

againſtthe Accomplices of *Cataline*'s Conſpiracy; having (as St. *Auguſtine* explains it *) ſtray'd from their firſt Inſtitution, in which private Perſons were Poor, but the Publick Rich. Of which *Horace* complains †:

Non ita Romuli
Præſcriptum, & intonſi Catonis
Auſpiciis, &c.

Great Princes, relying too much upon their own Power, lay aſide all Care of laying up Treaſure, or of preſerving what they already have; not conſidering, that if the Neceſſity of their Affairs ſhould require Money, they muſt be oblig'd to oppreſs their Subjects with Taxes, to the great hazard of their Fidelity; and the greater the Kingdom is, there will be need of greater Expence and Charge. Princes are *Briareus's*, who, what they receive with fifty Hands, ſpend with a hundred; nor is any Kingdom rich enough to ſupply the Extravagance of one. Clouds, in one Hour, ſpend all the Vapours which they have been many Days in collecting. Thoſe Riches which Nature had for many Ages hoarded up in the cloſe Treaſury of the Earth, were not ſufficient for the extravagant Prodigality of ſome of the *Roman* Emperors. And this Extravagance is uſual to Succeſſors who find the Treaſury filled to their Hands: For they ſpend that careleſly and laviſhly, which they never knew the trouble of acquiring; they ſoon pull down the Banks of the Treaſury, and drown their State in Pleaſure and Luxury. In leſs than three Years time, *Caligula* ſquander'd away Sixty Six Millions of Gold, though then One Crown was as much as Two now. Power is ſelf-will'd and fooliſh, and ſhould therefore be corrected by Prudence; for without that, Empires would ſoon fall to Ruine: that of *Rome* ſeem'd to decline, from the Time that the Emperors began to ſquander away its Treaſures. The World is wholly ruled by Arms and Riches. Which is repreſented in the preſent Emblem, by a *Sword* and

* *St.* Auguſt. lib. 5. *de Civ. Dei*, cap. 12. † Lib. 2. Ode 15.

a *Golden*

Golden Bough, which a *Hand* holds over a *Globe*; to intimate, that by both theſe the World is govern'd: alluding to *Virgil*'s Story of *Æneas*, who, by the help of both theſe, conquer'd even Hell it ſelf, and ſubdued its Monſters and Furies. The Sword wounds moſt, whoſe edge is Gold; and Valour without Conduct, and Magazines without Treaſuries, are inſignificant. A Prince ought therefore to conſider, before he declares War, whether he is ſufficiently furniſh'd with theſe Means to proſecute it: For which Reaſon, 'twill be convenient, that the Preſident of the Treaſury ſhould be one of the Council, that he may give an Account of the State of the Revenue, and what Grounds they have to proceed upon. Power ought to be cautious and circumſpect, and diligently conſider of what it undertakes. Prudence does the ſame in the Mind, as the Eyes do in the Head; without that, Kingdoms and States would be blind: And *Polyphemus*, who having once loſt his Eye by the Cunning of *Ulyſſes*, in vain threw Stones about, and ſtorm'd for Revenge: ſo will they vainly ſquander and throw away their Treaſure and Riches. What prodigious Summs have we ſeen ſpent in our Times, upon ſome vain Fear, in countermining Enemies Deſigns, in raiſing Armies, and making War, which might have been avoided by a Friendly Compoſition, or by Diſſimulation? How much in Subſidies and Taxes ill apply'd, and in other Neceſſary Expences, by which Princes, thinking to make themſelves Powerful, have found the contrary: The Oſtentations and Menaces of Gold extravagantly and unſeaſonably ſquander'd away, render themſelves ineffectual, and the ſecond are leſs than the firſt, for one weakens the other. Strength loſt, is ſoon recruited; but Riches once ſpent, are hard to be recover'd. They ought not to be us'd but upon abſolute Neceſſity. *Æneas* did not firſt ſhew the *Golden Bough*, but offer'd to force his Paſſage with his Sword.

The Chief unſheath'd his ſhining Steel, prepar'd,
Though ſeiz'd with ſudden Fear, to force the Guard.

But

But when he found that neither Force nor Fair Means could oblige *Charon* to waft him over, the *Golden Bough* was produc'd, which had been hitherto conceal'd (8): At the ſight of which, the angry God was pacified.

* *If neither Piety, nor Heaven's Command,*
Can gain his Paſſage to the Stygian *Strand,*
This fatal Preſent ſhall prevail, at leaſt,
(Then ſhew'd the Golden Bough, *conceal'd within her Veſt.)*
No more was needful; for the Gloomy God
Stood mute with Awe, to ſee the Golden Rod, &c.

Let Princes therefore take Care to keep thoſe Eyes of Prudence upon their Scepters, clear, and quick-ſighted, not diſdaining Oeconomy, which is the Safety and Preſervation thereof; Princes being, as 'twere, the Fathers of their People. The Great *Auguſtus* condeſcended, as we have ſaid before, for the Good of the Publick, to take the Accompts of the Empire with his own Hand. *Spain* had had long ſince the Univerſal Empire of the World, if it had been leſs Extravagant in War, and more Regular and Methodical in Peace; but through a certain Negligence, the uſual Effect of Grandeur, it has ſuffer'd thoſe Riches which ſhould have render'd it Invincible, to be made uſe of by other Nations. We purchaſe them of the ſimple *Indians*, for Toys and Baubles; and afterwards, we our ſelves, as ſilly as they, permit other Nations to Export them, leaving us Braſs, Lead, or ſome ſuch worthleſs Commodities, in their ſtead. 'Twas the Kingdom of *Caſtile*, which, by its Valour and Proweſs, erected our Monarchy; yet others triumph, and that ſuffers, not knowing how to make good Uſe of the vaſt Treaſures which are brought to them. So Divine Providence, in a manner, levels and equals States; giving to the Great Ones Strength, without Induſtry; and to the Little, Induſtry to acquire Strength. But leſt I ſhould ſeem only to diſcover Wounds, and not heal

(8) *Prov.* 21. 14. * *Dryden's Virgil.*

them,

them, I will preſcribe ſome Remedies; not drawn from the Quinteſſence and Nicety of Speculation, which are approv'd at firſt, when new, but afterwards rejected by Experience; but ſuch as Natural Reaſon ſhall ſuggeſt, and ſuch as Ignorance ſlights as vulgar.

The chief Wealth and Riches of Nations, are the Fruits of the Earth; no Mines in the World being richer than Agriculture. This the *Ægyptians* knew, who made the lower End of their Scepters like a Plow-ſhare; to intimate, that its Power and Grandeur was founded upon that: The fertile Sides of *Veſuvius*, are richer than *Potoſus* with all its Gold. 'Tis not by Chance, that Nature has ſo liberally imparted the Fruits of the Earth to All, and hid Gold and Silver in the very Bowels of the Earth: It made thoſe common, and expos'd them upon the Superficies of the Earth, on purpoſe for Man's Nouriſhment (9); and hid theſe in the Bowels thereof, that they might not eaſily be dug out, and refined, knowing they would prove the Bane and Ruine of Mankind. *Spain* was, in former times, ſo rich, almoſt only from the Fruits of the Earth, that *Lewis* King of *France*, coming to *Toledo*, in the time of King *Alphonſo* the Emperor, was ſurpriz'd at the Splendour and Magnificence of that Court, affirming, That he had not ſeen the like in all that Part of *Aſia* or *Europe*, which he had travell'd through, in his Voyage to the *Holy Land*. Such was then the Grandeur of one King of *Caſtile*, though diſtracted with Civil Wars, and the greateſt part of his Kingdom poſſeſs'd by the *Moors*. There are ſome Authors affirm, That there was in this Kingdom, in the time of the *Holy War* againſt the Heathens, a Rendezvouz of a Hundred Thouſand Foot, Ten Thouſand Horſe, and Sixty Thouſand Waggons; and that King *Alphonſo* III. daily paid both the Soldiers, Captains, and Generals, according to their Office and Quality. Theſe vaſt Ex-

(9) *Maxima pars hominum è terra vivit & fructibus.* Ariſtot. Polit. lib. 1. c. 5.

pences

pences and Proviſions, which at preſent ſeem incredible, the ſingle Kingdom of *Caſtile* could afford; nay, and at the ſame time maintain'd a greater Number of Enemies, without the Aſſiſtance of Foreign Riches; until a certain *Biſcayner*, roving upon the Sea, by fortune, got a ſight of this New World, either unknown to, or forgotten by the Ancients, and preſerv'd for the Honour of *Columbus*, who, after the Death of this *Spaniard*, diligently conſidering the Obſervations that he, the firſt Diſcoverer had made, undertook to demonſtrate the Diſcovery of the Provinces which Nature ſeem'd deſignedly to ſeparate from us by Mountainous Waves. He communicated this his Project to ſeveral Princes, hoping, by their Aſſiſtance, to facilitate his great and difficult Enterprize: But all ſlighted it, as vain and notionary. Which if they had done through Prudence and Caution, and not Diſtruſt and Misbelief, they had merited the ſame Praiſe which *Carthage* gain'd of old; which, when ſome Sailors were boaſting in the Senate, of the Diſcovery of a wonderful Rich and Delicious Iſland, (ſuppoſed to be *Hiſpaniola*) caus'd 'em immediately to be put to Death, thinking the Diſcovery of ſuch an Iſland would be of more Detriment than Advantage to the Commonwealth. *Columbus*, at laſt, applies himſelf to Their Catholick Majeſties, *Ferdinand* and *Iſabella*; whoſe Generous Spirits, capable of many Worlds, could not be content with one alone. So that having received neceſſary Aſſiſtance, he put to Sea; and after a tedious and hazardous Voyage, in which he encounter'd as great Danger from the Diffidence of his Companions, as from the Sea it ſelf, he at laſt return'd to *Spain*, laden with Gold and Silver. The People flock'd to the Shore of *Guadalquivir*, to admire theſe precious Products of the Earth, brought to light by the *Indians*, and thither by the Valour and Induſtry of their Countrymen. But this great Plenty of them ſoon perverted all Things; the Husbandman ſoon leaves Plough, gets into his Embroider'd Silks, and begins to be more curious of his Tawny, Sun-burnt Hands; the Merchant ſteps from his Counter into his Sedan,

and

and lolls it lazily about the Streets; Workmen disdain their Tools, and all, forsooth, must now turn Gentlemen. No Money is current now but Silver and Gold; and our Coin being wholly unmix'd and pure, is coveted and desired by all Nations. Gold and Silver now growing common, all Things raise their Price. In fine, It befel our Kings, as it did the Emperor *Nero*, whom a certain *African* put a Trick upon, telling him, in his Grounds he had found a vast Treasure, which he believ'd Queen *Dido* had buried there, either lest too much Riches should enervate the Minds of her Subjects, or lest they should invite others to Invade her Kingdom. Which the Emperor giving credit to, and thinking himself already sure of the Treasure, squander'd away the Old Stock, upon the Hope of these New-found Riches: The Expectation of Riches being the cause of the Publick Want (10). Cheated by the same Hopes, we were perswaded that we had no more need of fix'd and standing Treasuries, but think our Ships sufficient, not considering that all our Power depends upon the Uncertainty of the Winds and Seas; as *Tiberius* said the Lives of the *Romans* did, because their Provisions were all brought them from Foreign Provinces (11). Which Hazard *Aleto* consider'd, when dissuading *Godfredo* from going to the Holy Wars, he said,

* *Shall then your Life upon the Winds depend?*

And as Mens Hopes are generally above their Estates (12), State and Pomp encreases; the Salaries, Wages, and other Charges of the Crown are enlarged, out of Confidence and Expectations of these Foreign

(10) *Et divitiarum expectatio inter causas paupertatis publicæ erat.* Tac. 16. Annal. (11) *At hercule nemo refert, quod Italia externa opis indiget; quod vita populi Romani per incerta maris & tempestatum quotidie vivitur.* Tac. 3. Annal. * Tasso. (12) *Sæpe enim de facultatibus suis amplius quam in his est, sperant homines.* Justin. Instit. quibus ex causis man. §. in fraudem.

Riches;

Riches; which being afterwards ill and negligently managed, were not ſufficient to defray ſuch Expences: and this made way for Debts, and thoſe for Uſury and Intereſt. Neceſſity daily encreas'd, and occaſion'd new Expences: But nothing was ſo prejudicial to the Publick, as the Alteration of the Coin; which, though not conſider'd, ſhould be preſerv'd in as much Purity as Religion it ſelf; the Kings, *Alphonſo the Wiſe*, *Alphonſo* XI. and *Henry* II. who did offer to alter it, endanger'd both themſelves and Kingdoms; and their Misfortunes ought to have been a Warning to us. But when Ills are fatal, neither Experience, nor Example, can move us. King *Philip* II. deaf to all theſe Cautions, doubled the Value of Copper Coin, which was before convenient for common Uſe, and anſwerable to bigger Money. Foreigners coming to underſtand the Value that the Royal Stamp gave to this paultry Metal, began to Traffick with nothing elſe, bringing us in vaſt quantities of Copper ready Coin'd, in Exchange for our Gold, Silver, and other Merchandiſe: Which did us more Damage, than if all the Monſters and venomous Serpents of *Africa* had been brought among us: And the *Spaniards*, who us'd to ridicule the *Rhodians* for their Copper Money, became themſelves the Jeſt and Laughing-ſtock of the whole World. Trade was ruin'd by this troubleſome, ſcoundrel Metal, all things grew dearer, and, by degrees, ſcarcer, as in the time of *Alphonſo the Wiſe*. Buying and Selling ceas'd, and at the ſame time the Revenues of the Crown were diminiſh'd, ſo that new Impoſitions and Taxes were unavoidable; whence, for want of Commerce, the Wealth of *Caſtile* was ſpent, and the ſame Inconveniencies renew'd, proceeding one from another in a pernicious Circle; which will at laſt prove our Ruine, unleſs a Remedy be timely apply'd, by reducing that kind of Money to its former and intrinſick Value. Who would not think that this World muſt be ſubdu'd by the Riches and Wealth of the other? And yet we ſee there were greater Exploits perform'd formerly by pure Valour, than ſince, by all theſe Riches; as *Tacitus* obſerv'd, in the

the time of *Vitellius* (13). Foreign Nations did ſoon after find the ſame Damage, from the Diſcovery of the *Indies*, from their too great Dependance upon their Riches; all things grew dearer with them; as with us, their Expences ſurmounted their Revenues: In a word, they ſuffer'd all the ſame Inconveniencies with us; which were ſo much greater to them, as being farther Diſtance from thoſe Provinces; and the Remedy of Gold and Silver which is brought us from the *Indies*, and which they muſt receive from us, being more uncertain.

Theſe are the Inconveniencies which the Diſcovery of the *Indies* cauſed: In knowing the Cauſes of which, we know alſo their Remedies. The Firſt, is, Not to neglect Agriculture, upon Hopes of thoſe Riches: Thoſe which we receive from the Earth, being more natural, ſure, and common to all: Wherefore Husbandmen ſhould be encourag'd and exempted from the Oppreſſions of War, and all other Incumbrances.

The Second, is, That ſince all things are reſtored by the contrary Means to which they were ruin'd, and the Expences are greater than the Hopes and Expectation of thoſe Metals; the Prince ſhould, like a prudent Governor, provide, as the Senators of *Rome* adviſ'd *Nero* (14), That the Publick Revenues ſhould rather Exceed, than fall ſhort of the Expences; That he ſhould moderate thoſe that were ſuperfluous and unneceſſary: imitating the Emperors *Antoninus Pius*, and *Alexander Severus*, the laſt of which us'd to ſay, *That 'twas the Part of a Tyrant, to ſupport them with the Intrails of his State.* Such a Reform would only Diſguſt ſome few, not the whole Nation. And if Abuſe or Imprudence has rais'd the Salaries of Offices, and Charges in Peace and War; and if they are only introduc'd by Vanity, under the title of *Grandeur*; Why ſhould they not be corrected and reform'd by Prudence? And as the greater the King-

(13) *Vires luxu corrumpebantur, contra vetarem diſciplinam, & inſtituta majorum, apud quos virtute, quam pecunia res Rom. melius ſtetit.* Tac. 2. Hiſt. (14) *Ut ratio quæſtuum, & neceſſitas erogationum inter ſe congruerent.* Tac. 13. Annal.

doms are, thoſe Abuſes will be greater; ſo alſo will be the Effects of this Remedy. Frugality is the beſt Revenue. Gold once ſpent, returns not. By damming up the Streams, the Fountain-Head riſes. And the way to keep Silver, is to fix the Mercury of it; *that* being the True and Approv'd Philoſopher's Stone. Wherefore, I am ſatisfy'd, that if a Prince be inform'd by his Miniſters, of all ſuperfluous Expences by Sea and Land, and would reſolve to moderate them; he would ſoon find himſelf enabled to pay his Debts, leſſen his Taxes, and fill his Treaſury. As King *Henry* III. who finding the Crown much in Debt, conſulted with his Parliament, how to remedy it: And they could not find a better Expedient; than what we have here propos'd; that is, To Reduce Salaries and Penſions, and Regulate Superfluous Expences. The Treaſurers alſo, and other Officers in the Treaſury and Exchequer, ſhould be reduc'd to a leſs number, as alſo the Collectors of Taxes, who all, like the thirſty Sands of *Africk*, ſoak and drink up all the Streams of the Revenue, which paſs by them. The Great Emperor of the *Turks*, though he has immenſe Revenues, has but two Treaſurers, one in *Aſia*, and 'tother in *Europe*. *Henry* IV. of *France* (not leſs a Statesman than a Soldier) was ſatisfy'd of the Inconveniency of this, and therefore reduc'd the Miniſters of his Revenue to a leſs, yet ſufficient number.

The Third Remedy, is, That ſince Princes are, by Importunity, often forced to grant thoſe Things which are not in their Power; all ſuch Grants, Privileges, Immunities and Rewards, as are prejudicial to the Crown, ſhould be revok'd; eſpecially when the ſame Cauſes concurr, as mov'd Their Catholick Majeſties to repeal thoſe of King *Henry* IV. For, ſaid they, in another Law, *A Princes Liberality ſhould not be ſo great as to ruine him; and the Immunities granted to Subjects, ſhould be ſuch as may not prejudice the Crown.* But if a Prince, through Negligence or Neceſſity, has not conſider'd this; it muſt be remedy'd afterwards. As was after the Abdication of *Ramirez* King of *Arragon*; at which time, all Grants that had

had weakned the Crown, were made void. King *Henry the Liberal*, and Queen *Iſabella*, did the ſame thing: And King *John* II. repeal'd the Privileges and Immunities which himſelf and his Predeceſſors had granted. 'Tis with Princes, as 'twas with the Idols of *Babylon*; from whoſe Crowns, according to *Jeremiah*, the People took the Gold and Silver, and apply'd it to their own Uſe (15). King *Henry* III. perceiving the ſame Abuſe, Impriſon'd ſeveral of his Nobility, and made 'em refund what they had purloin'd from the Crown; by which, and a juſt Adminiſtration of his Revenues, he amaſs'd a prodigious Treaſure in the Caſtle of *Madrid*.

The Laſt Remedy, (which ſhould have been the Firſt) is, That a Prince ſhould firſt regulate the Expences of his own Family, if he would reform thoſe of his People: For their Reformation, as King *Theodatus* ſaid (16), muſt be begun by the Prince, that it may be effectual. St. *Lewis*, King of *France*, adviſed his Son *Philip* to take care that his Expences were moderate and reaſonable (17). 'Tis a Misfortune, that Princes think it becomes their Grandeur to be Careleſs, and keep no Accompts; and take Extravagance to be Liberality, not conſidering how contemptible they are when poor; and that true Greatneſs does not conſiſt in Shews, and gaudy Oſtentation, but in Caſtles, ſtrong Garriſons, and Armies. The Emperor *Charles* V. in the Parliament of *Valladolid*, moderated the Expences of his Houſhold. The true Greatneſs of Princes, conſiſts in being liberal to others, and moderate and ſparing to themſelves. For which Reaſon, *Siſenand*, King of *Spain* and *France*, (ſo ſtiled by the Fourth Council of *Toledo*) us'd to ſay, That Kings ſhould be *Mais Eſcaſos que Gaſtadores*; that is, Rather Rich than Laviſh. I well know the Difficulty of theſe Remedies; but, as *Petrarch* ſaid, in the like caſe, *I do my Duty*: And though all that is requiſite, cannot be executed; it

(15) *Baruch* 6. 9. (16) *A domeſticis volumus inchoare diſciplinam, ut reliquos pudeat errare, quando noſtris cognoſcimur excedendi licentiam non præbere.* Caſ. lib. 10. ep. 5. (17) *Da operam ut impenſæ tuæ moderatæ ſint, & rationi conſentaneæ.* Bell. in Vit. S. Lud.

ought to be repreſented, to accompliſh the Deſign of this Book (18).

I dare hardly ſay any thing about the Remedies of Money, it being the Apple of the Eye of the State, which you cannot touch, without hurting; ſo that 'tis better to let it alone, than to alter the ancient Method: The acuteſt Judgment cannot foreſee all the Inconveniencies which attend every Alteration thereof, until they are diſcover'd by Experience: For it being, as it were, the Rule and Meaſure of Contracts, every one feels the leaſt Variation of it; Commerce is diſturb'd, and the whole State diſorder'd. Wherefore, after King *Peter* II. had Abdicated the Throne, it was prudently Enacted by the Kingdom of *Arragon*, That all their Kings thenceforward, ſhould take an Oath, not to alter any thing about the Coin. This is the Duty of a Prince, as Pope *Innocent* III. wrote to the ſame King *Peter*, when his Subjects began to rebell againſt him. Of which this ſeems to be the Reaſon; That the Prince is ſubject to the Law of Nations, and as Publick Truſtee, ought to take care that there be no Alteration in the Nature of the Coin, which conſiſts in Matter, Form, and Quantity; nor can any Kingdom be conſtituted, where that is not pure. But not to be wholly ſilent in a Matter ſo Important to Government, I'll mention Two things. Firſt, That Money is then Juſt and Convenient, when the Coin or Stamp adds nothing to the Intrinſick Value of it, and when the Gold and Silver have the common Alloy of other Nations; for this will prevent its being Exported. The other, is, That it ſhould be of the ſame Weight and Value with that of other Nations, permitting alſo the Currency of Foreign Coin: Nor will it at all derogate from the Prince's Authority, ſince the Coin ſerves only to ſhew the Weight and Value of it. And this ſeems moſt commodious, in thoſe Kingdoms which hold Correſpondence and Trade with many Nations.

(18) *Multa ſcribo non tam ut ſæculo meo proſim, cujus jam deſperata miſeria eſt, quàm ut meipſum concertis exacerem, & animum ſcripto ſoler.* Petrarch.

EMBLEM

EMBLEM LXX.

70

EMPIRE admits of no Companion, nor can Majeſty be divided: For it is impoſſible that each ſhould Command and Obey at the ſame time; eſpecially ſince Power and Accidents cannot be ſo nicely ſhar'd between them both, nor Ambition ſo equally balanced, but that one will deſire to be above the other, or that Envy and Emulation will diſturb their Agreement.

* *Rivals in Empire ſtill miſtruſtful are;*
Nor can Authority a Part'ner bear.

It ſeems next to an Impoſſibility, that the Orders and Commands of two Governors ſhould not thwart one

* Lucan.

another. *Moſes* and *Aaron* were Brothers; and yet when God made them Part'ners, he thought it neceſſary to be in the Mouth of one, and in the Mouth of the other, and to teach them what to do, leſt any Diſſention ſhould ariſe between them (1). A Republick has but one Body, and ſhould therefore be guided but by one Soul (2). A King will hardly entertain even a depos'd Prince within his Kingdom. This was the King of *Portugal*'s Excuſe, for not admitting King *Peter*, when depos'd by his Brother *Henry*. Nothing but Matrimony, which unites Bodies and Souls, and the ſingular Prudence of King *Ferdinand* and Queen *Iſabella*, could have prevented the Inconveniencies of their Joint-Reign in the Kingdom of *Caſtile*. For Power and Concord are very rarely found together (3). And though there was ſome Conſent and Union in the Joint-Empire of *Dioclefian* and *Maximinian*, yet was not that without its Troubles and Inconveniencies; for which Reaſon, the *Roman* Conſuls uſed to Command by Turns.

But if there be occaſion for more Princes than One, 'tis better to have Three; for the Authority of One, will check the Ambition of the other Two. There can be no Faction, where there is no Equality; which was the Reaſon why the Triumvirates of *Ceſar*, *Craſſus*, and *Pompey*, and of *Anthony*, *Lepidus* and *Auguſtus*, continued for ſome time. The Kingdom was well govern'd, during the Minority of King *Henry* III. by his Three Guardians*. Upon which Conſideration, King *Alphonſo the Wiſe* propos'd, That during the Nonage of Kings, the Adminiſtration of Affairs ſhould be committed to One, Three, Five, or Seven. Which not being obſerv'd in the Minority of *Alphonſo* XI. the Kingdom of *Caſtile* felt great Commotions, from the Government of the two Infants, *John* and *Peter*, which at laſt oblig'd the Royal Council to take upon 'em the Adminiſtration. Though Empires

(1) *Exod.* 4. 15. (2) *Unum eſſe Reip. Corpus atque unius animo regendum.* Tac. 3. Annal. (3) *Quanquam arduum ſit, eodem loci potentiam & concordiam eſſe.* Tac. 4. Annal. * Mar. Hiſt. Hiſp. l. 15. c. 12.

are

are always violent, and of ſhort continuance, which are divided, and depend not upon one; as it happen'd to *Alexander*'s, which, vaſt as it was, ended with his Life; for that after him, 'twas divided among many. That which the *Moors* had founded in *Spain*, had laſted longer, had it not been divided into many Kingdoms. This is repreſented in this preſent *Emblem*, by a *Crown'd Tree*, which ſignifies a *Kingdom*: To intimate, that if two Hands, tho' of the ſame Body, ſhould pull this Tree two different ways, they would rend, burſt, and ruine the Crown. For Humane Ambition ſometimes forgets the Bonds of Nature. When States are divided among Brothers, the Crown can never remain entire, and in Union; for every one is for himſelf, and graſps at the whole Sceptre as his Father held it. So it befell King *Sancho* the Elder. Divine Providence united all the Kingdoms of *Spain* to his Empire, that by their Joint-Force they might expell the *Moors*, and free themſelves from their Tyrannick Slavery: But he, through Fatherly Affection, rather than prudent Policy, divided his Kingdoms among his Children, thinking that ſo they would be ſtronger, and more ready to unite againſt the Common Enemy *. But inſtead of that, each of the Brothers ſet up for King himſelf. So that the Crown being thus rent in pieces, loſt its Strength and Splendour. And as Domeſtick Feuds and Grudges are more inveterate than other, they ſoon grew to Civil Wars, each endeavouring to depoſe his Brother, to the utmoſt Detriment of the Publick. This Example might, one would have thought, have been a Warning to all Princes, for the future; yet we find King *Ferdinand the Great*, the Emperor *Alphonſo*, and *James* I. King of *Arragon*, guilty of the ſame fault, dividing the Command of their Kingdoms among their Children †. I know not whether this be the Effect of Self-Conceit, or Humane Nature, ever greedy of Novelty, and fond of old rejected Opinions, thinking that beſt, which was done by their Anceſtors; if 'tis not that we

* Mar. Hiſt. Hiſp. l. 9. c. 1. † Mar. Hiſt. Hiſp. l. 9. c. 8.

ſeek for Examples to excuſe our own Reſolutions. *James* II. King of *Arragon*, was more prudent upon this ſcore, when he firmly Enacted, That the Kingdoms of *Arragon* and *Valence*, and the Province of *Catalonia*, ſhould never be ſeparated *.

Nor can theſe Errors be excuſed, either by the Law of the Twelve Tables, or the Common Law, which ſhares the Father's Eſtate equally among the Children; or by Natural Reaſon, which ſeems to urge, that as the Children receiv'd their being in common from their Father, they ſhould alſo be Sharers of his Eſtate. For a King is a Publick Perſon, and ought to act as King, and not as a Father; and ought rather to attend the Good of his Subjects, than his Children. Beſides, a Kingdom is a kind of Publick Chattel, and ſo belongs to no one in particular; it not being in the King's Power to diſpoſe of that, as of his own private Goods: For the Subjects, in ſubmitting themſelves to One, have requir'd a Right to be preſerv'd, defended and maintain'd by him; which is inconſiſtent with the Diviſion of the Empire: And ſince this Right is Common and Univerſal, it ought ſurely to be preferr'd to private Love, and Paternal Affection, or to Deſire of making Peace among his Children, by the Ruine of the Publick. Beſides, inſtead of making them agree, it arms 'em with Power to quarrel with one another about the Dividends, which cannot be made ſo equal as to ſatisfie all. Brothers would live much more quietly, if their Maintenance ſhould depend upon him who Commands in Chief; for ſo each would receive a Revenue ſufficient to ſupport the Grandeur of his Birth. Thus *Jehoſaphat* did (4). There being no Occaſion for that barbarous Cuſtom of the *Turks*, or that Impious Policy of ſome, who think no Government firm and ſecure, unleſs its Foundation be mix'd with the Blood of all ſuch who have but the leaſt Pretenſions to it; as if *that*, like Cement or Mortar, faſten'd the Stones of the Building.

* Mar. Hiſt. Hiſp. l. 15. c. 19. (4) 2 *Chron.* 21. 3.

For

For the ſaid Reaſon, almoſt all Nations preferr Succeſſion to Election; well knowing that an *Interregnum* is liable to Diſſentions and Civil Wars, and that 'tis ſafer to accept a Prince, than to ſeek one (5).

Wherefore, ſince Succeſſion is beſt, 'tis moſt agreeable to follow the Courſe of Nature, preferring him whom ſhe firſt ſent into the World; ſo that neither Minority, nor any other Natural Defect, is a ſufficient Objection to this Right, eſpecially when there are greater Inconveniencies attend the admittance of another, of which the Scriptures afford us very many Examples.

There is the ſame Reaſon and Right for the Succeſſion of Women to the Crown, in default of Heirs Male; for otherwiſe the Crown would be ſubject to Diviſions, by Collateral Pretenſions. And though the *Salique Law*, under the Pretence of the Frailty and Imbecility of that Sex, (if it mayn't rather be call'd the Envy and Ambition of Men) does, contrary to the many glorious Examples of the Valour and Conduct of the Female Sex, urge many Inconveniencies, which may ſeem to exclude them from the Adminiſtration; yet is there none ſo weighty as to balance the Advantage of preventing an *Interregnum*. Nay, there are ſtrong Reaſons why they ought to be admitted, it preventing Pretenſions and Civil Wars about the Succeſſion: And beſides, matching the Heireſs to ſome Great Prince, there acceeds a conſiderable Addition to the Crown; as it happen'd to the Kingdom of *Caſtile* and the Houſe of *Auſtria*. If the above-mention'd Inconveniencies are ever of weight, 'tis in ſmall Principalities; where the Heireſs marrying with other Princes, the Family may become extinct, and one State be confounded with the other.

(5) *Minori diſcrimine ſumi principem quàm queri.* Tac. 1. Hiſt.

EMBLEM

EMBLEM LXXI.

WHAT does not *Labour* overcome? It ſubdues Iron, ſoftens Braſs, draws out Gold into the fineſt Wire, and cuts the hardeſt Diamonds. A ſoft Rope does, by continual Motion, wear the Marble Edge of the Well. By this Conſideration, St. *Iſidore*, when he apply'd himſelf to Study, overcame the Dulneſs of his Genius. What Fort was ever ſo ſtrong, as that Aſſiduity could not conquer it? The continued Force of that Engine, which the Ancients call'd a *Ram*, would make a Breach in the thickeſt and ſtrongeſt Walls. And we ſee now a-days, that Caſtles, though defended by Artillery Walls, Ramparts and Ditches, are at laſt forced to yield to the Spade and Mattock. No Difficulty retards or checks a Conſtant Spirit. The Temple of Glory is not ſituated in a delightful Valley, nor in a delicious

delicious Plain, but upon a rugged Mountain's Top, not to be arriv'd at, but by rough, uncouth Paths, over-run with Thorns and Brambles. The Temples of *Minerva*, *Mars*, and *Hercules*, (Deities glorious for their Vertue) were not built of *Corinthian* or Carv'd Work, finely imbelliſh'd with curious Engravings, as were thoſe of *Flora* and *Venus*; but after the *Dorick* Faſhion, rough and unpoliſh'd: Nor did the Cornices and Chapiters of the Pillars ſhew any thing, but that they were built by Labour and Induſtry, not by Luxury and Eaſe. 'Twas not the Ship *Argos*'s lying at Anchor in Port, that preferr'd it to the Skies; but its daring the Wind and Sea, and reſolutely expoſing it ſelf to all Dangers and Difficulties. Never did any Prince Enlarge his Territories by Effeminacy, Luxury and Eaſe. Labour, Traffick and Induſtry are neceſſary to all, but to none more than to a Prince; for others are born only for themſelves, but a Prince for All. A Kingdom is not an Office of Repoſe and Reſt. Certain Courtiers once were diſcourſing before *Alphonſo*, King of *Arragon* and *Naples*, againſt the neceſſity of a Prince taking Pains; *Do you think then*, ſays he, *that Nature gave Princes Hands to do nothing*. That wiſe Prince had, doubtleſs, conſidered the admirable Compoſure of them, their Joints, their Readineſs to open, and their Strength to hold, and alſo their mutual Aptneſs to do whatever the Mind propoſes, being, as it were, the Inſtruments of all Arts: Whence he concluded, that this exquiſite Structure was not accidental, or merely for no Uſe, but for Pains and Toil, Labour and Induſtry. The Prince whoſe Hands are careleſs and unclinched, will ſoon drop his Sceptre, and give his Courtiers opportunity of catching at it. As it befell King *John* II. who ſo wholly gave himſelf up to the Diverſions of Poetry and Muſick, that he could not endure the Weight of Affairs, and either careleſly tranſacted them himſelf, or left 'em totally to the Management of his Miniſters; rather chuſing this ſottiſh Eaſe, than the glorious Labour of Government; not at all regarding the Examples of his Heroick Predeceſſors.

ceſſors. So we often find, that the Vertue and ardent Courage of Anceſtors is wholly extinguiſh'd in their Poſterity, by the Luxury and Voluptuouſneſs of Empire, and ſo the Race of great Princes becomes degenerate; as we ſee in Horſes, when they are remov'd from a dry and lean Paſture, into one too fat and fertile. This Conſideration mov'd *Frederick* King of *Naples*, upon his Death-bed, to write to his Son the Duke of *Calabria*, to inure his Body to Military Exerciſe, and not ſuffer himſelf to be debauch'd by Pleaſures, nor vanquiſh'd by Difficulties and Dangers *. Labour and Employment is, as it were, the Anchor of the Mind: without which, it would be toſs'd about with the Waves of Paſſion, and daſh'd to pieces upon the Rocks of Vice. God enjoyn'd Labour to Man, as a Puniſhment; yet ſo, as it might be at the ſame time the Means of his Quiet and Proſperity (1). Thoſe Foundations and noble Superſtructures of the Monarchies of the *Medes*, *Aſſyrians*, *Greeks* and *Romans*, were not founded by Sloth and Lazineſs, but by Toil and Labour. It was that which ſo long ſupported their Grandeur; 'tis this which ſtill preſerves Oeconomies in Kingdoms: For ſince it partly depends upon the mutual Aſſiſtance of Peoples Labours, when they flag, all thoſe Conveniencies at the ſame time ceaſe; which oblig'd Men to Society and Order of Government. Divine Wiſdom propoſes the Example of the Ant, to inſtruct Men in their Duty; for that, with great Care and Prudence, lays up a Store in the Summer, to ſupply its Neceſſity in Winter (2). Let Princes learn from this little, prudent Animal, timely to provide their Cities, Forts and Garriſons with Neceſſaries; and to make Preparations in the Winter, to meet the Enemy in the Spring. Nor is the Commonwealth of Bees leſs aſſiduous than theſe; you ſhall never find them idle, but continually employ'd both within and without their little Cells; the Diligence of each, cauſes the Proſperity of all. And if the Labour of theſe little Animals can

* Mar. Hiſt. Hiſp. l. 28. c. 11. (1) *Gen.* 3. 19. (2) *Prov.* 6. 6.

enrich

enrich the whole World with Honey and Wax; What would a Kingdom do, in which all the People ſhould be equally Induſtrious? For this Reaſon, in *China*, tho' it be ſo Populous, that it reckons Seventy Millions of Inhabitants; they all live in the greateſt Affluence and Plenty, there being none among them but exerciſes ſome Trade. The Scarcity of things in *Spain*, proceeds from the want of this, not from the Infertility of the Soil; for in the Countries of *Murcia* and *Carthagena*, Wheat returns a hundred Corns for one, and might thereby ſuſtain a War for many Ages: But this Misfortune arrives from the neglect of Husbandry, Trades, Buſineſs, and Commerce; the People, even the meaneſt of them, being ſo exceſſive proud, that they can't be content with what Lot Nature has given them, but aſpire to ſomething greater, loathing thoſe Employments which are not agreeable to their affected Grandeur. The Reaſon of which, ſeems to be, that the Bounds between the Nobility and the Commonalty are not ſo well diſtinguiſh'd with us, as in *Germany*.

But as Noble and Well-employ'd Labour is Advantageous, that which is Nice and Superfluous is Prejudicial. For Mens Minds are not leſs effeminated by ſoft and eaſie Employments, than by Idleneſs.

Wherefore the Prince ought to take particular care to employ his Subjects in ſuch Arts as tend to the Defence and Preſervation of the State, not to Luxury and Debauchery. How many Hands are vainly wearied in adorning one Finger, and how few in the Neceſſities of the Body? How many are employed in making Conveniencies for Pleaſure and Recreation, and how few in making neceſſary Works for the Defence of Cities? How many in Gardening, and forming curious Figures in Box or Myrtle; and how few in Agriculture? Whence we ſee Kingdoms abound ſo much in ſuperfluous Trifles, and want thoſe things which are moſt neceſſary. Since therefore Labour is ſo conducive to the Preſervation of a State, the Prince ought to take care that it be continual, and not be hindred by too great a number of

Holy-

Holy-Days, ſuch as the People, through a kind of Pious Levity, dedicate to Divine Worſhip: For Experience ſhews us, that ſuch are more employ'd in profane Games and Sports, than Religious Exerciſe. But if Labourers would ſpend thoſe Days, as we read St. *Iſidore* of *Madrid* did, 'twere to be hop'd that the Time would not be loſt, and that Angels would deſcend and hold the Plough: But Experience has taught us the contrary. One Holy-day in which all Arts and Trade ceaſes, is more conſiderable than any Tax; and, as St. *Chryſoſtom* ſays, *Saints take no delight in being worſhipp'd, at the Expence of the Poor* (3). So that Holy-Days and Working-Days ſhould be ſo divided, as that thoſe might not hinder the other (4). And it was argued in the Council of *Mentz*, in the time of Pope *Leo* III. whether 'twas not better either to reduce them to a leſs Number, or elſe to transferr ſome of them to the next *Sundays*.

Though generally the End of all Actions is Reſt, yet 'tis otherwiſe in thoſe which belong to Government: For 'tis not ſufficient for Princes and States to labour, but their Labour muſt alſo be continual. One Hour's Negligence in a Garriſon, fruſtrates the Care and Vigilance of many Months. The *Roman* Empire, which had been ſupported by the Labour and Valour of Six Ages, was ruin'd by the Negligence of a few Months. *Spain* would ſcarce repair the Loſs in Eight Year, which it ſuſtain'd in Eight Months. There ſhould be no Interpoſition of Idleneſs between the Acquiſition and Preſervation of Empires. The Husbandman has no ſooner got his Harveſt into the Barn, but he immediately goes to Plough again; his Labours never end, but continually renew. If he ſhould rely upon his Grainery, and leave his Lands untill'd; he would ſoon find one empty, and the other over-run with Weeds and Bryers. But there is this difference between the Husbandman and the Prince;

(3) *Non gaudent Martyres, quando ex illis pecuniis honorantur, in quibus pauperes plorant.* St. Chryſoſt. ſup. Matth. (4) *Oportere dividi ſacros & negotioſos dies, quibus divina colerentur, & humana non impedirent.* Tac. 13. Annal.

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That he has his Set-times of Sowing and Reaping, but the Prince has not: For in Government, all Months are *Septembers* to Sow, and *Auguſts* to Reap in.

Let not a Prince believe that the Pains and Labours of his Anceſtors excuſe him, for this Motion muſt be continual: And as declining things ſurely fall, unleſs ſupported by ſome new Force; ſo do Empires, unleſs ſuſtain'd by the Strength of the Succeſſor. This is the Cauſe (as we have obſerv'd) of the Ruines of all Kingdoms. When any Monarchy ſhall be once inſtituted and founded, it ſhould ne'er be idle, but ſhould imitate Heaven, whoſe Orbs continue their Motion from their firſt Creation; and if they ſhould once ſtop, the Generation and Production of all Things would ceaſe. The Exerciſe of States ſhould be always continual and vigorous, and not be corrupted by Idleneſs or Intermiſſion; as we ſee the Sea, if not agitated by the Winds, is kept in Motion by its Tides. Citizens who careleſly give themſelves up to Pleaſure and Luxury, without ever moving their Hands to Work or Labour, are their own greateſt Enemies. Such Idleneſs plots againſt the Laws and Government, and is nouriſh'd by Vice, from whence proceeds all the Internal and External Misfortunes of States. That Repoſe only is commendable and beneficial which is the Gift of Peace, and which is employ'd in Trade, and Employments and Exerciſes Military and Civil, by which all enjoy a ſerene, peaceable and ſecure Tranquility.

EMBLEM

EMBLEM LXXII.

THE Steel would loſe its Spring, and the String its Force, if a Bow were always bent. Labour is neceſſary and beneficial, but cannot continue without ſome intermiſſion. The Yoke does not always hang upon the Oxe's Neck. The Force and Vigour of Things conſiſts in Viciſſitude. From Motion comes Reſt, and from thence Motion again (1). *Nothing*, (ſays the wiſe *Alphonſo*) *can continue long, which takes no Reſpite.* Even Land muſt be Fallowed, that it may afterwards bring better Crops. Vertue is refreſh'd and ſtrengthned by Reſt (2), like the Stream of a Fountain

(1) *Noſtram omnem vitam, in remiſſionem atque ſtudium eſſe diviſam.* Plat. de lib. Educat. (2) *Otium enim tum ad virtutes generandas, tum ad civilia munera obeunda requiruntur.* Ariſt. Pol. l. 7. c. 9.

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(the Figure of the preſent *Emblem*) when ſtopp'd by the Hand.

A ſeaſonable Reſt, Refreſhment gives;
And weary Valour, after Eaſe, revives.

For this Reaſon, Day and Night have divided the Hours into Labour and Reſt. While half the World wakes, th'other ſleeps. And the Ancients feign'd, that even *Jove* himſelf ſometimes eas'd himſelf, by laying the Burthen of the World upon the Shoulders of *Atlas*. The moſt Robuſt Conſtitutions are not able continually to bear the Fatigues of Government. Continual Toil weakens the Body, and beſots the Mind; ſo does alſo too much Eaſe (3). It ſhould be therefore only as a Watering to Plants, which refreſhes, not drowns them: or like Sleep, which, if moderate, corroborates; if exceſſive, rather enervates the Body. There are no Diverſions better than thoſe which at the ſame time recreate and inſtruct the Mind, as does the Converſation of ingenious and learned Perſons. Such the Emperor *Adrian* always entertain'd at his Table; which, for that reaſon, *Philoſtratus* call'd, *A Rendezvous of the Learned*. The ſame, *Pliny* commends in *Trajan*; and *Lampridius* in *Alexander Severus* (4). *Alphonſo*, King of *Naples*, always retir'd with them, after Dinner, into another Apartment, that he might (as he us'd to ſay) *feed his Mind, as he had done his Body*. *Tiberius* never travell'd from *Rome* without *Nerva* and *Atticus*, Men of excellent Learning, to direct him (5). *Francis*, the Firſt King of *France*, learn'd ſo much from his conſtant and continual Converſation with ſuch learned Men, that though he had never apply'd himſelf to Literature, he

(3) *Naſcitur ex aſſiduitate laborum animorum hebetatio quædam, & languor.* Senec. de Tranquil. Anim. (4) *Cum inter ſuos convivaretur, aut Ulpianum, aut doctos homines adhibebat, ut habere fabulas literatas, quibus ſe recrearî dicebat & paſci.* Lamp. in Vit. Alex. Sev. (5) *Coccius Nerva, cui legum peritia: eques Romanus, præter Sejanum, & illuſtribus Curtius Atticus; cæteri liberalibus artibus præditi fermè Græci, quorum ſermonibus levaretur.* Tac. 4. Annal.

would diſcourſe very pertinently upon any Subject. But this commendable Cuſtom is out of date; and inſtead of it, Princes keep Buffoons, Jeſters, and Ridiculous Fellows, for their Entertainment at Table. The Errors and Shame of Nature are become now their Diverſions. They love to hear themſelves prais'd, though undeſervedly: And though Reaſon and Modeſty would reject thoſe Praiſes, as coming from ſome Fool; yet Self-conceit eaſily receives them; and the Ears being by degrees us'd to them, ſoon give way to Flatterers and Pick-thanks. Their Jeſts impoſe upon the Will, being generally obſcene, ſometimes vicious. And if ſuch Buffoonry can divert the Mind, how much more will the neat and witty Diſcourſes of the Learned, who not being too grave and rigid (as they are ſometimes) can be facetious and witty upon occaſion? If there be any Diverſion in looking upon ſome miſhapen, ridiculous Monſter; What Satisfaction will it be, to hear of the prodigious Works of Nature, and to diſcourſe of her Wonders and Secrets? *Athenæus* mentions of *Anacharſus*, that ſome of theſe Buffoons being once brought to Table, to promote Mirth, he remain'd grave and ſerious, but laught heartily at the ſight of an Ape, ſaying, *That that Animal was naturally ridiculous, but Man only by Art, and baſe Affectation (6)* This Compoſure was great, and becoming the Dignity of a Prince. Theſe Fools are a kind of Publick Spies in Courts, Corruptors of Manners, and very often Plotters againſt the Prince and State: For which Reaſon, the Emperors *Auguſtus*, and *Alexander Severus*, would never entertain them. If they are good for any thing, 'tis for the Truth they tell the Great Ones by way of Jeſt.

Some Princes, through the Glory and Ambition of Affairs, think themſelves ſufficiently eas'd, in reſting

(6) *Accitis in convivium peritis ad riſum commovendum hominibus, ſolum omnium non riſiſſe, poſt autem inducta ſimia in riſum ſolutum, dixiſſe, Natura id Animal ridiculum, hominem autem arte, & ſtudio eoque parum honeſto.* Athen. l. 4.

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from Matters of Importance, and employing themſelves in thoſe of leſs moment; as the Hair of a Mad Dog cures his Bite. But becauſe then all Minds are not diverted by this means, and that there is no Affair, though never ſo little, but requires Attention enough to tire the Mind; 'tis neceſſary to be ſometimes wholly unemploy'd, and to quit, for a time, the Trouble and Toil of Government (7). Buſineſs ought to be ſo mix'd with Diverſion and Paſtime, as that the Mind may neither be oppreſs'd by the firſt, nor enervated by the latter: It being like a Mill, which having nothing to grind, wears out it ſelf. Pope *Innocent* VIII. ſometimes laid by the Helm of the Church, and diverted himſelf in his Garden, in planting Trees. In theſe Truces of Repoſe, Age, Time, and the Quality of the Diverſion, ought alſo to be conſider'd: So that Gaiety mayn't be offenſive to Reſerv'dneſs, Ingenuity to Gravity, nor Recreation to Majeſty. For ſome Paſtimes not only debaſe the Mind, but alſo diminiſh the Prince's Authority. So *Artaxerxes* was infamous for Spinning; *Viantes*, a King of *Lydia*, for fiſhing for Frogs; *Auguſtus*, for playing at Even or Odd with the Boys; *Domitian*, for killing Flyes with a Bodkin; *Solyman*, for making Pins; and *Selim*, for Embroidering with the Women. While the Prince is young, there are no Diverſions more proper than ſuch as confirm the Mind and Body; ſuch as Fencing, Horſe-races, Tennis, and Hunting; and alſo thoſe Noble Arts of Muſick and Painting, which we elſewhere commended in a Prince's Education; which are very requiſite to refreſh the Spirits, when exhauſted by Aſſiduity of Affairs, provided they be us'd with Moderation: So as not to waſte that Time therein, which ſhould be employ'd in Matters of State.

King *Ferdinand the Catholick* diverted himſelf ſo profitably, that even amidſt his Recreations he forgot not his Affairs; but while a Hawking, he gave ear to the Journals and Diſpatches which his Secretary read to him,

(7) *Satis Onerum Principibus, ſatis etiam petemiæ.* Tac. 3. Annal.

and at the ſame time obſerv'd the Game. *Emanuel*, King of *Portugal*, never deny'd Audience amidſt his Diverſions. A Prince ſhould divert himſelf upon Affairs, as the Dolphin does upon the Waves, though never ſo deep, not ſeeking the quiet Retreat of ſome River. His Repoſe ſhould not be Idleneſs, but Refreſhment.

'Twill be convenient ſometimes to entertain the People with Publick Diverſions, that they may breath a little, and return more vigorouſly to their Work, upon which their Thoughts are employ'd: For if they are always ſad and melancholy, they turn them againſt the Prince and Magiſtracy; whereas if they are allow'd ſome Refreſhment and Recreation, they ſubmit their Necks to any Burthen; and loſing their Heat and Reſtineſs, live in Obedience. For this reaſon, *Cræſus* told *Cyrus*, *That he muſt learn his* Lydians *to Sing, Dance, and Revel, if he would keep them in Obedience* (8). Theſe Diverſions keep the People as firm in their Obedience, as did that Method of *Pharaoh*, in employing the People of *Iſrael* in making Bricks. For the ſame reaſon, *Agricola* granted the *Britains* many of theſe Diverſions; and they looked upon that as a Favour, which was part of their Slavery (9). This the Embaſſadors of the *Tenčteri* knew, when being ſent to *Cologn*, they propos'd the Reſtitution of their Ancient Native Cuſtoms, and the Abolition of thoſe Pleaſures which the *Romans* had introduced, by which they ſubdu'd more than by Force of Arms (10).

States being more obſervant of this Policy, than Princes, permit every one to live according to his Pleaſure, conniving at Vices, that the People may leſs apprehend the Tyranny of the Magiſtracy, and be more in love with that way of Government, taking this Licence

(8) *Impera, ut liberos citharam pulſare, pſallere, cauponari doceant, & mox comperies, O Rex, viros in mulieres degeneraſſe, nihilque metuendum, ne rebelles à te unquam deſciſcant.* Herod. lib. 40 (9) *Idque apud imperitos humanitas vocabatur, cum pars ſervitutis eſſet.* Tac. in Vit. Agr. (10) *Inſtituta cultumque patrium reſumite, abruptis voluptatibus quibus Romani plus adverſus ſubjectos, quam armis valent.* Tac. 4. Hiſt.

for

for Liberty; they being ever more prone to a Diſſolute, than a Regular way of living (11). But this Policy is none of the ſafeſt: For when People have once laid aſide Reſpect for Vertue and the Laws, they begin to deſpiſe the Authority of the Magiſtracy; nay, almoſt all Miſchiefs in States proceed from Libertiniſm; it being ſufficient to keep the People in Peace and Tranquility, and to allow them ſome honeſt and agreeable Recreations. To live conformable to Government, is not Slavery, but Liberty. But ſince in all things the Publick Good ought to be the only aim, 'tis conducive to convert all theſe Diverſions into ſuch Paſtimes as exerciſe the Strength, prohibiting all ſuch as depend upon Luck, as pernicious both to the Government and Subject: To theſe, becauſe they give themſelves ſo much to them, that they neglect their Buſineſs; to that, becauſe by ſuch Games the People ſquander away their Livelyhood, and ſo, through Want, are neceſſitated to Plunder and Rebel.

(11) *Item vivere ut quiſque velit permiſſis, quoniam ſic magna erit vtili Reip. faventium multitudo, nam vulgo diſſoluta gratior eſt quam temperata vita.* Ariſt. 6. Pol 4.

EMBLEM LXXIII.

THE Diſeaſes of States are hidden: Nor can any one judge of them by their preſent Diſpoſition; for when they ſeem in full Health and Vigour, they are taken ill of a ſudden, the Diſtemper breaking out when leaſt thought of; like the Vapours of the Earth, which are not viſible till gathered into Clouds. Wherefore a Prince ought carefully to remedy the firſt Symptoms; nor are they to be ſlighted, as ſeeming frivolous and diſtant: as neither the firſt Rumors of Ills, though to appearance never ſo unreaſonable. Who can penetrate the unſetled Deſigns of the frantick *Mobb?* Upon the leaſt Occaſion, the leaſt Shadow of Slavery, or Male-Adminiſtration, it riſes, and takes Arms againſt the Prince. Seditions ariſe from ſmall Cauſes, and afterwards

wards proceed to greater (1). If they are neglected at firſt, they will be at laſt incurable; they ſpring like Rivers from ſmall Fountains, and afterwards flow into large Streams. Their Beginnings always create too much Fear, or too much Confidence (2). Theſe Conſiderations kept *Tiberius* in ſuſpence, when he had notice that a certain Slave pretended to be *Agrippa*, and began to raiſe Commotions in the Empire: For he was in doubt whether he ſhould puniſh him out of hand, or let Time diſcover the Cheat; ſometimes conſidering that nothing ſhould be ſlighted, then again, that he ought not to be frighted at every thing, being dubious between Shame and Fear, but at laſt he reſolved upon a Remedy (3). Certain it is, that ſometimes the Torrent of the Mutinous *Mobb* is ſo rapid, that unleſs Care be taken, it leaves its own Channel dry, or falls into Civil Wars, the Conſequences of which are always terrible, but are, if taken in time, moderated by Accidents and Chance, and wholly quaſh'd by Care and Prudence (4). Experience ſhews many ways to appeaſe the Commotions and Seditions of Kingdoms; ſometimes Chance offers them, and ſometimes the Inclination of the Seditious. As it happened to *Druſus*, who ſeeing the Legions repent of their having Mutiny'd, becauſe of an Eclipſe of the Moon, which happened at that time, and which they took for an ill Omen, made uſe of that Inclination to appeaſe 'em (5). The ſame alſo *Herman Cortez* did, upon another Occaſion. Nor are theſe Means to be ſlighted as frivolous; for the *Mobb* is often quieted with the ſame Eaſe it is rais'd: Neither of which Motions are guided by Reaſon. A blind Hurry puts them in motion, and

(1) *Ex parvis orta ſeditione de rebus magnis diſſidetur.* Ariſt. l. 5. Pol. cap. 4. (2) *Primis eventibus metum ac fiduciam gigni.* Tac. l. 12. Annal. (3) *Vi ne militum ſervum ſuum coërceret, an inanem credulitatem tempore ipſo vaneſcere ſineret, modo nihil ſpernendum, modo omnia metuenda, ambiguus pudoris ac metus reputabat.* Tac. 2. Annal. (4) *Initia bellorum civilium fortunæ permittenda, victoriam conſiliis & ratione perfici.* Tac. 3. Hiſt. (5) *Utendum inclinatione ea Cæſar, & quæ caſus obtuleras, in ſapientiam vertenda ratus.* Tac. 1. Annal.

an empty Shadow ſtops 'em. All the Art lies in knowing how to humour their Rage; while that works, they are uncontrollable; they always either fear, or are fear'd (6). If any one ſhould endeavour, by a ſet, premeditated Speech, to appeaſe and quiet them, he would loſe his Time and Pains. A ſharp Sentence, or ſevere Check, has more Force than all the Rhetorick in the World. *Julius Cæſar* with one Word quaſh'd a Mutiny among the Soldiers;

* ——— *Begone, ye* Roman *Drones,*
And leave our Enſigns to be born by Men.

But the moſt effectual Means to pacifie a Sedition, is Diviſion; by drawing the Heads thereof into divers Factions and Parties. This Way we uſe with Bees, whene'er that Wing'd People begin to Mutiny, (for even that Republick has its Inteſtine Broils) and leaving their waxen Houſes, begin to gather in the Air, by throwing a little Duſt among them, they are ſoon ſeparated:

† *Throw but a little Sand, they ſettle ſtraight.*

Whence the Figure and Motto of this preſent *Emblem* is taken. But though this Diviſion be always good, 'tis more Prudence thereby to prevent Ills e're they happen, than to remedy them afterwards. King *Ferdinand* IV. underſtanding the Commotions of ſome of the Nobility of *Galicia*, ſent for them; and giving them Commiſſions, ſent them to the Wars. The *Romans* us'd to ſend all turbulent and ſeditious Men to their Colonies or Armies. *Publius Æmilius* tranſported the chief Authors of Seditions to *Italy*; as alſo *Charles* V. did the Nobles of *Saxony*. *Rutilius* and *Germanicus*, inſtead of Puniſhing ſome Mutineers, made 'em Freemen. *Druſus* appeas'd the Mutinous Legions, by ſeparating them from one another (7). Loyalty, and Military

(6) *Nihil in vulgo modicum: terrere ni paveant, ubi pertimuerint impune contemni.* Tac. 1. Annal. * Lucan. † Virg. in Georg. (7) *Tyronem è veterano, Legionem à Legione diſſociant.* Tac. 1. Annal.

Vertue,

Vertue, are maintain'd by Diviſion, becauſe it hinders Forces and Vices from joyning. For this Reaſon, the Armies were ſeparated, in the time of *Galba* (8) 'Tis for this Reaſon, that many think it requiſite to prohibit all Cabals and Meetings of the People: For the ſame Cauſe, *Grand Cairo* was divided into ſeveral Diſtricts or Pariſhes, by very high Walls, that the People might not ſo eaſily aſſociate. Nor is it any thing elſe that has ſo long preſerv'd *Venice* in quiet, than that all its Streets are divided by the Sea. Separation makes People dubious and unreſolv'd, not knowing which Part is ſafeſt; but without *that*, they would all unanimouſly ſide with the Strongeſt (9). This made *Piſander* ſow Diſcord among the *Athenians*, that he might divide and ſeparate them.

In Military Seditions, 'twill be ſometimes conducive to ſet them together by the Ears (10): for one Mutiny is generally remedied by another. The *Roman* Senate was adviſ'd, upon a certain Popular Inſurrection, to appeaſe the *Mobb* by the *Mobb* (11), weakning their Force by Diviſion. And doubtleſs this is the meaning of that Law of *Solon*, which Condemn'd a Citizen, who, in a Sedition, did not adhere to ſome one Party. But this is rather to enflame, than quench and divide it; ſince, at this rate, there would remain none who might be Mediators to compoſe it.

There is alſo another effectual Remedy, which is the Preſence of the Prince, bravely and reſolutely confronting the Fury of the People: For as the Sea, which foams and daſhes againſt Rocks and Hills, runs ſmooth upon the even Sand; ſo is the *Mobb* huſh'd and quieted by the ſerene Preſence of its Prince. *Auguſtus*, with his Looks, frighted the *Actian* Legions into Obedience (12).

(8) *Longis ſpatiis diſcreti exercitus, quod ſaluberrimum eſt ad continendam militarem fidem, ne vitiis nec viribus miſcebantur.* Tac. 1. Hiſt. (9) *Quod in ſeditionibus accidit, unde plures erant, omnes fuere.* Tac. 1. Hiſt. (10) *Dux ad ſolvendam militum conſpirationem alterum in alterum concitat.* S. Chryſoſt. (11) *Remedium tumultus fuit alius tumultus.* Tac. 2. Hiſt. (12) *Divus Auguſtus vultu & aſpectu Actiacas Legiones exterruit.* Tac. 1. Annal.

In

In the Diſorders of the *German* Legions, when the Soldiers look'd upon the Multitude, they ſhouted; but when again they caſt their Eyes upon *Cæſar*, they ſeemed to tremble (13). Sedition is ſoon quaſh'd by Authority and Preſence. As the Blood haſts to the Aſſiſtance of the Part wounded, ſo ought the Prince to aſſiſt with his Preſence at the Diſorders of his State. Majeſty eaſily reduces Subjects to their Obedience; for in that Nature has plac'd a certain Occult Force, which often produces wonderful Effects. Certain Conſpirators had enter'd the very Palace of *Peter* IV. King of *Arragon*, with a Deſign upon his Life; and he readily going to meet them, quite daſh'd their Reſolutions. The Rebellion in the *Belgick* Provinces had never gone ſo far, had *Philip* II. been himſelf upon the Spot. But this Remedy ought well to be weigh'd and conſider'd of, whether or no abſolute Neceſſity requires it: for 'tis the laſt; and if that fails, there is no other. For this Reaſon, *Tiberius* ſent *Druſus* and *Germanicus* to compoſe the Mutinous Legions in *Hungary* (14). The Prince's Preſence is alſo dangerous, if he be hated, or a Tyrant; for then the Subjects are willing and eager to ſhake off the Yoke of Obedience.

But if any Kingdom be divided into Factions, by the private Grudges of Families one to another, 'tis Prudence to prohibit their Names from being mention'd. Thus did King *Francis* of *Navarr*, forbidding any one, upon ſevere Penalties, to be call'd *Agramont* or *Biamont*, which were two Families in that Kingdom at continual Enmity.

But if the Peoples Diſſatisfaction and Sedition proceed from the Male-Adminiſtration of ſome Miniſter, there is no Duſt more effectual to appeaſe them, than the Puniſhment of that Perſon. If they impute to the Miniſter that which is really the Prince's fault, and ſo riſe

(13) *Illi quoties oculos ad multitudinem retulerant vocibus truculentis ſtrepere, rurſum viſo cæſare trepidare.* Tac. 1. Annal. (14) *Reſiſtentesque Germanico & Druſo, poſſe à ſe mitigari, vel infringi: quod aliud ſubſidium ſi Imperatorem ſpreviſſent?* Tac. 1. Annal.

againſt

againſt him, their Errour muſt have its free courſe; ſince neither Force nor Reaſon can ſtop it, without greater Detriment to the Publick. Innocence, 'tis true, will thereby ſuffer, but not through the Prince's fault. In all ſuch great Accidents there is no Remedy without Injuſtice, which is compenſated by the Publick Good (15). Sedition is a Poiſon which ſtrikes at the Heart; and 'tis therefore neceſſary ſometimes to lop off a Limb, to ſave the Body; and to give way to the Torrent of Fury, though diſagreeable to Reaſon and Juſtice. Thus did Queen *Iſabella*, in a Riſing of the People of *Sevill*: For when they inſiſted upon her turning *Andrew Cabrera*, Governor of the Palace, out of his Office, and were running on to further Demands, ſhe cut 'em off ſhort; *Gentlemen*, ſays ſhe, *what you demand, I had before reſolv'd on; Go, remove not only the Governor, but alſo all my other Domeſticks.* By which Anſwer, ſhe ſeem'd to command that which ſhe was forc'd to, and the Mutineers took it as her Favour and Kindneſs; and having ſatisfy'd their Rage, by tumbling down thoſe headlong, whom they found upon the Towers, they were quiet; and afterwards ſhe, upon Examining the Accuſations which they laid to the Governor's Charge, finding them unjuſt and groundleſs, reſtor'd him to his Office. When the Mutineers think that the Puniſhment of the Heads of the Sedition will be ſufficient, they ſpare none, hoping by that means to expiate their Crime; as the *German* Legions did (16); though Patience and Connivance did encreaſe their Inſolence (17); and the more you grant them, the more they crave, as did the Soldiers which *Flaccus* ſent to *Rome* (18): Yet this chiefly happens, when the Perſon ſo Granting is but of ſmall Authority

(15) *Habet aliquid ex iniquo omne magnum exemplum, quod contra ſingulos utilitate publica rependitur.* Tac. 14. Annal. (16) *Gaudebat cadibus miles, tanquam ſemet abſolveret.* Tac. 1. Annal. (17) *Nihil profici Patientia, niſi ut graviora, tanquam ex facilè tolerantibus imperentur.* Tac. in Vit. Agr. (18) *Et Flaccus multa concedendo, nihil aliud effecerat, quàm ut acrius expoſcerent, quæ ſciebant negaturum.* Tac. 4. Annal.

among

among them, as was *Flaccus*, whom the whole Army deſpiſed (19). But in the fore-mention'd Caſe of *Germanicus*, the Demands of the Mutineers ought to be comply'd with, though violent and unreaſonable, that their Fury might have been qualified, or that he might have had ſome honourable Pretence, to wave their Puniſhment. He knew the Injuſtice and Inconvenience of a general Puniſhment, and that it would of neceſſity involve the Innocent: But though it could not wholly be avoided, it ſeemed not to be done by his Command, but was rather to be imputed to Chance, and the Fury of the Seditious (20).

The fault of the Miniſter ought to be excuſed, as a piece of Policy, when by Popular Conſtraint he becomes Head of the Sedition; that he may afterwards, when their Fury begins to abate, with more eaſe reduce them to Obedience. So *Spurinna* gave way to the Soldiers Rage, and pretended to Countenance them, that he might preſerve his Authority among them, when they began to repent (21).

Sometimes the People, upon pretence of Preſervation of their Liberties and Privileges, encroach upon the Royal Prerogative: A piece of Arrogance that ought by no means to be connived at, leſt they ſhould thence become more ſaucy. In this Caſe, the Puniſhment of the Delinquents ſhould be ſpeedy, and the Heads of the Promoters ſtuck up, as a Terrour to the reſt, when they leaſt think on't. For there is nothing quells their Inſolence more, than the Puniſhment of their Leaders (22); it being an approved Truth, That the Body of the *Mobb* dare attempt nothing without them (23).

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(19) *Superior exercitus Legatum Hordenium Flaccum ſpernebat.* Tac. 1. Hiſt. (20) *Nec Cæſar arcebat, quando nihil ipſius juſſu, penes eoſdem ſævitia facti & invidia erat.* Tac 1. Annal. (21) *Fit temeritatis alienæ comes Spurinna, primo coactus, mox velle ſimulans, qui plus auctoritatis ineſſet conſiliis, ſi ſeditio miteſceret.* Tac. 2. Hiſt. (22) *Neque aliud gliſcentis diſcordiæ remedium, quàm ſi unus alterve maximè prompti ſubverterentur.* Tac. 4. Annal. (23) *Nihil auſuram plebem principibus amotis.* Tac. 1. Annal.

Ramirez,

Ramirus, King of *Arragon*, being embroil'd in the Inſurrections of his People, ask'd Advice of the Abbot of *Tomer*: Who gave him no Anſwer, but with his Switch, imitating *Periander* (24), lopt off the Heads of the Talleſt Flowers in his Garden, (where he was then walking) and by that ſhew'd him what he was to do. Upon which he Beheading the chief Authors of the Rebellion, and reſtor'd Peace to his Kingdom. The ſame was the Advice of *Don Lopez Barrientos*, to King *Henry* IV. Yet will it be convenient to uſe this Method with ſuch Moderation, as that the Execution may fall but on few: But thoſe who cannot be puniſh'd, muſt be conniv'd at, or ſo dealt with, as that their Affections may be gain'd; as we read *Otho* did, when his Army Mutiny'd (25). Severity with Moderation, appeaſes all Commotions: For when the Bad begin to fear, the Good will obey; as *Vocula* found, who, in a general Mutiny of the Legions, puniſh'd but one Man (26).

The Method alſo of the Puniſhment ought to be ſo mild, as not to give the People occaſion to reſent it as a National Grievance, for that would make them more Reſolute. Slavery, Wounds, and all the Miſeries of War, were not ſo grievous to the *Germans*, as that Trophy which *Germanicus* erected out of the Spoils of the Rebellious Provinces (27). *Ferdinand* Duke *d'Alba* did not forget this Precept, when he erected a Statue of the Rebels Heads: Nor had he omitted it, though he had read or heard, that *Vitellius* would not put to Death *Julius Civilis*, a Man of great Authority among the *Dutch*, leſt he ſhould thereby alienate the Minds of that

(24) *Nam Periander caduceatori, per quem Thraſybulus conſilium ejus exquirebat, nihil reſpondiſſe fertur, ſed ſpicis eminentibus ſublatis ſegetem adæquaſſe.* Ariſt. Pol. 3. c. 9. (25) *Et oratio ad perſtringendos mulcendoſque militum animos, ſeveritatis modus (neque enim in plures quàm in duos animadverti juſſerat) gratè accepta, compoſitique ad præſens, qui coerceri non poterant.* Tac. 1. Hiſt. (26) *Et dum mali patent, optimus quiſque juſſis paruere.* Tac. 4. Hiſt. (27) *Haud perinde Germanos vulnera, luctus, excidia, quàm ea ſpecies dolore & ira adfecit.* Tacit. 2. Annal.

Warlike

Warlike People (28); for he thought a ſevere Animadverſion more proper: which nevertheleſs created no Diſturbance; though there were not wanting thoſe who urg'd it as an Aggravation, to make that People revolt.

There is another ſort of Diſobedience, which proceeds from a too zealous and inconſiderate Fidelity; in which caſe the Subjects are to be brought to their Duty, by benign and mild Means. Such as *John* II. King of *Arragon*, us'd, in an Inſurrection at *Barcelona*, upon the Death of his Son, Prince *Charles*: For he wrote to that City, That unleſs compell'd by Neceſſity, he would never uſe violent Methods; but that if they would return to their Obedience, he would uſe them as his own Children. This Mildneſs, and his Promiſe of a General Pardon, reduced them all to their Devoir. A Prince ought always to diſcover an Inclination to Clemency; for without Hopes of that, Criminals grow deſperate. For which Reaſon, *Valentinus*, after he had mov'd the People of *Treves* to a Rebellion, order'd the *Roman* Embaſſadors to be kill'd, that he might, by the Peoples Deſpair, ſtrengthen his Crime (29). Sedition turns to Obſtinacy, where there is no Hopes of Pardon; and the Seditious had rather die Rebels, than Malefactors. Upon this account, thoſe who follow'd the Faction of *Vitellius*, were Pardon'd (30). This Generoſity is particularly neceſſary in Inſurrections of the *Mobb*. This King *Ferdinand the Holy* us'd in the Commotions of *Caſtile*; and *John* I. in the Convention of the States of *Guadalajara*, pardoning all thoſe who ſided with the *Portugueſe*. But if a Prince has loſt his Reputation, and is in contempt with his Subjects; then, I confeſs, Clemency will be of ſmall uſe: nay, thoſe very Remedies which ſhould cure theſe Wounds, do more exulcerate, and render them incurable. For his Authority once

(28) *Julius igitur Civilis periculo exemptus præſtens inter Batavos, ne ſupplicio ejus ferox gens alienaretur.* Tac. 1. Hiſt. (29) *Quo minor ſpes veniæ, creſceret vinculum ſceleris.* Tac. 4. Hiſt. (30) Tac. 4. Hiſt.

loſt,

loſt, he can neither maintain the Severity of Puniſhment, nor terrifie the Offenders by Example: ſo that he muſt give way to his Misfortunes, and as prudently as he can, circumvent them by Policy and Stratagem. Thus *Vocula* did, when he ſaw he was unable to puniſh the Mutinous Legions (31). For the ſame Reaſons, King *John* II. releas'd thoſe Noblemen whom he had in Priſon.

Nor are thoſe Favours and Benefits more effectual in appeaſing Seditions, which proceed from a Prince who has loſt his Reputation: For the Receiver either imputes them to Cowardice, or perſiſts in Rebellion to preſerve them (32); and ſometimes ſets up another King, by whoſe Protection he may enjoy them: As did thoſe who Conſpired againſt King *Henry* IV. for they would never be obliged by his Favours, though never ſo great and numerous. When a Prince reſolves to quench the Fire of Sedition, 'twill be conducive, that thoſe Reſolutions ſhould be thought to proceed from his own Vertue, not from the Perſuaſions of others; for the People are generally more Incens'd, when they find the Prince does nothing but by the Inſtigation of his Miniſters. But when a General Pardon is once granted, the Prince ought punctually to obſerve it, wholly forgetting all former Offences and Injuries; for otherwiſe he would give occaſion for freſh Commotions: As *Ferdinand* King of *Naples* did, when he offer'd to puniſh ſome Noblemen whom he had already pardon'd, and who had put themſelves under the Protection of King *Ferdinand the Catholick*. But if they are afterwards found Delinquent, they ſhould be puniſh'd with the utmoſt Rigour of the Law, to curb them, and prevent others from abuſing the Prince's Authority.

In theſe, and all other Remedies, there is nothing more uſeful than Expedition (33): For the People grow

(31) *Sed vires ad coercendum deerant, in frequentibus infidiſque Legionibus*, &c. Tac. 4. Hiſt. (32) *Nihil ſpei, niſi per diſcordias habeant.* Tac. 11. Annal. (33) *Nihil in diſcordiis civilibus feſtinatione tutius, ubi facto magis, quam conſulto opus eſt.* Tac. 1. Hiſt.

Arro-

Arrogant and Saucy, when their Inſolence meets with no Check nor Oppoſition. Time confirms them in their Revolt, and makes thoſe who were Dubious declare for them, and ſo endangers the moſt Loyal. Therefore *Artabanus* endeavoured, with utmoſt Speed and Diligence, to compoſe the Commotions of his Kingdom (34). As Seditions are ſuddenly raiſed, they ought ſuddenly to be remedied. There is more need of Action than of Conſultation, before the Venom takes Root and ſpreads. When the People are once us'd to Murther, Rapine, and all other Ills that Sedition brings with it, 'tis very difficult to recall and pacifie them. This King *Henry* well knew, when, upon the Death of his Brother, King *Peter*, he immediately ſeized upon the chief Cities and Garriſons of the Kingdom; and by this Diligence, ſoon eſtabliſh'd its Tranquility.

Seditions therefore, and Civil Wars, being Diſtempers which conſume the Life of the State (35), and enervate the Prince, by the Loſſes which he receives, and the Gratuities which he is oblig'd to give, 'tis the beſt way to compoſe them upon any Terms. This mov'd King *Ferdinand the Catholick* to agree with *Alphonſo* King of *Portugal*, in his Pretenſions to the Crown of *Caſtile*. For in ſuch Diſorders, the Weakeſt, and moſt Oppreſs'd, are ſtrongeſt (36). Princes are at the Diſcretion of thoſe who have their Arms in their Hands, and the Soldiers have more Authority than their Commanders (37).

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(34) *Pergit properus & prævenions inimicorum actus, amicorum pœnitentiam.* Tac. 6. Annal. (35) *Paul. ad Gal.* 5. 15. (36) *Quippe in turbis & diſcordiis peſſimo cuique plurima vis.* Tac. 4. Hiſt. (37) *Civilibus bellis plus militibus quam ducibus licere.* Tac. 2. Hiſt.

EMBLEM LXXIV.

74

ANIMALS naturally endeavour nothing but the Preſervation of their Individuals; and if at any time they injure one another, 'tis generally from that Reaſon, and a certain Natural Fierceneſs, which is not ſubject to the Command of Reaſon. On the contrary, *Man*, animated with that Celeſtial Flame, which gives him the Command of all Things, eaſily perſuades himſelf, that he is not born only to live, but alſo to enjoy all thoſe Things, even beyond the Bounds which Reaſon has preſcribed him; and his Imagination being cheated by the falſe Appearance of Good, ſeeks this Enjoyment in ſeveral Objects, and therein places his Felicity and Satisfaction. Some think it conſiſts in Riches, others in Dainties and Luxury, others in Dominion, and every

one in what the Errors of his Appetite or Fancy ſuggeſt; for the Enjoyment of which, they apply thoſe Means which their rambling and unquiet Minds prompt 'em to, though never ſo unjuſt (1). Whence proceed Murthers, Rapine, and Tyranny, which make Man the moſt unjuſt of all Animals: And ſince one cannot be ſecure from another, ſeveral kind of Arms were invented, to repell Villany, and preſerve Innocence and Liberty, and ſo War was introduced into the World(2). This was the Original of this Monſter, unleſs it came from Hell, after the Fall of the Rebellious Angels. War is ſo hateful to God, that he would not permit *David*, as juſt as he was, to build the Temple, becauſe he had ſhed much Blood (3). All good Princes dread it, as knowing the various Events and Succeſs thereof (4). War diſturbs the Order and Harmony of States; changes Religion, violates Juſtice, ſilences the Laws, deſtroys Friendſhip and Relation, makes Arts forgot, Agriculture ceaſe, ruines Trade, depopulates Cities, and alters Governments. King *Alphonſo* calls Wars, *the Alienation from Peace, the Diſturber of Quiet, and the Deſtruction of Order.* A Civil War is like a Burning Fever, which ſoon ſcorches up the State: A Foreign War cuts its Veins, and dreins it of its Riches, Strength and Vigour. War is a Vice contrary to Reaſon, Nature, and the End of Man; for God created him after his own Image, and gave him the Command of all Things here below, not to deſtroy them by War, but to preſerve 'em by Peace: He did not create him for War, but Peace; not for Rage, but Quiet; not to Ruine, but to Preſerve: For which Reaſon he ſent him into the World Naked, without Arms to offend others, or a thick Hide to defend himſelf; ſo indigent of the Aſſiſtance and Government of others, that even in his moſt flouriſhing Eſtate he can't ſubſiſt without foreign Aid. This Neceſſity oblig'd

(1) *Una ac ea vetus cauſa bellandi, profunda libido imperii, & diviſarum.* Sal. in Conſ. Catil. (2) *Jam.* 4. 1. (3) 1 *Chron.* 22. 8. (4) 2 *Sam.* 11. 25.

him

him to Society, and Civil Correſpondence; from which, by the Joint-Labour of all, he might be ſupply'd with neceſſary Conveniencies for Life, and that this Politick Felicity might unite all in the firmeſt Bonds of mutual Friendſhip; and that one Country, haughty with its own Riches, might not diſdain Communication with the reſt, he has ſhar'd his Bleſſings among all; Wheat he has given to *Sicily*, Wine to *Crete*, Purple to *Tyre*, Silk to *Calabria*, Aromaticks to *Arabia*, Gold and Silver to *Spain* and the *Weſt-Indies*; Diamonds, Pearls and Spices, to the *Eaſt-Indies*. The Deſire and Want of the Riches and Rarities creating Commerce, by which the whole World became as one common Houſe, and that they might underſtand one another in this Correſpondence, and mutually expreſs their Affections of Love and Benevolence, he endued them with a Voice Articulate, ſmooth and pleaſant, to explain their Conceptions; Laughter, to ſhew their Satisfaction; Tears, to ſhew their Sorrow; Hands, to exert their Faith and Liberality; Knees, their Submiſſion and Obedience: Which are all Tokens of a Civil, Benign, and Pacifick Animal. But thoſe Animals which Nature deſigned for War, ſhe created with Arms Offenſive and Defenſive, for that purpoſe; to the Lion ſhe has given Claws, to the Eagle Talons, to the Elephant a Trunk, to the Bull Horns, to the Bear Fangs, to the Porcupine ſharp Quills; ſhe has made Adders and Vipers formidable by their Poiſon, for their Defence conſiſts in our Danger, and their Security in our Fear. For which Reaſon, ſhe has cloathed almoſt all Beaſts with a thick Skin, for their Defence; the Crocadile with a Breaſt-Plate, Serpents with a Coat of Mail, Scorpions with Scales: She has given all an Aſpect terrible, and a Voice horrible and dreadful. Let therefore Savage War be for them, not for Man, in whom Reaſon is predominate over Rage. Nature has hid Iron, Steel, Gold and Silver, in the Bowels of the Earth, leſt Men ſhould make ill Uſe of them; but Revenge or Injuſtice has found them even there, ſome for the Inſtruments, and ſome for the Price

of Murther (5). Great Abuſe of Mankind, to employ Gold and Silver to the Deſtruction of Life, which was given for its Preſervation!

But becauſe many Men (as we have ſaid) more Savage than the very Beaſts themſelves, are more ſway'd by Luſt and Ambition, than Reaſon, and ſo unjuſtly covet to oppreſs and govern others, War became neceſſary for Natural Defence; for there being two Methods of deciding Matters, one by Juſtice, the other by Force, which is common to all Animals, when the one can't be us'd, the other muſt (6), provided the Cauſe and Intention be juſt, and the Authority of the Prince be lawful; in which alſo nothing ſhould be reſolv'd on, without due Deliberation. So the *Athenians* us'd to conſult their Orators and Philoſophers, about the Legality of their Wars; for 'tis in our Power to begin, but not to end them; he who undertakes them in haſte, will repent at leiſure. *War* (ſays King *Alphonſo*) *ought to be well weigh'd e're 'tis begun, that it may be agreeable to Reaſon and Juſtice; for from hence proceed three great Advantages: The firſt, is, That God favours thoſe who do ſo: The ſecond, is, That they themſelves are more encourag'd, upon Confidence of their Juſtice: The third, is, That thoſe who know it, if they are Friends, join more chearfully; if Enemies, they have the leſs hopes of Succeſs* *. War ought not to be undertaken for ſlight and frivolous Matters, ſuch as were thoſe which mov'd *Xerxes* to bring War upon the *Greeks*, and the *Lumbards* to make an Irruption into *Italy*. That Prince is a Tyrant, who wages War for another State; but he Juſt and Commendable, who does it for the Defence of his own, or the Recovery of unjuſt Uſurpations; in ſuch caſe eſpecially where Juſtice cannot be

(5) *Video ferrum ex iiſdem tenebris eſſe prolatum, quibus Aurum & Argentum, ne aut inſtrumentum in cædes mutuas deeſſet, aut Pretium.* Senec.
(6) *Nam cum duo ſint genera diſceptandi, unum per diſceptationem, alterum per vim, cumque illud proprium ſit hominis, hoc beluarum, confugiendum eſt ad poſterius, ſi uti non licet ſuperiori.* Cicero. * L. 2. tt. 23. p. 2.

obtained

obtained otherwiſe, or where it is more ſecurely decided by the Sword, than the Book ſo ſubject to Deceit and Cavil (7). The Succeſs of War is a Juſt Judge, giving the Right of Victory to him to whom it belongs. King *Philip* II. was ſo deſirous to clear his Right to the Crown of *Portugal*, upon the Death of King *Sebaſtian*, that after having had the Opinions of many Divines and Lawyers, and his Army being then upon the Frontiers, he ſtopp'd, to conferr with them further about it. A Prince who deſires gradually to raiſe his Fortune, may do it by War, provided he has juſt Occaſion. But he who is already in quiet Poſſeſſion of a competent Greatneſs, ought diligently to conſider how he engages himſelf in War; and to endeavour, as much as poſſible, to avoid it by honourable Means, without loſs of Authority and Reputation; for if he loſes them, the Refuſal will rather kindle it. The Emperor *Rodolphus* I. us'd to ſay, *That 'twas more commendable to Govern a State well, than to Enlarge it.* 'Tis not leſs Glorious for a Prince to preſerve Peace with his Sword, than to Conquer in War. Happy is that Kingdom, in which the Reputation of Arms maintains Plenty, and where Lances ſupport the Vines and Olive-Trees; where *Ceres* is protected by *Bellona*'s Head-piece. The greater the Courage is, the more averſe 'tis to War, as knowing to what it muſt be obliged. Many times, Cowards adviſe and promote it, and the Brave act it (8). If War is commenc'd for the ſake of Peace, what need of that, when we may enjoy this? The Choice of it ought not to proceed from the Will, but from Force or Neceſſity (9). The Ancients feign'd, that *Pallas* was born out of the Head of *Jupiter*; to intimate, that War ought to proceed from Prudence, not from the Perverſeneſs of the Mind. *Sebaſtian*, King of *Portugal*, who carried it into *Africk*, more by the

(7) *Caſtrenſis juriſdictio ſecura, & obtuſior, & plura manu agens, callidítatem fori non exerceat.* Tac. in Vit. Agric. (8) *Sumi Bellum etiam ab ignavis, tenuiſſimi cujuſque Periculum geri.* Tac. 4. Annal. (9) *Pacem habere debet Voluntas, Bellum Neceſſitas.* De Auguſt. Epiſt. 207. Tom. 2.

impulſe of his Courage than Counſel, with his Blood imprinted on thoſe Sands the Truth of this Precept. The Bees don't chuſe an armed King, that he mayn't be given to War, and neglect the Government of his own State, for foreign Conqueſts. If *Francis* King of *France*, and *Guſtavus* King of *Sweden*, had duly conſider'd this, the firſt had not been taken at *Pavia*, nor the laſt kill'd at *Lutzen*. Ambition of Rule, is that which begins the Ruine of many States. This *Hanibal* knew at laſt, when he told *Scipio*, That *'twould have been better, had the Gods given Men more modeſt Thoughts, that the* Romans *might be content with* Italy, *and the* Carthaginians *with* Africk.

Great Princes ought to carry on War with their utmoſt Power and Vigour, that they may the ſooner end it, as the *Romans* did; for the Protraction of it is both chargeable and dangerous. The Enemy is alſo thereby diſciplin'd, and forewarn'd, and encouraged. Power, without Vigour, loſes its Eſteem. For theſe Reaſons, two Wars ought not to be commenc'd at the ſame time; for the Forces being divided, they can't be ended ſo ſoon, nor is any Power ſufficient to maintain 'em long, nor Subjects capable to Command them. The *Romans* ever endeavoured, as do the *Turks* at this day, not to be engaged in two Wars at a time. Upon this were grounded the Threats of *Corbulo* to the *Parthians*; telling them, *That all the Empire enjoy'd a firm Peace, and that they had only that War* (10).

(1) Tac. 15. Annal.

EMBLEM

EMBLEM LXXV.

MEDEA (to facilitate the Conqueſt of the *Golden Fleece*) ſowed Serpents Teeth in *Colchos*, whence immediately ſprang Troops of armed Men, who falling together by the ears, deſtroyed one another. So ſome Princes and States, the pernicious *Medea's* of the World, ſow Diſcord among Princes, and reap Wars, and Confuſion, the Fruit thereof, in their own States (1). They think to enjoy themſelves that Repoſe which they moleſt in others, and the Event proves contrary. Coſmographers ſay, about the *Æquilibrium* of the World, that it is ſo Equidiſtant from the Center, that the leaſt Weight moves the Earth.

(1) For they have ſown the Wind, and reap'd the Whirlwind. *Hoſea* 8. 7.

'Tis the ſame in War; there is none ſo diſtant, but it changes the Center of Reſt of other Kingdoms. War is a raging Fire, which kindled in one Place, runs on to others, and very often to its own Home, according as the Wind drives it. The prudent Farmer dreads the Storm he ſees gathering upon the Mountain's top, though at never ſo great a diſtance: Much greater need has he to fear, who raiſes it, by ſupplying it with Vapours. Thoſe who foment the *Dutch* Power and Grandeur, may in time repent it, when ſubject to the Yoke of their Slavery; as it befell thoſe who favour'd the Riſe of the *Roman* Grandeur. The *Venetians*, jealous of the *Portugueſe*, for that by their Voyages they depriv'd 'em of the Traffick of the *Perſian* Sea, and the *Eaſt-Indies*, ſent an Embaſſador againſt them to *Cairo*, and Engineers and Carpenters to arm the King of *Calicut* againſt them, perſuading the *Dutch* to oppoſe their Paſſage by the Cape of *Good Hope*. But they having comply'd with their Deſires, and eſtabliſh'd their own Factories and Commerce, quite diſappointed the Republick, who had better have left the *Portugueſe* Trade free, ſince ſo they might have made uſe of their Ships to Import the Eaſtern Commodities; which when they had brought to their Ports, the Inhabitants might with more Induſtry and Profit diſperſe over *Europe*. Thus we ſee the Means which humane Prudence makes uſe of for its own Safety, turn to the Ruine of the Author. The Dukes of *Savoy* and *Parma* thought to maintain the War in the State of *Milan*; and the one utterly ruin'd his own, and the other made his the Seat of War. Ill Advice impos'd upon the Goodneſs of the *French* King, made him fearful of himſelf, diffident of his Mother and Brother, and of the whole Kingdom, being perſuaded, that without War he could not ſubſiſt, and that his Preſervation depended upon the Ruine of the Houſe of *Auſtria*; and for that end, he rais'd (with the Blood of the Nobility of that Kingdom, engag'd in Civil Broils) Clouds which created a general Tempeſt againſt all *Chriſtendom*; the *Rhine*, *Moſelle*, *Danube*, and *Elbe*, being ſummoned to his

his Aſſiſtance. He foments the Clouds in *England*, *Holland* and *Denmark*. He breaks the Ice of *Sweden*, that he might paſs the *Baltick* Sea by thoſe Northern Streights, to the Ruine of Empire (3). He thaws the Snows of the *Switzers* and *Griſons*, and ſcatters them through *Germany* and *Italy*. He turns the River *Po* upon the State of *Milan*, ſummoning the *Tyber* and *Adriatick* to his Aſſiſtance (4). He raiſes the Fogs of *Africk*, *Perſia*, *Turkey*, *Tartary* and *Moſcovia*, that they might in Clouds of Arrows and Lightning invade *Europe*. He forces through the ſecret Crannies of the Earth, Earthquakes which ſhook *Brazil* and the *Eaſt-Indies*. He ſends through all Parts furious Hurricanes, which made one continual Tempeſt; and he diſturbed the Heavens with ſuch Diligence and Art, that it darted Fire, hail'd Shot, and rain'd Blood upon the Earth (5). He reaches from Pole to Pole with the Shot of his Artillery (6), and with his Dragoons, more ſwift (by the Negligence or Malice of ſome) than the Imperial Eagles (7). Their Neighings are heard in all Parts, and *Mars* triumphs in Blood and Duſt (8). The Author of ſo many Wars, verifying what *Iſaiah* ſaid of Lucifer, That *he diſturbs the Earth, ruines Kingdoms, diſpeoples the World, and deſtroys its Cities* (9). For when God makes uſe of one as a Scourge to the reſt, he gives him his Power, by which he ſucceeds in whatever he undertakes, while his Divine Anger continues (10). He told *Moſes*, That *he had made him God over Pharaoh* (11); and ſo, as God, he wrought Miracles, to puniſh him and his Kingdom (12).

But I am not ſo bold to ſay, that in *Pharaoh*'s Perſon, and his Kingdom, is repreſented that of *France*, and the Puniſhment that Divine Sun of Juſtice threatens it, and that we muſt hope for other miraculous Actions for the Preſervation and Grandeur of the Houſe of *Auſtria* (13),

(3) *Iſai.* 23. 11. (4) *Ezek.* 32. 2. (5) *Jer.* 4. 13. (6) *Jer.* 8. 16. (7) 4. 13. (8) *Jer.* 8. 16. (9) *Iſai.* 14. 16. (10) *Iſai.* 10. 5. (11) *Exod.* 7. 1. (12) *Data eſt Moyſi auctoritas, & poteſtas, qua velut Deus Pharaonem terreret, puniret.* Hil. l. 7. de Trin. (13) 2 *Mac.* 15. 8.

That

That his Diſpleaſure being appeaſed, will by little and little diſpell the Clouds which obſcure its Pinnacles, diſcovering thereupon the Triumphant Imperial Eagle, which having ſharpned its Talons and its Beak, and refreſh'd its Feathers in the Waters of its Trouble, ſhall join that Divine Lightning, which ſhall be Light to it, and Fire to *France*, cauſing to fall upon them the whole Tempeſt which they had raiſed againſt other Kingdoms. The Spirit of ſo many Tempeſts ſhall waſte it ſelf, their Counſels being raſh and violent (14). *French* ſhall War with *French*, Friend with Friend, Brother with Brother, City with City, and the Kingdom with the Kingdom (15), by which it ſhall become the Bloody Scene of that War which it has ſo induſtriouſly procured other Nations (16). Such Counſels are like Spiders Webs, drawn from their own Bowels; their due Puniſhment is, to fall into the ſame Nets which they have ſpread for others (17). *Perillus* invented a Brazen Bull for the Exerciſe of his Tyranny, and was himſelf the firſt that made it Bellow.

No Poſſeſſion is ſecure, which is founded upon the Deſtruction of others. A certain *French* Embaſſador adviſed the League of *Cambray* againſt the Republick of *Venice*, inſinuating, That ſhe ſhould ſow Diſſentions among the Princes, and build her own Fortune upon their Ruine: And ſeveral of them uniting, diſarmed her, and took from her all the Lands ſhe poſſeſs'd upon the Continent. It may be, that thoſe Times required ſuch Artifices; or that the Prudent Noblemen, of which that Illuſtrious Senate always conſiſts, knew thoſe Inconveniencies, but could not prevent 'em, either through the furious Torrent of the Multitude, or through fear of rendring themſelves ſuſpected by Oppoſition. This is the Misfortune of Republicks, that Malice, Tyranny, fomenting Hatred, and Self-Intereſt, without reſpect to Juſtice, paſs for Zeal and Love to their Country, hin-

(14) *Iſai.* 19. 3. (15) Ibid. (16) *Ezek.* 29. 10. (17) *Prov.* 26. 27.

dring

dring Perſons of Integrity from appearing. That the Prudent endeavour to procure the Peace of the State, while giddy Fellows, who have no Proſpect of the Time to come, moleſt it by their vain and dangerous Enterprizes (18), and that in their Reſolves, their Votes are counted not weighed; and that Communities are always fuller of Raw, Ignorant Perſons, than of thoſe of Prudence and Experience; thence happen grievous Inconveniencies. And we ſee at preſent that Republick governs with great Applauſe by the beſt Maxims, and that ſhe always promotes the univerſal Peace and good Correſpondence with her neighbouring Princes, not being to be prevail'd upon by the continual Importunities of *France* to join in the preſent War; by which ſhe has not only oblig'd the Houſe of *Auſtria*, but has been alſo freed from this general Influence of *Mars*, by which ſhe has gained more than ſhe could have done by the Sword. The Neighbourhood of greater Power is not always Dangerous; it is ſometimes like the Sea, which Ebbing, leaves whole Provinces to the Continent. There are not few Princes and Republicks which owe their Preſervation to this Monarchy. 'Twould be a dangerous Attempt for the leſſer Powers always to join in making War upon the Greater, (as we obſerv'd elſewhere.) States gain more by their good Correſpondence with Princes, than by Force. They are cunning Ladies, who eaſily captivate their Heart and Will, and guide their Actions to their particular Ends. Let 'em not therefore be diſturbed, if Princes are ſometimes angry with them; for ſuch Anger is like the Petty Quarrels of Lovers, which are the Renewing of Love: Let them blame rather Jealouſies, and credulous Suſpicions, which make them doubt the Fidelity of their beſt Friends; which is the Vice of the Multitude, who meaſure Things not by Reaſon, but by their vain Suſpicions.

Theſe Arts of Sowing Diſcord, and procuring the Riſe of one by the Fall of others, are moſt in uſe in Courts

(18) *Sapientibus quietis & Reip. curæ: leviſſimus quiſque, & futuri improvidus ſpe vana tumens.* Tac. 1. Hiſt.

and

and Palaces: They proceed from Ambition; for Rewards being already divided, and there being no means to introduce new Forms, but by the Corruption of others, they procure it by Scandal and Violence. Sometime 'tis the Envy of one Minister to another, for some excellent Qualifications, endeavouring to prevent his continuance in a Post where they may be conspicuous, or else to ruine the Reputation he has already acquir'd, by false Accusations: And when he can't obscure the Truth, he Sneers, Joaks at, and Ridicules it, under pretence of a kind of Friendship; that losing his Credit in Things of small concern, he may afterwards gain it in Things of greater moment. Such malicious, sly Tricks, are ever pernicious to their Author, as *Tacitus* remark'd in *Hispon* (19), and in those who followed him. Notwithstanding, *Lucinus Proculus* succeded well, by accusing others (20). This sometimes happens, when Goodness and Modesty are so reserv'd as to live privately, despising the Honours and Favour of Princes, as it befalls those, who, through distrust of their own Abilities, are thought unfit for the Management of Publick Affairs; such as these, assiduous Malice, such as is intent upon gaining Mens Opinions, easily robs of the due Rewards of their Vertue, as *Tigillinus* us'd to do (21.) But such Artifices fall with the same speed they rise; of which *Tigillinus* is an Example, who died infamously by his own Hands (22).

(19) *Pernicies aliis, ac postremum sibi invenere.* Tac. 1. Annal. (20) *Ut cuique erat, criminando, quod facillimum factu est, pravus & callidus, bonis & modestis anteibat.* Tac. 1. Hist. (21) *Praefecturam vigilum, & praetorii, & alia praemia virtutum velocius vitiis adeptus.* Tac. 1. Hist. (22) *Inter stupra concubinarum, & oscula, & deformes mores, sectis novaculâ faucibus, infamem vitam foedavit, etiam exitu seo & inhonesto.* Tac. 1. Hist.

EMBLEM

EMBLEM LXXVI.

76

THE Sun darts the Rays of his Light upon a Concave-Glaſs, and thence proceeds, in Rays of Fire, the Figure of this preſent *Emblem*; intimating, That in the good or bad Intention of the Miniſters conſiſt Peace or War. The Reverberation of the Orders they receive, is Fatal. If the Breaſt be of clear and plain Cryſtal, the Orders flow thence as pure, if not purer, than they entred; but if it be Steel, they will imbroil the whole World in Wars. To this end, Princes, deſirous of Peace, ſhould beware of making uſe of Warlike Miniſters; for as they found all their Fortune upon Arms, they continually ſeek Occaſions to exerciſe them. *France* had never bewail'd the Effects of ſo much Diſcord, nor *Europe* of ſo many Wars, had not the Preſervation of that King's Favour conſiſted therein. We find,

find, in Holy Writ, that the Prieſts carried the Trumpets wherewith they declared War (1); that the Modeſty and Gravity of their Sacred Office would not uſe them without great Occaſion. The Breaſts of Princes are Seas, which ſwell with Mountains of Waves, when their Miniſters are bluſtering *Boreas's*, but are calm and ſerene when they are gentle *Zephyrs*; for a generous and peaceful Mind tempers the hot and dangerous Orders, and turns them to good; like the Sun, whoſe Rays, though they paſs by Angles, endeavour to free themſelves from this imperfect Form, and return Spherical in their Reverberation. And ſometimes it ſuffices not that their Intention is good, if they paſs for Warriors; for either none believe that Men of their Courage would neglect an Occaſion, and Fear arms againſt their Bravery, or at leaſt Malice takes it as a Pretence. The Count of *Fuentes*, foreſeeing what would happen to the *Valtoline*, from the Revolt of the *Griſons*, upon account of the League with the Republick of *Venice*, built a Fort at the Mouth of the River *Ada*, for the Security of the State of *Milan*. The Duke of *Feria*, in the ſame Country, ſummon'd the Catholicks to defend themſelves from the Proteſtants. The Duke *d'Oſſuna* endeavour'd, by a Fleet which he had in the *Adriatick*, to divert the Arms of *Venice* upon *Friuli*. And to theſe three Miniſters are aſcrib'd the Wars which were afterwards occaſion'd through the Troubles of the Duke of *Savoy*.

In thoſe who aſſiſt at Treaties of Peace, the Danger is yet greater, each acting according to his Inclination and Paſſion, and not according to the good Intention of the Prince. *Don Lopez de Haro* being diſguſted by King *Sancho the Strong*, reveng'd himſelf in the Treaties of Peace between that King, and *Peter* III. King of *Arragon*, differently reporting the Anſwers of both; which incens'd them more than before. The greateſt Misfortune

(1) And the Sons of Aaron the Prieſt ſhall blow with the Trumpets, and they ſhall be for an Ordinance for ever to you, throughout your Generations. *Numb.* 10. 8.

of

of Princes, is, that they can't Perſonally aſſiſt at all Affairs, but are oblig'd to be guided by others Reports, which are like Streams which are always tinctur'd with the Quality of the Minerals through which they paſs, proceeding always infected with the Malice, Paſſion or Affection of the Miniſters, and anſwer their Conveniencies and Deſigns; by theſe they ſtrive to flatter the Prince, preparing them ſo, that they may be grateful to his Taſte and Inclination. Miniſters, and principally Embaſſadors, eager to ſhew their Abilities, and that they penetrate all things, report to the Prince for Certainty, not that which is, but that which they fanſie may be; they are too prone to Suſpicions, which they form from the leaſt Shadow, and then give credit to them, whence proceed great Equivocations and Errors, and is the chief cauſe of Quarrels and Wars among Princes; for no Miniſter but has Power to promote Broils and Diſcord (2). Let Princes therefore be cautious of giving Credit to the firſt Relations of their Miniſters, but compare them firſt with thoſe they receive from others: And to form a more certain Judgment of what is written to them, let them be perfectly acquainted with their Humour and Genius, and with their Method of Conceiving Things, whether they act by private Intereſt and Paſſion; for it happens ſometimes, that the Miniſter is taken with a Love for the Country or Prince with whom he Treats, and thinks all things Right and Juſt; and ſometimes ſuffers himſelf to be oblig'd by their Favours and Civilities, and being naturally Grateful, is of their Side, and acts their Cauſe. Sometimes is deluded by plain Appearances, and by contrary Reports, cunningly ſpread, and ſo eaſily deceives his Prince; for there is none more apt to deceive others, than one who has been impos'd upon before. Many Miniſters are mov'd by ſlight Reaſons, or by ſome Paſſion or private Averſion which diſturbs their Judgments, and turn every thing to ill. There are ſome alſo naturally en-

(2) *In turbas & diſcordias peſſimo cuique plurima vis.* Tac. 4. Hiſt.

clin'd

clin'd to Miſconſtrue all Actions and Deſigns; whereas others are ſo Frank and Generous, that they think nothing ill deſign'd. Both the one and the other are dangerous, and theſe laſt not leſs ſo than the others.

Sometimes the Miniſter, thinking it part of his Duty to diſcover to the Prince his Enemies, and that by that means he ſhall gain the Character of a Zealous and Underſtanding Perſon, becomes ſo nicely ſuſpicious, that no one is ſafe from his Tongue and Pen; and to make his Surmiſes and Apprehenſions ſure, gives occaſion, by his Diſtruſt, to Friends to become Enemies, to the great Detriment of the Prince, to whom it were much better to have a good Confidence in all, or for the Miniſter to apply Remedies to cure, not to infect the Minds and Wills of the Subject.

Miniſters alſo, weary of Embaſſies, that they may retire to enjoy the Conveniencies and Eaſe of a Domeſtick Life, ſtick not to promote a Rupture between the Princes they aſſiſt, or at leaſt to ſuggeſt Counſels not leſs pernicious.

Princes are much deceived, who think their Miniſters act always as Miniſters, and not as Men. If it were ſo, they would be much better ſerved, and find leſs Inconveniencies. But they are Men, and their Office does not ſtrip 'em of their Inclination to Eaſe, and to the Pleaſures of Love, Anger, Revenge, and other Affections and Paſſions, which Zeal nor Duty are not always capable to correct.

But let Princes be apprized, that thoſe who can't ſeduce Good and Loyal Miniſters, (for that they fathom their Artifices and Counſels, and know what is their Prince's Intereſt, what not) they traduce them as Diſtruſtful, Paſſionate, Perverſe and Obſtinate, and therefore endeavour to remove them from the Management of Affairs, and to introduce others leſs Knowing, or to treat immediately with the Prince himſelf, tendring him ſpecious Propoſitions, which oblige him to Reſolves more prejudicial. He muſt not give the leaſt grounds to any one, to think that he can't change the courſe of Affairs,

Affairs, or diſplace Miniſters; for if ſuch Thoughts take place, the Prince will be ill ſerved: For ſuch Confidence cauſes Diſdain and Diſobedience in the Accuſer, and the Fear of it diſcourages the Miniſter. The Errors of theſe are leſs dangerous than thoſe to admit the Accuſations againſt them, eſpecially if they are Foreigners: And were they true, yet 'tis more Prudence to deferr the Remedy, till he from whom they came can't aſcribe it to himſelf.

EMBLEM LXXVII.

THE farther thoſe two Luminaries of Day and Night are diſtant from each other, the greater their Influence and Light is Below: But when they are in Conjunction, their being Brethren, does not

prevent the one from obſcuring the other's Rays; and ſuch Eclipſe creates Shadows and Inconveniencies to the Earth. Princes, by the benefit of their Miniſters and Letters, maintain and uphold mutual Correſpondence with each other: But if they ſhould Conferr Perſonally with one another, their Interview would create ſhadows of Suſpicion and Jealouſie, which would put all their States in Confuſion, for that they never find in one another what they promis'd to themſelves, and that neither meaſures himſelf by his own Rule, but pretends always to much more than his Due. An Interview of two Princes, is almoſt like a Duel, in which they fight with Ceremonies, each endeavouring to conquer t'other. The Families of each aſſiſt at the Engagement, like two Hoſtile Troops, each being zealous for his Prince's Triumph over the other, in Perſonal Accompliſhments or Grandeur; and as in ſuch a number all can't be Men of Prudence, ſome light Expreſſion, or ſlight Affront, cauſes Diſſatisfaction in the reſt. So it happen'd in the Interview between King *Henry*, and *Lewis* XI. of *France*; in which the *Spaniards* exceeding them in Pomp and Greatneſs, and ſcouting the Meanneſs and Slovenlineſs of the *French*, thoſe two Nations departed Enemies, who had till then maintain'd a good Correſpondence together *. The Hatred between *Germanicus* and *Piſo* was private, till they ſaw one another (1). The Interview between *Ferdinand* IV. of *Caſtile*, and *Dionyſius*, his Father-in-Law, King of *Portugal*, cauſed great Diſorders; as did that of King *Philip* I. and King *Ferdinand*. And though the Meeting of *James* I. and King *Alphonſo*, produced very good Effects, yet is it the ſafeſt way for Princes to manage their Affairs by Embaſſadors.

Sometimes Favourites ſow Diſcord between the Prince and thoſe of the Blood-Royal, (as we have before obſerv'd) of which there are many Examples in our Hiſtories. Don *Lopez de Haro* procured a Separation between King *Sancho the Strong*, and the Queen his Con-

* Mar. Hiſt. Hiſp. (1) *Diſceſſerunt que opertis Odiis.* Tac. 2. Annal.

ſort.

ſort. The Domeſticks of Queen *Catharine*, Mother to King *John* II. incens'd her againſt the Infant, Don *Ferdinand*. Don *Alvarez de Lara* endeavoured (thereby to keep the Government in his own Hands) to perſuade King *Henry* I. that his Siſter, Queen *Berenguela*, deſign'd to poiſon him. Thoſe who were intereſted in the Quarrels between the Infant *Sancho*, and King *Alphonſo the Wiſe*, his Father, took what care they cou'd, to prevent their Meeting and Agreement. The Grandees of *Caſtile* hindred the Reconcilement of King *John* II. to his Son *Henry*. Don *Alvarez de Luna*, that of King *John* of *Navarre*, to his Son Prince *Carlos* of *Viana*. The Favourites of King *Philip* I. diſſuaded him from an Interview with King *Ferdinand*. Such Artifices we have ſeen us'd in *France*, in theſe Times, to the Detriment of that Kingdom, and of all Chriſtendom. The only Remedy is, to deſpiſe the Difficulties and Inconveniencies which theſe Favourites repreſent, and to come to an Interview, when the ſecret Operation of the Blood has appeas'd their Minds, and diſcover'd the Malice of thoſe who procur'd the Miſunderſtanding. Upon theſe Reaſons, King *Ferdinand* gave a Meeting at *Segovia*, to King *Henry* IV. his Brother-in-Law, not fearing the Danger of expoſing himſelf to the Reſentment of an offended King, who, either through Natural Affection, or to diſguiſe his Infamy, procur'd his Daughter *Joanna*'s Succeſſion to the Crown *. For though he was ſufficiently pre-advis'd by his Miniſters of the Danger of the thing; yet in the Scales of Prudence, this Conſideration outweigh'd, *That no Force nor Treaty was ſo effectual as Preſence.*

* Mar. Hiſt. Hiſp.

EMBLEM LXXVIII.

WHAT we ſee of the *Mermaid*, is Beautiful; what we hear, Melodious; that which the Intention conceals, Pernicious; and that which is hidden under Water, Monſtrous. Who could imagine ſo great an Inequality in ſo fair an Appearance? Such Beauty as to charm the Mind, and ſuch Harmony as to intice Ships upon Rocks? Antiquity admir'd this Monſter as an extraordinary Prodigy: yet is nothing more frequent; Courts and Palaces are full of them (1). How often is a fair, ſmooth Tongue, the Snare to entrap a Friend (2)? How often does a Friendly, Smiling Look,

(1) *Iſai.* 13. 22. (2) *Prov.* 29. 5.

conceal

conceal a Heart full of Rancour and Malice? How often are Tears forc'd from a Spring of Joy (3)! Thoſe who ſhew'd moſt Sorrow for the Death of *Germanicus*, were thoſe who rejoyc'd moſt (4). When the Head of *Pompey* was brought to *Cæſar*, he, by his Tears, diſſembled the Satisfaction of the Sight:

Cæſar, at firſt, his Gift would not refuſe,
Nor turn his Eyes away, but fix'dly views
Till he perceiv'd 'twas true, and plainly ſaw
'Twas ſafe to be a pious Father-in-Law;
Then ſhed forc'd Tears, and from a joyful Breaſt
Drew Sighs and Groans, as thinking Tears would beſt
Conceal his inward Joy ——— *

We ſee much of the *Syren* in the Pretexts of ſome Princes: How full of Religion and Concern for the Publick Good? How Obliging, Kind, and Promiſing? And what Cheats do they impoſe upon each other, under theſe Feints and Appearances? They have the Face of Angels, but end in Serpents; and Embrace, only to Sting and Poiſon: The Wounds of a Well-meaning Sincerity are more wholſom than the Kiſſes of ſuch Lips (5). The Words of thoſe are ſmooth and balmy, but of theſe ſharp-pointed Arrows (6). How often has Treaſon took Riſe from Honours? *Tiberius*, deſigning the Death of *Germanicus*, as jealous of the Glory of his Victories, and to extinguiſh thereby the Race of *Auguſtus*, call'd him to Triumph, and made him his Companion in the Empire. By ſuch Arts he ſtrives to diſguiſe his Mind: He burns with Envy of *Germanicus*; and makes his Glory blaze more, only the ſooner to extinguiſh it: What appears is Honour and Affection, what is conceal'd is Hatred and Malice (7) The more

(3) *Peractis triſtitiæ imitamentis.* Tac. 13. Annal. (4) *Periiſſe Germanicum nulli jactantius mærent, quam qui maxime lætantur.* Tac. 2. Annal.
* *May's* Verſion of *Lucan.* (5) *Prov.* 27. 6. (6) *Pſal.* 54. 22.
(7) *Nec ideo ſinceræ charitatis fidem adſecutus, amoliri juvenem ſpecie honoris ſtatuit, ſtruxitque cauſas, aut fortè oblatas arripuit.* Tac. 2. Annal.

Frank and Sincere a Man appears, the more Fraud and Deſign he harbours. We are not ſo apt to be deceiv'd by Muddy as by Clear Fountains, which hide their Poiſon, and invite by their Clearneſs. For this Reaſon, Prudence ſhould be upon her Guard, to penetrate theſe Arts of Princes, ſuſpecting them moſt when they ſeem moſt fair and obliging, and acting againſt their Cuſtom and Nature; as *Agrippina* did, changing her moroſe Temper into good Humour and Dalliance, to take *Nero* off from the Love of his Slave (8): Which Alteration was ſuſpected by *Nero* and his Friends, who advis'd him to beware of her Subtilties (9). We ſhould be more cautious againſt what Princes conceal, than againſt what they ſhew; more againſt what they are ſilent of, than what they declare. The Elector of *Treves* delivers up that City to the *French* King, to put therein a Garriſon, though he knew 'twas Imperial, and under the Hereditary Protection of the King of *France*, as Duke of *Luxemburgh*, and Lord of the Lower *Burgundy*, and that thereby he not only ran counter to that Protection, but alſo to the Conſtitutions of the Empire; for which Reaſon, the Troops of *Spain* ſurprize this City from the *French*, and accidentally detain the Perſon of the Elector, and treat him with all Reſpect due to his Dignity: And the King of *France* having Eighteen Days before concluded a League with the *Hollanders* againſt the *Netherlands*, makes uſe of this Pretext, though happening afterwards, and enters with his Forces in their behalf, under pretence of ſetting at liberty his Friend and Allie. He who ſeeks Occaſions, eaſily finds or makes 'em. Malice is like Light, which enters at the leaſt Chink; and ſuch is our Inclination to Liberty, and ſo blind our Ambition, that there is no Pretence which reſpects either of them, but we immediately embrace it, ſuffering our ſelves to be deceived by it, though

(8) *Tum Agrippina verſis Artibus, per blandimenta juvenem aggredi, ſuum potiùs cubiculum ac ſinum offerre contegendis, quæ prima ætas, & ſumma fortuna expeterent.* Tac. 14. Annal. (9) *Quæ mutatio neque Neronem fefellit, & proximi amicorum metuebant, orabantque cavere inſidias mulieris ſemper atrocis, tum & falſæ.* Tac. 13. Annal.

never

never ſo unlikely or unreaſonable. *Italy* does not yet apprehend the Deſigns of *France*, to Lord it over her, under pretence of Protection, though ſhe has ſeen the Publick Faith ſo often violated, as in the Treaties of *Ratisbon*, *Caraſco*, and *Monçon*; the Uſurpation of *Montferrat*, the *Valtoline*, and *Pignerol*, and a Garriſon put into *Monaco*. By ſuch Pretexts Princes maſk their Ambition, their Avarice and Deſigns, to the expence of the Lives and Fortunes of their Subjects. Hence proceed all the Commotions and Wars that the World labours under.

As Intereſts alter, ſo alſo do theſe Pretexts; for they give Umbrage to them, and follow them. The Republick of *Venice* enter into League with the *Griſons*; the *French* oppoſe it, leſt it ſhould diminiſh their Alliance with them. Whereupon the People are divided into Factions, to the prejudice of the Catholicks, whom the Proteſtants endeavour to extirpate. The *Switzers* hereupon ſummon a Diet, and can find no better Remedy, than to invite the *Spaniards* into the Valley; an Expedient before thought on by Pope *Clement* VIII. in the Inſtructions given to the Biſhop of *Veglia*, when ſent to the Catholick Cantons in Quality of Nuncio. Which Method was alſo approv'd of by *Gouffier*, who managed the Affairs of *France*, and who perſuaded Count *Alphonſo Caſati*, Embaſſador from *Spain* to the *Switzers*, to write to the Duke of *Feria*, to enter the *Valtoline* with His Majeſty's Forces; that thereby ſhutting up the Paſſage of *Valcamonica* from the *Venetians*, they might deſiſt from their Pretenſions, and that the Valley might be clear'd of the Proteſtants. The Duke, moved by theſe Inſtances, and by the common Danger of this Sect, which threatned the State of *Milan*, and all *Italy*, and alſo by the Complaints and Tears of the Catholicks, enter'd the *Valtoline*; and immediately the *French*, upon new Conſiderations, change their Minds, and oppoſe this Intent, entring into League in *Avignon* with *Venice* and *Savoy*, under Pretence of the Liberty of *Italy*, though that conſiſts more in the ſtopping that Paſſage from the Proteſtants

on t'other ſide the Mountains, than in any Acquiſitions the *Spaniards* could make in this Country; and the *Valtoline* being only the Pretence of the League, the Arms of the Allies ſerv'd only as a Diverſion, and all the Force and Deſign were turn'd to the Oppreſſion of the Republick of *Genoa*. So that Pretences vary according to the Alteration of Intereſts.

Times by their Effects diſcover the Falſity of theſe Pretences; for either they don't perform what they promiſe, or don't act where they propos'd. The Republick of *Venice* had a mind to ſeize *Gradiſca*, and took for a Pretext the Incurſions of the *Uſcoques* in *Croatia*: They made a Feint to defend the Liberty of the Sea, and made War upon the Land.

Many times they make War, upon pretence of Zeal for the Glory of God, and rather hinder it; ſometimes for Religion, and confound it; ſometimes for Publick Peace, and diſturb it; ſometimes for the Peoples Liberty, and oppreſs 'em; ſometimes for Protection, and enſlave them; ſometimes to preſerve their own State, and they invade others. O Men, O People, O States, O Kingdoms! whoſe Tranquility and Happineſs depends upon the Ambition and Capriche of a few.

When the Ends of Actions are Juſt, but are in danger of not being ſo interpreted, or of miſcarrying if they are underſtood, we may ſo diſpoſe them, that our Actions may appear different to the Eyes of the World, and be thought to be guided by other honeſt Cauſes. He [illegible] acts ſo, cheats none, but acts juſtifiably, but only a[illegible]es Malice by falſe Appearances, by which it deceives it ſelf, and prevents its oppoſition to the juſt Deſigns of the Prince; for no Reaſon obliges him to point at the Mark at which he levels; for it would be impoſſible for him to ſtrike one, if at the ſame time he did not ſeem to aim at another.

There is not leſs Danger to States, in the feign'd Zeal with which ſome would ſeem to reſpect the Publick, and regard only their own particular Intereſt. They pretend to reform the Government, to weaken its Authority:

thority: They propoſe Means, and ſuggeſt Counſels after the Effect, to diſcover Errors already paſt Remedy: They affect Liberty, to gain the Applauſe of the People againſt the Magiſtracy, and confound the State, by reducing it afterwards to Slavery (10). Theſe Artifices are us'd by all Tyrants of Republicks (11). What Feints did *Tiberius* make of reſtoring Liberty to that of *Rome*, when his whole Deſign was to oppreſs it (12). The ſame Methods the Prince of *O*—— us'd to make the *Netherlands* Revolt, which his Family have made uſe of ſince to Lord it over the *United Provinces*. Time will ſhew them, to their Coſt, the difference between a Natural Prince and a Tyrant; then they will repent of having preferr'd Rebellion with their Ruine, to Obedience with Security, as *Cerialis* adviſ'd thoſe of *Treves* (13). The People blindly fly to the Call of Liberty, and don't know it till they have loſt it, and find themſelves intangled in the Nets of Slavery. They ſuffer themſelves to be moved by the Fears of theſe falſe Crocodiles, and raſhly intruſt them with their Lives and Fortunes. How peaceable would the World be, if Subjects knew, that whether the Government be of All, of Many, or of One, it would have its Inconveniencies, with ſome kind of Tyranny: For though Speculation may invent a perfect Form of Government, as it muſt be of Men, not of Angels, it may be commended, but not practiſed (14). So that Liberty conſiſts not in this or that Form of Government, but in the Preſervation of that which a long Uſe and Experience has conſtituted and approved, in which Juſtice is defended, and Pub-

(10) *Ut Imperium evertant Libertatem præferunt: ſi impetraverint ipſam aggredientur.* Tac. 16. Annal. (11) *Cæterum libertas, & ſpecioſa nomina prætexuntur, nec quiſquam alienum ſervitium & dominationem ſibi concupivit, ut non eadem iſta vocabula uſurparet.* Tac. 4. Hiſt. (12) *Speciosa verba, re inania aut ſubdola: quantaque majore libertatis imagine vegebantur, tanto eruptura ad infenſius ſervitium.* Tac. 1. Annal. (13) *Ne contumaciam cum pernicie, quam obſequium cum ſecuritate malint.* Tac. 4. Hiſt (14) *Dilecta ex his, & conſtituta Reipub. forma laudari facilius quam evenire, vel ſi evenit, haud diuturna eſſe poteſt.* Tac. 4. Annal.

lick.

lick Peace preſerv'd, ſuppoſing that ſome ſort of Government muſt be obey'd; for Liberty never ſuffers more than in ſuch Changes. We think to find a better, and we fall into a worſe; as it happen'd to thoſe who ſurvived *Tiberius* and *Caius* (15); and when we better our ſelves, it does not countervail the Damage we ſuſtain in the change of one Form to another. So that 'tis better to bear with the preſent, though unjuſt (16); and hope, that if the Prince be bad, God will be pleas'd to ſend another good one (17). 'Tis he beſtows Kingdoms; and 'twould be accuſing his Divine Decrees, not to obey thoſe whom he has conſtituted. *Nebuchadnezzar* was a wicked Prince, yet God threatned a ſevere Puniſhment to thoſe who did not obey him (18). As we are contented with the Seaſons, and bear patiently the Inconveniencies of Nature; ſo alſo we ſhould the Defects of our Princes (19). While there are Men, there will be Vices (20). Where is there to be found a Prince without them? Theſe Evils are not continual. If one Prince be bad, another good one ſucceeds, and ſo one makes amends for the other (21).

(15) *An Neronem extremum Dominorum putatis? idem crediderunt, qui Tiberio, qui Caio ſuperſtites fuerunt: cum interim inſtabilior & ſævior exitus eſt.* Tac. 4. Hiſt. (16) *Ferenda Regum ingenia, neque uſui crebras mutationes.* Tac. 12. Annal. (17) *Ulteriora mirari, præſentia ſequi, bonos Imperatores voto expetere, qualeſcunque tolerare.* Tac. 4. Hiſt. (18) Jer. 27. 6. (19) *Quomodo ſterilitatem, aut nimios imbres, & cætera Naturæ mala, ita Luxuriam vel avaritiam dominantium tolerare.* Tac. 4. Hiſt. (20) *Vitia erunt, donec Homines.* Ibid. (21) *Sed neque hæc continua; & meliorum interventu penſantur.* Ibid.

EMBLEM

EMBLEM LXXIX.

NO Bird ſo much reſembles Man in the Articulation of the Voice, as the *Parrot* *. Its Vivacity is ſo great, that ſome Philoſophers have doubted whether it did not participate of Reaſon. *Cardan* ſays, that it ſurpaſſes all Birds in Ingenuity, and Quickneſs of Apprehenſion; and that it not only learns to Speak, but alſo to Meditate with a Deſire of Glory (1). This Bird is very Candid and Ingenuous, the Quality of Great Spirits: yet is not its Candour expoſed to Deceit, but ſhe

* *Si me non videas eſſe negabis avem.* Mart. (1) *Inter aves Ingenio, Sagacitateque præſtat, quod grandi ſit capite, atque in India cœlo ſincero naſcatur, undè didicit non ſolum loqui, ſed etiam meditari, meditatur ob ſtudium Gloriæ* Cardan.

knows

knows how to prevent it; and as ſly and crafty as the Serpent is, it evades his Artifices, and to ſecure its Neſt from him, it hangs it at the end of the higheſt and ſlendereſt Twig of a Tree, in the manner here repreſented, that when he would paſs by them to devour its young ones, he falls by his own weight. So Artifice muſt be fruſtrated by Artifice, and Counſel by Counſel. In which Caſe, King *Ferdinand the Catholick* was an Exellent Maſter for Princes, as he ſufficiently ſhewed in all his Deſigns, particularly in his Marriage with *Germana de Foix*, Niece to *Lewis* XII. of *France*, to break the Peace clapt up at *Hagenaw*, between the Emperor, and his Son-in-Law, King *Philip* I. without his knowledge, and to his prejudice. Nor did he uſe with leſs Addreſs the Opportunity offer'd by the ſame King of *France*'s deſiring a League with him, to get liberty to Invade the Kingdom of *Naples*, contriving the Matter ſo that he might recover the Governments of *Rouſſillon* and *Sardinia*: And when he ſaw the *French* King had already made an Inroad into *Italy* with that Intent, and withal how dangerous a Neighbour he would prove to the Kingdom of *Sicily*, which his Eye was upon, he put a ſtop to his Progreſs, broke the Treaty, and denounc'd War againſt him, entring into an Alliance with the Republick of *Venice*, and other Princes. And theſe Weapons are more neceſſary in War than Peace; for their Wit does more than Strength. And certainly that Commander deſerves no ſmall Praiſe, who deſpiſing the Vain-glory of Conquering his Enemy with the Sword, ſteals the Victory, and triumphs by Policy and Stratagem, whereby the Law of Nations is not the leaſt violated (2). For if the War be Juſt, the Methods thereof are ſo alſo (3):

'Twixt Force and Fraud, what Difference in War?

And indeed, what Reaſon can be given, why you may not deceive him, whom it is lawful even to kill? It is

(2) *Cum juſtè Bellum ſuſcipitur, ut aperte pugnet quis, aut ex Inſidiis, nihil ad Juſtitiam intereſt.* D. Aug. (3) *Dolus an Virtus quis in hoſte requirat.* Virg.

a piece

a piece of Magnanimity to preferr the Publick Safety before a Triumph, and make ſure of Victory without expoſing it to the manifeſt Fortune of War, when there's none, in Humane Judgment, can appear ſo certain, but it is ſubject to a thouſand Chances. In countermining the cunning Deſigns and Intrigues of an Enemy, we muſt not always regard what a Prudent Man would do in the like caſe, (though to have alſo ſome Fore-thought of *that* were adviſeable) but a Judgment muſt be formed from the Condition and Capacity of the Perſon to be dealt with; for all Men take not always the moſt proper and prudent Methods. *Ferdinand* Duke of *Alba*'s entring *Portugal* with an Army, upon King *Sebaſtian*'s Death, was Amazing; by ſeveral blamed as a very Dangerous Enterpriſe, in a Perſon ſo eminently verſed in the Art of War. To whom he reply'd, *That he was not ignorant of the Danger; but he truſted in having to do with a Nation, which by a continued Enjoyment of Peace, had probably forgot the Affairs of War.* Even when we have to do with Men eminent for Prudence, the Judgment and Conjecture we paſs upon their Actions, even by the Rule of Reaſon and Prudence, is not infallibly certain; for ſometimes they ſuffer themſelves to be carry'd away by Paſſion, and the wiſeſt Men are now and then guilty of the greateſt Errors, Self-conceit rendring them negligent, or too much Confidence in their Diſcretion, making them preſume, that though they have a little loſt their Way, they can eaſily find it again. Sometimes in Things they preſuppoſe, Time and other Events deceive them. Wherefore it is the ſafeſt way, ever to ſuſpend one's Judgment in Things that depend upon another's Pleaſure, and not to go about to regulate them by our own Private Diſcretion; for every one has his particular Reaſons unknown to others, and conſonant to his Nature, which are the Spring of his Actions. What to one ſeems impoſſible, another thinks eaſie: And there be ſome Genius's that fear not the moſt hazardous Enterpriſes; ſome that are guided by Reaſon, others that are utterly averſe to it.

The

The moſt ſecret Artifices of Enemies, or thoſe who under colour of Friendſhip, aim wholly at their own Intereſt, are ſuch particularly whereby they make their Propoſals with ſo much Subtilty, that they ſeem to redound to the Prince's Advantage, when they really tend to his Ruine; a Thing his Integrity is eaſily deluded in, if he want Experience, or ſmell not their Drift. It requires therefore no ſmall Prudence and Attention to turn ſuch Counſels to the Deſtruction of the Authors thereof. Into what Precipes will that Government fall, which is directed by Foreign Councils, contrary to the Advice of the Holy Ghoſt (4). But although an Enemy's Deſigns are uſually diſcoverable by bare Reaſoning, yet is it convenient to trace them alſo by Spies, the principal Inſtruments of Government, without which a Crown can never be ſecure, or admit of Encreaſe, nor a War be carry'd on with Succeſs (5). *Vitellius* was condemned for being improvident in Council, in Warfare ignorant, how to draw up an Army, what belong'd to Scouts, when to proſecute, when protract a War. And indeed, of what ill Conſequence this Negligence is, *Germany* can abundantly teſtifie, which has loſt ſeveral advantageous Opportunities, and its Soldiers been oftentimes ſurprized and cut off in their Quarters, for want of Intelligence of the Enemies Deſigns and Marches (6). *Joſhua* made uſe of Spies, though God himſelf took care of his Arms (7). *Moſes* never March'd, but an Angel carry'd a Pillar of Fire before him, to ſhew where to encamp; yet by God's Command, he ſent out Men to ſearch the Promis'd Land (8). Embaſſadors are nothing

(4) Receive a ſtranger into thine houſe, and he will diſturb thee, and turn thee out of thine own. *Eccleſ.* 11. 34. (5) *Ignarus militiæ, improvidus conſilii, quis ordo Agminis, quæ cura explorandi, quantus urgendo, trahendove Bello modus.* Tac. Hiſt. l. 3. (6) And Joſhua ſent out two men to ſpy ſecretly. *Joſ.* 2. 1. (7) And the Angel of God which went before the camp of Iſrael, remov'd and went behind them; and the pillar of the cloud went from before their face, and ſtood behind them. *Exod.* 14. 19. (8) Send thou men, that they may ſearch the Land of Canaan, which I give unto the Children of Iſrael. *Numb.* 13. 2.

but

but Publick Spies; and without prejudice to the Law of God, or that of Nations, may endeavour, by Bribes and Preſents, to corrupt the Fidelity of Miniſters, who even by Oaths are oblig'd to it, and to ſift out what ill Contrivances are in Agitation againſt their Prince; for theſe are no way obliged to keep the Secret, and the other have on their ſide the Natural Reaſon of Self-preſervation.

EMBLEM LXXX.

THE Stone-cutter at Home firſt prepares and poliſhes the Marbles he deſigns for the Ornament of a Building; becauſe afterwards it would be more troubleſome, and the Work imperfect. For this Reaſon, I conceive, thoſe of *Solomon*'s Temple were

were fashion'd, that it might be erected without Noise, and the Sound of Tools. Thus wise Princes ought to polish their Designs, and bring their Resolutions to Maturity, before they put them in Execution; for not to consider of them but in the Field, is more like a Gladiator than a Prince. The *Bull* (the Figure of this *Emblem*) before he engages his Rival, practises by making Trial of himself, and by often running his Horns against a Tree, by degrees learns the Art of Defending himself, and Goring his Opposer (1). He who is to Consult in heat of Action, fears all things, and knows not what Measures to take. But because Occasions happen not always as we wish, and sometimes it is not in our Power to retard or hasten them, it will be the part of Prudence to consider whether it is better to execute our Resolutions with Leisure or Expedition, for that some Affairs require Speed in their Resolutions, others Time, and mature Consultation; and to offend on either hand, will be to the prejudice of the Government. Consideration, when of worse consequence than Rashness, is by all means to be avoided. In sudden Emergencies, Counsels are better snatch'd than taken. Whatever Time is spent in Deliberation, will either overcome the Danger, or lose the Opportunity. *Fortune*'s nimble, but the generality of Men move but slowly, and that's the reason so few overtake her. The greatest part of our Deliberations are upon Things already past, and the Counsel comes after the Event (2). Our Affairs run with so much swiftness, that Counsel must be speedy to pursue them; nay, even that will be too slow, it ought to be in a readiness to expect them. When Time favours, it is assisted by Delay; otherwise Expedition surmounts it, and then Counsellors of lively, active Spirits, are chiefly necessary. Other Affairs, which allow Time, should be transacted with Maturity; for nothing is more opposite

(1) *Timet, atque eum deficere omnia videntur, qui in ipso negotio consilium capere cogitur.* Jul. Cæs. (2) *Res nostræ feruntur, imo volvuntur; ergo consilium sub die nasci debet; & hoc quoque tardum est nimis, sub manu, quod aiunt nascatur.* Seneca.

to

to Prudence, than Haſte and Paſſion. Impetuouſneſs ever miſcarries, and Examination and Attention are confounded by it. Hence it is that hot, raſh Counſels almoſt always pleaſe at firſt Sight; are difficult in the Execution; in the Event grievous; and the Perſons who ſuggeſt them, though they may appear at firſt daring, yet when they come to execute, are at a ſtand, being embroiled by their own Counſels: For Haſte is blind, and without Forecaſt (3). Wicked Counſels require Precipitation, but Good uſually get Strength by Delay (4). And although the Common People love to ſee Effects before they do Cauſes, and ſo always condemn ſlow Counſels; yet the Prince ought to be Proof againſt theſe Murmurings, which, upon Succeſs, will afterwards redound to his Glory (5). Nevertheleſs, Delay muſt not be ſo great, as to let ſlip the Opportunity of Execution; a Fault the Emperor *Valens* was guilty of, who idly ſpent the Time of Action in Conſultation (6). This is a general Error in imprudent Counſellors, who, perplex'd with the Weight of Affairs, can neither judge of the Danger, nor come to any Concluſion; whence they ſtart at the leaſt Shadow, nay, and think by theſe very Doubts to paſs for Diſcreet. They ſuſpend their Counſels, till Time it ſelf furniſh them; and then begin to Reſolve, when the Opportunity is gone. Counſels therefore ſhould be ripened, not hurried; for Maturity errs neither in Exceſs nor Defect of Time: as it is admirably expreſs'd by *Auguſtus*, in his Device of a Dolphin twin'd round an Anchor, with this Inſcription, *Feſtina lente*; with which that of *Alexander the Great* is not incompatible, *Nihil cunctando*: the one being underſtood of Affairs of Peace, the other concerning thoſe of War, where Expedition gives Succeſs to the greateſt Deſigns. *Cerealis*

(3) *Omnia non properanti clara certaque ſunt, feſtinatio improvida eſt & cæca.* Livy. (4) *Scelera impetu, bona conſilia morâ valeſcere ſolent.* Tac. l. 1. Hiſt. (5) *Feſtinare quodvis negotium gignit errores, unde maxima detrimenta exorti ſolent; at in cunctando bona inſunt, quæ ſi non ſtatim talia videantur, in tempore bona quis eſſe reperiat.* Herod. (6) *Ipſe inutili cunctatione agendi tempora conſultando conſumpſit.* Tacit.

ſucceeded well in all Things, by Reſolving and Executing with Expedition (7). But notwithſtanding Speed does generally produce great Effects in War; yet Care ſhould be taken, that it be not blind and inconſiderate, beginning briskly, but in the end languiſheth (8). When the Thing it ſelf admits of Delay, and there is room for Deliberation, this is of more ſervice than Raſhneſs (9): Though both in the one and the other Prudence ſhould meaſure Time, either leſt through want of it the Counſels be like Whelps, born blind, or as Hedghogs with Prickles and Difficulties, by being too ſlow.

When therefore Orders come firſt out of the Prince's Hand, let them be Abſolute, to prevent Confuſion or Doubt in their Execution. For the moſt prudent Miniſters can never perform as they ought, ſuch as come to them rough and deformed: It is for him that Commands to preſcribe the Form, for the Subject to Execute it. And if each do not keep to their diſtinct Duties, the Work will remain defective. The Prince ſhould do the part of a Maſter-Workman, the Miniſter that of an inferior Labourer. That Prince who leaves all to the Diſpoſal of his Miniſters, either is ignorant or weary of his Office. 'Tis an ill-conſtituted Government, where Power is lodg'd in many; nay, it is indeed no Government, which is not under one Head. If Miniſters Rule, all Authority and the Order of Government will periſh. Then only they may and ought to ſuſpend the Execution of Orders, when the ſame appear evidently unjuſt, inaſmuch as they are born for God, before their Prince. As alſo when the Prince's Commands are prejudicial to his Patrimony or Reputation, or inconſiſtent with good Government, and depend upon the knowledge of ſome particular Matters of Fact, or laſtly, when Diſtance or other Accidents ſhall ſeem to have made ſuch an Altera-

(7) *Sane Cerealis parum temporis ad exequenda imperia dabat, ſubitis conſiliis, ſed eventu clarus.* Tac. l. 5. Hiſt. (8) *Omnia inconſulti impetus cæpta, initiis valida, ſpatio langueſcunt.* Tac. 3. Hiſt. (9) *Duces providendo, conſultando, cunctatione ſæpius, quam temeritate prodeſſe.* Idem Ibid.

tion

tion in the ſtate of Affairs, that it may be probably gather'd, that had the Prince known theſe before, he would not have given thoſe Orders; in this Caſe, provided however there be no other conſiderable Danger in Delaying, they may be deferred and excepted againſt, modeſtly however, and with all the Reſpect due to his Authority and Judgment, with this Hope at leaſt, that upon better Information, he may Command what is more proper to be done. Thus the *Great Captain* did, when, contrary to the Orders of *Ferdinand the Catholick*, he ſtay'd at *Naples* with his Army, conſidering with what Impatience the *Italian* Princes expected the Reſult of the Interview between the two Kings, *Ferdinand*, and his Son-in-Law, *Philip* I. and what a deſperate Condition the Affairs of *Naples* would be in, if he abandon'd them at that Juncture. For all this, if the Miniſter know his Prince to be ſo great a Lover of his own Counſels, as rather to do amiſs, than admit of Inſtruction, he may hold his Tongue, and Diſſemble; for it were downright Folly for him to expoſe himſelf to Danger, without hopes of a Remedy. *Corbulo* was already engaged in ſome conſiderable Enterprize; but the Emperor having Commanded him to deſiſt, he retir'd: For tho' he knew thoſe Orders were unadviſedly given, yet he would not ruine himſelf by Diſobeying them (10).

No Orders require ſo punctual Obſervance in the Miniſter, as thoſe which relate to Matters of State. In this Caſe (unleſs the above-mention'd Circumſtances occurr, or there be otherwiſe any conſiderable evident Danger in the Execution) he is implicitly to Obey, without giving any heed to his private Opinion and Arguments. For the Deſigns of Princes are often too deeply rooted, to be penetrated by the Miniſter, or rather they would not have him dive into them; and

(10) *Jam caſtra in hoſtili loco moliebatur Corbulo, acceptis tamen à Claudio Imperatore literis, quibus ſe recipere jubebatur, re ſubita, quanquam multa ſimul offenderentur, metus ex Imperatore, contemptus ex Barbaris, Ludibrium apud ſocios; nihil aliud prolocutus, quam beatos quoſdam Duces Romanos, ſignum receptui dedit.* Tac. l. 11. Annal.

therefore he ſhould ſide with the Prince's Commands, and preſume upon his Prudence that ſo it ought to be. Hence *Dolabella*, when Commanded by *Tiberius* to bring the Ninth Legion out of *Germany*, readily Obeyed, although he wanted not Reaſons to the contrary (11). If every one had liberty to canvas and examine what is enjoined, all things would be confounded, and infinite Opportunities loſt. A Kingdom (as has been ſaid elſewhere) is like a Muſical Inſtrument, whoſe Strings the Prince tunes, who runs them all over with his Fingers; whereas the Miniſter touches only one, and not hearing the reſt ſound, cannot know whether it be too high or too low, and would very eaſily be miſtaken, if he went to ſet it according to his own Fancy. The Count *de Fuentes*, by the liberty of his Years, Zeal, Services and Experiences, crowned with ſo many ſignal Trophies and Victories gave him, ſometimes (while he governed the State of *Milan*) ſuſpended his Obedience to King *Philip* the Third's Orders, becauſe he judged them improper, and to proceed rather from the Self-Intereſt or Ignorance of his Miniſters, than his own Mind: Which Example many afterwards have followed, to the great prejudice of the Publick Repoſe, and Regal Authority. It would be of very ill Conſequence, for Miniſters to be always allow'd to queſtion, whether what is Commanded, be the Prince's Will or not; an Abuſe which uſually has its firſt Riſe from their knowing it not to be his own Hand that proportions and poliſhes the Stones deſigned for the Edifice of Government. But ſuppoſe it be another's, yet due Honour and ſubmiſſion ought to be paid to the Commmands, no leſs than if they came from his own Will and Judgment, or elſe there would be nothing but Confuſion and Diſorder. Zealous and Prudent Obedience reverences the bare Hand and Seal of its Sovereign.

But if Princes are too remote, and there is Danger of their Orders coming too late, even after the Event, or that variety of Accidents (particularly in Affairs of War)

(11) *Fuſa Principis magis, quam incerta belli metuens.* Tac. l. 4. Annal.

may

may not allow Time for Deliberation, and there be certain Intelligence that the Opportunity will be in the mean time loſt, it will be Prudence to give full Power of Acting as Occaſion ſhall require, leſt that happen which befell *Veſpaſian*, in the Civil War with *Vitellius*, when Diſtance of Place made the Counſels come after the Events. To avoid which Inconveniency, *Tiberius*, upon ſending *Druſus* to Command the *German* Legions, joined with him ſome Prudent and Experienc'd Counſellors, whom he might Conſult as Occaſion required, but a full Power to Act as he ſaw Opportunity. When *Helvidius Priſcus* was ſent into *Armenia*, he had a Commiſſion to Act as he ſaw Occaſion. In fine, this was the uſual Practice of the *Roman* Senate, to leave all to the Diſcretion and Conduct of their Commanders, and to recommend nothing in particular to them, but only all poſſible Care that the Commonwealth ſuffer'd no Damage. An Example the Republicks of *Venice* and *Florence* are far from imitating; who, unwilling to let their Liberty lie at the Mercy of one Man, reſtrain the Power of their Generals; being forewarned by the Example of *Auguſtus*, who turned the Arms upon the Commonwealth, which he had taken up in its Defence againſt *Mark Anthony*.

This Freedom of Power the Miniſters who are near the King's Perſon are wont to limit, to encreaſe their own, and render it neceſſary for all to paſs through their Hands. Whence it is that ſo much Time is ſpent in Deliberating, and that Reſolutions are taken too late to be executed, or at leaſt to have the Succeſs that might be expected from them; and conſequently the Charges and Pains in Preventing is utterly thrown away. It happens alſo ſometimes, that while there paſſes ſo great a Space of Time between the Accidents themſelves, and their being known and examined, freſh Advice is brought of the State of Affairs, with new Circumſtances, which make it neceſſary to alter the former Orders; and after this manner Days and Years ſlide away, without any Effect either of Reſolution or Action.

EMBLEM LXXXI.

THE Forces of all Powers are limited, thoſe of Ambition alone (the common Vice of Humane Nature) infinite. This, the more it has, the more it deſires to have, or rather is a kind of fiery Appetite by the Heart exhaled, which draws Strength and Encreaſe from the very Matter it is apply'd to. This Failing is greater in Princes than in other Men; for to the Deſire of Getting is joined that Glory of Commanding, both which neither ſubmit to Reaſon nor Danger, and hate to meaſure themſelves by their Abilities. Wherefore the Prince ought to weigh well what his Sword is able to ſtrike, what his Shield to defend, always remembring this, that his Crown is a finite and limited

limited Circle. King *Ferdinand the Catholick*, in all his Undertakings, never failed to conſider every Circumſtance of them, their Cauſe, Diſpoſition, Time, Means, and End. He who attempts nothing but what he can effect, will paſs for Invincible; whereas one that aſpires to a Thing impoſſible, or too difficult, diſcovers the Bounds of his Power, and the fruſtrated Deſigns are, as 'twere, publick Records of his Weakneſs. There is no Monarchy ſo Potent, but it is upheld more by Opinion than Reality, by Reputation than Strength. Deſire of Glory and Sovereignty hurry us on, ſo that all things ſeem eaſie, but in the end we meet with Difficulties unobſerved before. Almoſt all Wars might be avoided, were their Means and End throughly examined at firſt: It is therefore incumbent on the Prince, before he engage in them, perfectly to know his Forces, as well Offenſive as Defenſive, the State of his Malitia, and what Officers he has to Command them, the Subſtance of his Coffers, what Contributions he may expect from his Subjects, and whether they be like to continue Loyal in Adverſity, alſo by Study, Reading and Converſation, to inſtruct himſelf in the Diſpoſition and Situation of Countries, in the Cuſtoms of Nations, the Natures of his Enemies, their Wealth, Auxiliaries and Allies. Let him meaſure every one's Sword, and examine wherein his Strength conſiſts. *Henry*, King of *Caſtile*, notwithſtanding his Sickneſs, never neglected this, but ſent ſeveral Embaſſadors as far as *Aſia*, to inform him of the Manners and Cuſtoms of thoſe Parts. The ſame did *Moſes*, before the *Iſraelites* entred the Promiſed Land (1). And leſt the Prince we frame by theſe *Emblems* ſhould want this Matter alſo, I ſhall here, in general, touch upon ſome Points of it, with what brevity the preſent Deſign requires.

Nature, willing to ſhew her Beauty and Power, by the variety of her Productions, has ſtampt a Difference

(1) See the land what it is, and the People that dwell therein, whether they be ſtrong or weak, few or many. *Numb.* 13. 18.

not only upon the Faces, but alſo on the Minds of Men; there being a vaſt Diſagreement between the Tempers and Morals of Nations. To this end, ſhe has variouſly diſpoſed the Cauſes themſelves; which either jointly all operate in ſome Places, or ſeparately; in theſe ſome, in thoſe others. Geographers have divided the Globe of the Earth into divers Climates, each of which is ſubject to a particular Planet, as to the principal Cauſe and Fountain of that Diverſity: And becauſe the Firſt Climate, which is drawn through *Meroe*, an Iſland of the River *Nile*, is ſubject to *Saturn*, they ſay its Inhabitants are Black, Barbarous, Rough, Suſpicious, Treacherous, and Cannibals.

That thoſe of the Second, which is attributed to *Jupiter*, and paſſes through *Siene*, a City of *Egypt*, are Religious, Grave, Honeſt and Prudent.

Thoſe of the Third, which is ſubject to *Mars*, and reaches through *Alexandria*, are Reſtleſs and Warlike.

Thoſe of the Fourth, which is under the Sun, and is ſtretch'd through the Iſle of *Rhodes* and the Midſt of *Greece*, are Men of Learning, Orators, Poets, and Ingenious Artiſts.

Thoſe of the Fifth, which paſſes through *Rome*, dividing *Italy* from *Savoy*, and is aſcribed to *Venus*, are Effeminate, Lovers of Muſick and Luxury.

Thoſe of the Sixth, govern'd by *Mercury*, and paſſing through *France*, are Fickle, Inconſtant, and addicted to Sciences.

Laſtly, Thoſe of the Seventh, where the *Moon* preſides, and which is extended through *Germany*, the *Low-Countries*, and *England*, are Flegmatick, Lovers of Good-Fellowſhip, Fiſhing, and Trading.

Nevertheleſs, this one Cauſe ſeems not to be always uniform, nor ſufficient: For under the ſame Parallel or Climate, with the ſame Elevation of the Pole, and an equal Riſing and Setting of the Stars, we ſee oppoſite Effects, particularly in the Climates of the Lower Hemiſphere. In *Æthiopia*, for Inſtance, the *Sun*'s Beams ſcorch and blacken Mens Bodies; but in *Braſil*, which has

has the ſame Latitude, their Skins are White, and the Air Temperate and Agreeable. The Ancients held the Torrid Zone, for its exceſſive Heat, to be uninhabitable, yet in *Armenia* it is very Temperate, and well Peopled. And though thoſe Eternal Luminaries of Heaven have ſome energy, yet the Diſpoſition of the Earth contributes more; for we find the Effects of their Rays to be greater or varied, according to the various Situation of Hills and Valleys, and temper'd even by Rivers and Lakes. This is undeniable, That Nature is wonderful in her Works, and that ſhe ſometimes ſeems to ſwerve from the ordinary Laws of Cauſes, and from Reaſon, as it were on purpoſe to baffle Humane Curioſity. Who can account for what we ſee happen in the Country of *Malabar*, where *Calecut* is? Vaſt high Mountains, which touch the very Clouds, and end in a Promontory call'd anciently *Corus*, now Cape *Comorin*, divide this Country into two Parts, and altho' both have the ſame Elevation of the Pole, yet when on this ſide the Mountains Winter begins, and *Neptune*'s Billows rage and ſwell, on the other ſide the Fields and Towns are burnt up with the ſcorching Heats of Summer, and the Waters continually calm.

This Diverſity then which is in Climates, in the Situation of Places, the Temperature of the Air, and Food, variouſly diſtinguiſhes Mens Complexions, and theſe again their very Natures. For the Manners of the Mind follow the Temperament and Diſpoſition of the Body. The *Northerns*, by reaſon of the Sun's Remoteneſs, and the Coldneſs of their Countries, are Sanguine, Robuſt, and Valiant; whence they have almoſt ever had Dominion over the *Southern* Nations (2); the *Aſſyrians* over the *Chaldæans*, the *Medes* over the *Aſſyrians*, the *Parthians* over the *Greeks*, the *Turks* over the *Arabians*, the *Goths* over the *Germans*, the *Romans* over the *Africans*, over the *French* the *Engliſh*, and over theſe the *Scotch*. They

(2) *Homines, qui frigida loca, Europamque habitant, ſunt illi quidem animoſi.* Ariſt. l. 7. Pol. c. 7.

love

love Liberty, as thoſe alſo do who inhabit Mountains, as the *Switzers*, *Griſons*, and *Biſcayners*, their Temperament being not much unlike the Conſtitution of the *Northerns*. In Nations very near the Sun, Exceſs of Heat quite dries up the Blood; which makes the Inhabitants Melancholy, and Profound in the Penetration of Nature's Secrets; whence all other Northerly Nations have received the Myſteries of Sciences from the *Egyptians* and *Arabians*. Thoſe Countries which lie between the two Torrid Zones enjoy a favourable Air, and there Religion, Juſtice and Prudence Flouriſh (3). But becauſe every Nation differs from others in many Particulars, although they are all ſituate under one Climate, I ſhall here ſet down what I have by long Experience and Study obſerved of each, leſt this neceſſary piece of Knowledge ſhould be wanting to your Highneſs, who exerciſe Dominion over almoſt all.

The *Spaniards* love Religion and Juſtice, are patient of Toil, in Counſel profound, in Execution ſlow; of ſuch great Souls, that neither Good Fortune elevates, nor Ill dejects them. What is in them a Natural Glory, and Greatneſs of Mind, is imputed to them for Pride, and a Contempt of other Nations, when notwithſtanding it is that which is moſt agreeable to all, and makes them moſt eſteemed (4); that, I ſay, which above all follows the guidance of Reaſon, and by the Dictates of that checks its Paſſions and Appetites.

The *Africans* are Subtile, Deceitful, Superſtitious and Barbarous, and obſerve no Military Diſcipline.

The *Italians* Cautious and Prudent: There's no Species or Image of Vertue which they repreſent not in their Words and Behaviour, to promote their Ends and Intereſt. A Glorious Nation, whoſe Temporal Empire

(3) *Græcorum autem genus, ut locorum medium tenet, ſic ex utrâque naturâ præditum, quippe animo ſimul & intelligentia valet.* Ariſt. l. 7. Pol. c. 7. (4) *Advenientes enim externos benignè hoſpitio excipiunt, adeo ut æmulatione quadam invicem pro illorum honore certent: Quos advena ſequuntur, hos laudant amicoſque Deorum putant.* Diod. Sicul. l. 6. c. 9.

did

did heretofore, as its Spiritual one does at this day, Rule almoſt the whole World. They are no leſs able and fit to Command, than Obey; of Prodigious Courage and Ingenuity in Arts, as well of Peace as War. Their exceſs of Judgment makes them enclinable to Suſpicion, to the prejudice of themſelves, and other Nations. They are in continual fear and jealouſie of greater Powers, and make it their endeavour to balance them. There's not a Sword drawn, nor Pike trail'd in any part of the Earth, but what has been firſt made and ſharpened in the Forge of *Italy*.

In *Germany*, variety of Religions, Civil Wars, and the Soldiers of other Nations ſerving there, have corrupted their ancient Candour and Ingenuity of Mind. And as things of a Delicate Make receive moſt Damage by being corrupted; ſo where Foreign Malice has infected theſe People, it has render'd them more Miſtruſtful and Depraved in their Morals. Some of them have wholly thrown off Allegiance to their Prince. The Horror of ſo many Cruelties has render'd their Minds ſo Savage, that they are neither touch'd with Love nor Compaſſion towards their Neighbours or one another. One cannot, without Tears, compare what this Illuſtrious Heroick Nation has been, with what it is now, ruin'd no leſs by the Vices, than Arms of others. Although this muſt be confeſs'd, that in a great many Nature has had more Force than Example, ſeveral ſtill retaining the Candour and generous Sincerity of their Anceſtors; thoſe ancient Manners are yet in our Time ſufficiently demonſtrated by the Integrity and Nobleneſs of theſe. Nevertheleſs, tho' the Caſe be thus in *Germany*, yet we cannot deny but Good Manners have more Influence there, than in other Places Good Laws (5). All Arts are in requeſt there; Nobility is moſt diligently preſerved, in which Thing it may boaſt above all other

(5) *Plus ibi boni Mores valere, quam alibi bonas Leges.* Tac. de Mor. Germanorum.

Nations.

Nations. Their Obedience and Patience in War is great, their Hearts ſtrenuous and valiant. The Power of the Empire periſhed, by being too prodigal of it Grandeur and Majeſty among the Princes, and ſuffering the Uſurpation of ſo many Provinces, and the too great Liberty of the Free Towns, the chief Riſe of its Troubles, by the Diſunion of the Parts of ſo Puiſſant a Body.

The *French* are Civil, Affable, and Warlike: Their firſt Onſets, with the ſame Speed they are heated, cool again. They neither know how to keep within the Bounds of their own, nor preſerve themſelves in another Land; are Impatient and Fickle; in Look lovely, in Manners intolerable; their Vivacity, and Freedom of Action, being very diſagreeable to the Gravity of other Nations. All Arts and Sciences flouriſh among them.

The *Engliſh* are Grave and Reſolute, have a good Opinion of themſelves; and, when Occaſion requires, undauntedly expoſe their Lives to the greateſt Dangers, though ſometimes carry'd on by too bold and impetuous Paſſion, rather than premeditated Choice. They are excellent and Powerful by Sea, and good Soldiers alſo at Land, when by long Uſe inured to Arms.

The *Iriſh* are Hardy; deſpiſe Arts, and proudly boaſt of their Extraction.

The *Scots* are Conſtant and Faithful to their Kings, having continued the Crown in one Line for Twenty Ages down to theſe Times. They know no other Tribunal of their Anger and Revenge, but the Sword.

The *Netherlands* are Induſtrious, Men of Candour and Sincerity, fit for Arts both of Peace and War, in which that Soil has always produced Eminent Men. They love Religion and Liberty; know not how to cheat others, nor will they ſuffer themſelves to be cheated. Their kind Natures are like melted Metals, which afterwards conſolidated, always retain the Impreſſion of their Jealouſies. Hence the Wit and Addreſs of Count *Maurice* were able to give them an Averſion to the *Spaniards*, and

and under a Pretence of Liberty, bring on them that Yoke of Slavery under which the *United Provinces* live even at this day (6).

The reſt of the Northern Nations are Wild and Ungovernable; know how to Conquer, and maintain their Conqueſts.

The *Polanders* are Martial, but better at Preſerving than Acquiring.

The *Hungarians* Haughty, and reſolute Aſſertors of their Privileges. They retain alſo many of the Manners of thoſe Nations which have took up Arms for or againſt them.

The *Sclavonians* Fierce.

The *Greeks* Vain, Superſtitious, and without Faith; forgetful now of what they have been heretofore.

The *Aſiaticks* are Slaves to their Sovereigns, to their Vices alſo, and Superſtitions. That vaſt Empire was at firſt raiſed and is ſtill ſupported more by our Cowardice than the Courage of that People, more for our Puniſhment than their Deſert.

The *Moſcovites* and *Tartars* are naturally Servile; ruſh with heat into the Battel, and as preſently fly.

But theſe General Obſervations comprehend not without Exception every Individual: For there are found ſome Grateful and Loyal Perſons in the moſt Ungrateful and Perfidious Nation, inaſmuch as Alteration of Governments, paſſing from one Nation to another, Converſation, Inter-Marriages, War, Peace, and thoſe very Motions of the Spheres which from the Poles and from the Zodiack of the *Primum Mobile* derive on Things here below Celeſtial Influences, change Cuſtoms and Manners, nay, even Nature it ſelf. For if we conſult Hiſtories, we ſhall find the *Germans* were noted for their Bravery; the *Italians*, on the contrary, branded with Cowardice: a Difference not viſible now. Nations have

(6) Had the Author liv'd longer, or not wrote ſo ſoon, he would have been of another Opinion.

been

been uppermoſt by turns; and while Monarchy laſted in them, Vertues, Arts and Arms flouriſhed, which have been afterwards, with the Empires Ruine, buried in its Aſhes, and with it revived again in another Place. Nevertheleſs, all Nations have ſome peculiar Inclinations and Paſſions, which inſenſibly ſtick to Foreigners, if they make any conſiderable Stay amongſt them.

The Cuſtoms then of Nations being known, the Prince will be able far better to manage Affairs whether of Peace or War, and know how to rule Foreign Countries, every one of which enclines to a particular Manner of Government (7), as conformable to its Nature. They have not all an Uniform Reaſon of State, no more than one Medicine is a Cure for all their Diſeaſes. And herein Unexperienc'd Counſellors are generally out, who think others can be govern'd by the Maxims and Principles of their own States. The Bit which is eaſie to the *Spaniard*, is not ſo to the *Italian* and *Netherlander*: And as the ways of Dreſſing, Managing and Breaking the Horſes of *Spain*, *Naples* and *Hungary* are different, though they are all of one Species; ſo Nations alſo ſhould be differently govern'd according to their Natures, Cuſtoms and Habits.

From this variety of Peoples Conditions, we may gather, how careful the Prince ought to be in ſending Embaſſadors, to ſee that they be not only endued with all the Qualifications neceſſary for the Repreſentation of his Perſon, and Exerciſe of his Power; but withal, that their Natures, Wit and Manners, agree with thoſe of the Nation they are to treat with: For if this Conformity be wanting, they will be fitter to kindle War, than to make Peace; to excite Hatred, than procure Love. Hence God himſelf was, as it were, in Suſpence, and Dubious in the Choice of a Miniſter to ſend to his People, and therefore deliberates thus with himſelf; *Whom ſhall I ſend, and who will go for us* (8)? Every

(7) *Natura enim quoddam hominum genus proclive eſt ut imperio herili gubernetur, aliud ut regio, aliud ut civili, & horum imperium cujuſque aliud eſt jus, & alia commoditas.* Ariſt. l. 3. Pol. c. 12. (8) *Iſai.* 6. 8.

Court

Court requires a Miniſter ſuitable to its Nature. In that of *Rome*, Men of Thought are approved, who are perfectly verſed in the Art of Diſſimulation, ſo as not to betray any Paſſion, either in their Speech or Looks: ſuch as appear Sincere, and are Subtile and Prudent; who know how to Oblige all Men, and be Obliged to none; are Civil in Negotiations, Eaſie in Treaties, Reſerved in Counſels, Conſtant in Reſolutions, Friends to all, Intimate with none.

The Emperor's Court requires a Man who maintains his Authority without Pride, who Speaks with Sincerity, Propoſes with Modeſty, Anſwers with Truth, and Expects with Patience; who anticipates not Accidents, but makes uſe of them when they happen; who, in a word, is Cautious in Promiſing, Exact in performing.

The *French* Court likes Men of Facetious, Pleaſant Humours, that can mix Seriouſneſs with Gaiety; that neither deſpiſe, nor very much regard Promiſes; who change with the Times, though more according to the preſent than future.

In *England*, the Grave and Reſerved are commended, ſuch as are ſlow both in Negotiations and Diſpatches.

At *Venice* are valued Men of Eloquence, of a Ready Invention, Ingenuous in Reaſoning and Propoſing, and Quick-ſighted into others Deſigns.

At *Genoa*, Perſons of Frugality, loving rather to compoſe than breed Diſſention; who keep up their Authority without State, are Patient, and Time-Servers.

The *Swiſſers* require ſuch as can, upon occaſion, lay aſide Publick Grandeur, and be Familiar in Converſation; as have learn'd to ingratiate themſelves by Preſents and Hopes, to have Patience, and watch their Opportunities; for they have to do with a Subtile and Jealous People, differing from each other in Religion, Factions, and Methods of Government, but are unanimous in their Reſolutions and Decrees, and in their Counſels avoid Extremes, which each Canton afterwards executes according to its own Method.

Now,

Now, as theſe Qualities are proper for every Court before-mention'd; ſo are Complaiſance, Civility, and Splendour, of univerſal uſe in all, if accompany'd with a good Mien and Carriage, with ſome Learning and Knowledge of Languages, particularly the Latine; for theſe affect every body, procure the Applauſe and Eſteem of Foreigners, and Credit to one's own Country.

As Nations differ in Manners, ſo do they alſo in Strength. That of the *Church*, conſiſts in the Reſpect and Obedience of Chriſtian Believers; that of the *Empire*, in Reputation of Grandeur; of *Spain*, in its Infantry; *France*, in the Nobility; of *England*, in the Sea; of the *Turks*, in their Number; that of *Poland*, in its Cavalry; that of the *Venetians*, in their Prudence; of the *Savoyards*, in their Judgment.

Almoſt all Nations differ from each other in Arms both Offenſive and Defenſive, which are adapted to the Genius and Diſpoſition of each Country; wherein it is principally to be conſidered which are the moſt common and general, and whether thoſe of our own Country are inferior to others, that the moſt advantageous may be made uſe of; for Excellency in one kind of Weapons, or the Novelty of the late-invented ones, often give or take away Empires. The *Parthians* enlarged theirs by the uſe of Darts: The *French* and *Northerns* opened a way to theirs by that of the armed Lance, forc'd on by the Swiftneſs of their Cavalry: The Art of Fencing, which the *Romans* practis'd in their Publick Sword-Plays, (wherein Judgment has great effect) made them Maſters of the Univerſe: And the *Spaniards* have conquer'd a New World, and eſtabliſh'd a Monarchy in *Europe*, by the Invention of ſeveral ſorts of Fire-Arms; for theſe, above all, require Courage and Reſolution, which are the particular Vertues of that Nation. To this Element of Fire the very Earth has oppoſed it ſelf, (ſo that now all the Four Elements conſpire the Deſtruction of Mankind;) and by introducing the Pick-ax and Shovel, the Induſtry of the *Dutch* has made ſuch advances, as to be able to reſiſt the Valour of *Spain*.

The

The greateſt Politicians often miſtake the Balance of Governments; particularly ſome of the *Italians*, who vainly ſtrive to keep them always in *Æquilibrio*; for that Government is not the moſt Dangerous or Potent, whoſe Dominions are of the Largeſt Extent, or Subjects moſt Numerous, but which knows beſt how to uſe its Strength. If you put the Forces in a pair of Scales, and one fall down, the other hang in the Air; yet, upon adding to this but one drachm of Prudence and Valour, or elſe if the quantity of Ambition and Tyranny exceed in that, the former ſhall poiſe, if not out-weigh the latter. They who have raiſed their Fortune in this World, and ruled it, have all had but ſlender Beginnings. The Grandeur of the Houſe of *Auſtria* inflamed the Envy of many, and all conſpired to bring it down, while not one ſo much as thought of *Sweden*, which had undoubtedly enſlaved *Germany*, and perhaps *Italy* too, had not the King's Death prevented it. Powers that begin to grow, are more to be feared than thoſe that are already grown; for in theſe their Declenſion is Natural, as in thoſe their Encreaſe. The one ſtrive to preſerve themſelves by the Publick Quiet, the other to advance themſelves by diſturbing Foreign Dominions. Suppoſe one Power be in it ſelf ſtronger than another, this has not therefore leſs Valour than that, to defend and protect it ſelf. One Planet has more Force and Vigour in its own Houſe, than another in its Elevation. Nor are theſe Fears of a Neighbouring Power always well grounded; on the other ſide, they often turn to its Advantage. *Italy* was under Apprehenſions of Slavery from the Weſt, when it ſaw the Kingdom of *Sicily* united to the Crown of *Caſtile*; which were not a little augmented when *Naples* was added, and both at once paid Obedience to *Caſtile*: But when the Emperor *Charles* V. annexed the State of *Milan* to the Crown of *Spain*, it ſeemed abſolutely to Deſpair; yet for all this, the Princes loſt not their Liberty; on the contrary, have been effectually preſerv'd againſt the *Turkiſh* and *Tranſalpine* Arms, and enjoy'd a whole Age of Peace. The Fort *de Fuentes*, built by the *Spaniards*,

was a great Eye-ſore to many, who look'd on it as a Bridle to *Italy*, yet Experience has ſhew'd its only Deſign was their Defence. But all theſe Examples are not ſufficient to cure the Pannick Fears of that *Hypochondria* of State-Intereſt, as they call it, eſpecially complicated with the ill Humours of Envy and Emulation, ſo as to make it ſhake off thoſe Melancholy Whimſies. His Catholick Majeſty lays Siege to *Caſal*, to diſpoſſeſs the *French* of it, and put it into the Hands of the right Owner, to promote the Peace of *Italy:* And what do the Envious, but immediately enter into a new League to oppoſe him? As if one City, more or leſs, were of any moment to ſo vaſt a Dominion. From this falſe Apprehenſion of future Evils and Dangers, which perhaps would never have really come to paſs, proceed other preſent ones, much greater, by the Anticipation of their Remedies. Let ſuch Perſons then as are thus ſolicitous to poiſe the Balance of Governments, lay aſide their Emulations; for it cannot be effected without prejudice to the Publick Repoſe. Who can ſo keep the Globe of the World in this Equinox of Power, that ſome ſhall not come nearer the Solſtices of Grandeur than others; Nations would be in perpetual War; nothing giving more Diſturbance to them, than to be once poſſeſs'd with ſuch empty Chimera's which never have an end, eſpecially ſince the Union of inferiour Powers againſt a Greater cannot be of long continuance: And ſhould they pull this down, who will they find to ſhare the Grandeur among them, ſo that each ſhall be ſatisfy'd, and not every one deſire the Whole? Who ſhall keep them ſo even, that one ſhall not encreaſe faſter than another? Since Man's Body is preſerved by the inequality of its Members, why ſhould not States, as well by the Greatneſs of one and Mediocrity of another Commonwealth? It is the ſecurer Policy to follow the moſt Powerful, and conform to their Fortune, than to oppoſe them. Oppoſition awakens Power, and gives a Pretence to Tyranny. The Orbs of Heaven ſuffer themſelves to be whirled by the Violence of the *Primum Mobile*, which they cannot reſiſt; and

and in following the Motion of that, perform their own Course. *Ferdinand de Medicis*, Duke of *Tuscany*, learn'd at *Rome* the Art of Molesting Superior Powers, and practised it against *Spain* by certain new Devices, in *France*, *England*, and *Holland*; but he afterwards found the Danger of it, and left it as a Lesson to his Successors never to use them; which they observe to this day, to the great Benefit of the Publick Tranquility.

EMBLEM LXXXII.

SOme adorned their Helmets with Swans and Peacocks, by the Generosity of these Creatures to animate their Minds, and inflame them with a Desire of Glory; others with a Bear's or Lion's Head, letting

the Skin hang down their Shoulders, to ſtrike Terror into their Enemies. So that of this Device (the Deſign of which is to ſhew what a Price the Prince ought to ſet upon Arms) I have choſen for the Creſt a *Porcupine*, whoſe Quills, no leſs agreeable for their Roughneſs, than the *Oſtrich*'s Feathers are for their Smoothneſs, at once Defend and Aſſault. There's no Garb more graceful than Armour adorned with Arms. The Splendour of Purple, however ſparkling with Gold, Pearls and Diamonds, is inſignificant; and the Magnificence of Palaces and Attendance, and the Pomp of Courts uſeleſs, except flaming Swords, and the Glittering of Arms, contribute to render Princes Illuſtrious. *Solomon*, the wiſeſt of Kings, gloried not ſo much in his coſtly Wardrobes, as in his rich Arſenals, which were ſtored with Shields and Targets of an ineſtimable Value (1). The *Spaniards* of old prized a War-Horſe more than their Blood (2): now that Eſteem is ſunk, by the Convenience of Coaches and Chariots, the Uſe of which was prohibited among the *Romans* to all but Senators, and Ladies of Quality (3). To remedy which Abuſes, and once more introduce the Cuſtom of Riding, the Emperor *Charles* V. ſpoke thus in the Aſſembly of the States of *Madrid*, in the Year 1534: *The Natives of theſe Kingdoms* (ſaid he) *have ever been eſteemed and honoured both at Home and Abroad, for their Skill in Chivalry; and it is by this alone they have obtained ſo many glorious Victories over their Enemies, as well Chriſtians as Infidels, conquered ſo many Kingdoms and Dominions as at this day depend on our Crown.* The Scripture ſays, in the Praiſe of Men of Courage, that *their Shields are of Fire* (4); intimating how careful they are to keep them

(1) And King Solomon made two hundred targets of beaten gold, ſix hundred ſheckles of beaten gold went to each target: And he made three hundred ſhields of beaten gold, and three hundred ſheckles went to one ſhield. 2 *Chron.* 9. 15, 16. (2) *Hiſpanis militares Equi ſanguine ipſorum cariores erant.* Trog (3) *Quibus quidem vehiculis nifi caſtæ & ſpectatæ probitatis, aliàs uti non licuit.* Alex. ab Alexand. l. 8. c. 18. (4) And the ſhield of his mighty men is made red *Nahum* 2. 3.

bright

bright and well poliſh'd: and in another place obſerves, that their Rays reflected on neighbouring Mountains were *like Lamps of Fire* (5). *David* ſaid, a Sword added Grace even to the Majeſty of God (6). *Hannibal*'s Habit was mean and modeſt, but in Equipage he ſurpaſs'd all others (7). The Emperor *Charles* V. took more delight in Military Pomp, than in Robes embroider'd with Gold. *Ottocarus*, King of *Bohemia*, being overcome by the Emperor *Rodolphus*, came with great Splendour to ſwear Homage to him, and, as he was exhorted by his Attendance, to deck himſelf as became his Majeſty: he replied; *Arm, and March in Rank and File, and ſhew theſe men, that you place your Bravery and Gallantry, not in Fine Cloaths, but in your Arms, for they beſt become both me and you.* That Majeſty begets Princes moſt Authority, which proceeds from Power. The People chuſe them for their Defence; which was intimated by the *Navarrois*, when, in their Coronations, they ſeated the Kings on a Shield: This was their Throne, and Heaven their Canopy. The Prince ſhould be a Buckler to his Subjects, armed againſt all Aſſaults, and expoſed to Dangers and Injuries. He will never appear more beautiful either to them or Foreigners, than when in Armour. The firſt Ornaments and Marks of Honour the ancient *Germans* gave their Youth, was a Sword and Buckler: Till then they were part of their Family, but afterwards became Members of their Government (8). The Prince never looks like himſelf, but when in Arms. There's no Equipage more ſplendid than a Troop of Curiaſſiers; no Train more pleaſing to the Eye than that of Squadrons, whoſe Sight is then moſt agreeable, when they are Martially equipt with all things neceſſary for an Attack, and want Nothing either for their Defence or

(5) Now when the ſun ſhined upon the ſhields of gold and braſs, the mountains gliſtered therewith, and ſhined like lamps of fire. 1 *Macchab.* 6. 39. (6) *Pſal.* 44 4. (7) *Veſtibus nihil inter æquales excellens, arma atque equi inſpiciebantur.* (8) *Scuto Frameaque juvenes ornabant. Hæc apud illos toga, hic primus Juventæ honos, ante hoc Domûs pars videbantur, mox Reipublicæ.* Tac. de Mor. Germ.

Subſiſtence. An Army requires no other Ornament but what is neceſſary for them. Splendid Furniture is but Luggage and Cumber (9). That makes the beſt Appearance in War, which conduces moſt to the principal End of Victory. Hence *Scipio* the *African*, upon going into *Spain*, commanded each of his Men to carry on his Shoulders Thirty Days Proviſion, and Seven Stakes for Intrenchments. Such was then the Equipage of that Warlike Nation, ſo inured to Hardſhips, that they took the City to be built for the *Roman* Senate and People, the Temples for the Gods, but thought their Glory was in the Fields, under Tents and Pavilions (10). By ſuch Diſcipline they were able to rule the World. Delights, Coſtly Cloaths, and Riches, are for Courtiers; in Soldiers they do but excite the Enemy's Avarice. Hence *Hannibal* had juſt cauſe to ſmile, when *Antiochus*, ſhewing him his Army, rather beautiful in Apparel, than ſtrong in Arms, demanded whether this would be enough for the *Romans*: *Yes*, (anſwer'd he, with an *African* Subtilty) *certainly enough, be they never ſo Covetous. Let not the empty Show and Glittering of Gold and Silver terrifie you, which neither Defend nor Wound*, ſaid *Galgacus* to the *Britains*, to take away the fear of the *Romans* (11). And *Solyman*, going to relieve *Jeruſalem*, to encourage his Men, tells them:

Their Glorious Equipage you view from hence,
Shall be our Plunder, inſtead of their Defence. *

And tho' *Julius Cæſar* was for having his Soldiers Rich, becauſe he thought fear of loſing their Eſtates would make ſuch Men more Reſolute; yet large Spoils expoſe Victory to ſale (12), and Arms adorned with nothing

(9) *Supellex pretioſa nihil aliud quam onus & impedimentum.* Curt. l. 5. (10) *Urbem Senatui, & Populo Romano, Templa Diis reddita, proprium eſſe Militiæ decus in Armis.* Tac. l. 3. Hiſt. (11) *Ne terreat vanus aſpectus, & auri fulgor atque argenti, quod neque regit neque vulnerat.* Tac. in Vit. Agric. * Taſſ. Can. 9. (12) *Quod tenaciores eorum in pretio eſſent metu damni.* Sueton.

but

but their own Strength buy it: For the Soldier is generally more ſolicitous to preſerve what he has, than even to get the Victory. He that goes to fight, with a Spirit of Covetouſneſs, is deſirous to conquer his Enemy, only that he may afterwards rifle him. Intereſt and Glory are powerful Incentives to Man's Breaſt. How would *Hannibal* have laugh'd to have ſeen the Soldiers of theſe times ſo fine and ſpruce, and with ſuch ſumptuous Equipages, that there are ſcarce Horſes and Carriages enough for them. How could he have paſs'd the *Pyrenæan* Hills, or open'd a Way over the Snowy *Alps*, with ſuch a number of Chariots? They now (particularly in *Germany*) look not like Armies, but large Colonies of Nations, removing from one Place to another, with their whole Families, and all their Houſhold Goods, as if they were Inſtruments of War (13). The like Remiſneſs in Diſcipline *Tacitus* obſerv'd to be in *Otho*'s Army. There is no Prince rich enough, no Province plentiful enough to ſupply them with Proviſion. They are equally injurious to Friends and Enemies. The ſame ſlackneſs was introduc'd by Duke *Fridland*, to raiſe a great number of Soldiers, ſuffering them to Forage whole Countries, with a Deſign, as ſome thought, to oppreſs and weaken them, ſo that they ſhould never after be able to make head againſt his Forces, or elſe by this Licentiouſneſs to enervate the Army it ſelf, following herein the Practice of *Cæcinna* (14).

This Abuſe threatens great Inconveniencies, unleſs a timely Remedy be applied, and that one which ſhall not appear deſperate. For tho' it coſts no leſs Pains to correct undiſciplin'd Soldiers, than reſiſt Enemies, as *Corbulo* found in *Syria* (15); yet this muſt be underſtood, when the Enemy gives not Time, or at leaſt when it is improper to make ſo ſudden a leap from one extreme to the other. But if Time allow, nothing hinders but an

(13) *Quidam luxurioſos apparatus conviviorum, & irritamenta libidinum, ut inſtrumenta belli mercarentur.* Tac. l. 1. Hiſt. (14) *Cui perfidiam meditanti, infringere exercitûs virtutem inter artes erat.* Tac. l. 2. Hiſt. (15) *Sed Corbuloni plus molis adverſus ignaviam militum, quàm contra perfidiam hoſtium erat.* Tac. l. 13. Annal.

Army may be reduced to Order and Diſcipline, by Exerciſe, Severity, and Example; without which three, it is impoſſible it ſhould be reformed, at leaſt long continue ſo, as *Vitellius* experimentally found true (16). *Corbulo* was ſenſible of the ſame, when he was ſent into *Germany*, and therefore reduced thoſe ſlothful, diſorderly Legions to their ancient Diſcipline. The ſame he did afterwards with his Army in *Syria* (17), where he found Soldiers ſo ignorant in the Affairs of War, that there were many, even Veterans, who had never kept Guard, or ſtood Centinel, who were utter Strangers to Trenches and Fortifications, unarmed, but rich and magnificent, as having ſerved all their time in good Garriſons (18); and caſhiering ſuch as were unſerviceable, kept the reſt encamped all the Winter, to inure them to Cold, himſelf in a thin Habit, and his Head uncovered, always attending them, whether on a March or in their Works, commending the Valiant, comforting the Weak, and giving Example to all (19); and when he perceiv'd the Inclemency of the Weather made many leave their Colours, he remedy'd that by Severity, not pardoning (as was uſual in other Armies) the firſt and ſecond Tranſgreſſion of that nature, but whoever Deſerted was immediately put to Death. And that was found to be of more uſe than Clemency; for fewer deſerted his Camp, than did thoſe where it was pardoned (20.) The Soldier could never be brought to undergo thoſe great Fatigues, and expoſe himſelf to the preſent Hazards of

(16) *Degenerabat à labore ac virtute miles, aſſuetudine voluptatum & convivivum.* Tac. l. 2. Hiſt. (17) *Legiones operum & laboris ignaras, populationibus lætantes, veterem ad morem reduxit.* Tac. l. 11. Annal. (18) *Veterani qui non ſtativem nin vigilias miſſent, vallum, foſſamque quaſi nova & mira viſerent, ſine galeis, ſine loricis, nitidi, & quæſtuoſi, militiâ per oppida expletâ.* Tac. l. 13. Annal. (19) *Ipſe cultu levi, capite intecto, in aggine, in laboribus frequens adeſſe; laudem ſtrenuis, ſolatium invalidis, exemplum omnibus oſtendere.* Ibid. (20) *Remedium ſeveritate quæſitum eſt. Nec enim ut in aliis exercitibus, primum alterumque venia proſequebatur, ſed qui ſigna reliquerat, ſtatim capite pœnas luebat. Itque uſu ſalubre, & miſericordia melius apparuit. Quippe pauciores caſtra deſerere, quam ea in quibus ignoſcebatur.* Ibid.

War,

War, without ſome Severity, or ſome Reward to equal thoſe two. Princes, by Honours and Recompences, make good Generals; and theſe good Soldiers, by Example, Rigour, and Liberality. *Godfrey* well knew Courage to be encreaſed by Glory, and Hopes of Advantage, when, upon the point of giving Battel,

He clears the Doubts, and elevates the Hopes
Of thoſe whoſe Bravery deſerves Reward. ——

Some he with Wealth, with Honour ſome excites,
And diff'ring Genius's as each delights. *

I dare affirm, no Soldiers can be good, unleſs their Commanders be ſomething enclin'd to Prodigality and Severity. And 'tis probably on this account the *Germans* call a Regiment, and all that belongs to it, *the Colonel's Staff*, (*den Regiment oder Colonelſtab*,) for with that Soldiers are to be ruled. *Moſes* kept his in ſuch ſtrict Diſcipline, that ſuing once for Paſſage through the King of *Edom*'s Country, he withal engaged, that none of them ſhould drink of the Water of his Wells, or paſs through any one's Fields or Vineyards (21).

Antiquity has left us an illuſtrious Example of the Reeſtabliſhment of decayed Military Diſcipline in the Perſon of *Metellus*, when he was in *Africa*, where he found the *Roman* Army ſo corrupted, that the Soldiers would not ſtir out of their Quarters, deſerted their Colours, and diſperſing themſelves over the Province, Ravag'd and Plunder'd where-ever they came, being guilty of all the Extravagancies that Avarice and Luxury are capable of inſpiring. Yet all theſe he inſenſibly remedied, by Exerciſing them in Military Arts. He firſt order'd, that no Bread, or any other Meat dreſs'd, ſhould be ſold in the Camp; forbad the Sutlers to follow the Army; ſuffer'd not any Common Soldier, upon a March, to

* Taſſ. Can. 20. (21) We will not paſs through the fields nor through the vineyards, neither will we drink of the water of the wells. *Numb.* 20. 19.

have

have a Servant or Mule. And thus correcting the other Abuſes, he reſtor'd them to their former Courage and Strength. The effect of which Care was ſo great, as of it ſelf to terrifie *Jugurtha*, and oblig'd him, by Embaſſadors, to beg his Life, and the Lives of his Children of him, and to promiſe the Delivery of all beſides to the *Romans*. Arms are Vital Spirits, which cheriſh and give motion to the Body of a Government; the Surety of Publick Tranquility, wherein the Preſervation and Encreaſe of the ſame conſiſts, provided they be well ordered, and admit of Diſcipline. This the Emperor *Alexander Severus* well knew, when he ſaid, *Ancient Diſcipline was the Support of the Commonwealth, the Fall of which would be the Ruine of the* Roman *Name and Empire* (22).

Since then it is of ſo great Importance to have good Soldiers, it is the Duty of Princes to conferr Favours and Honours upon them. *Saul* loved a brave Soldier ſo well, that he would not ſuffer him out of his ſight. Reward and Honour find, and Exerciſe makes them: For Nature produces few Valiant Men; but Induſtry, with good Inſtruction, brings up many (23). This ought to be the care of the Captains, Colonels, and Generals, as it was of *Sopher* the Chief of the Hoſt, who exerciſed his Freſh-water Soldiers (24). And thus the Holy Scriptures call Commanders, *Maſters of Soldiers* (25), it being their buſineſs to teach and inſtruct them; ſuch were *Potiphar* and *Nebuzaradan* (26).

But becauſe this, through the exceſſive Indulgence and Careleſneſs of Officers, and upon account of other Impediments in War, is not eaſily reduc'd to Practice, the Evil of it ought rather to be timely prevented; a Thing which Princes and Commonwealths are ſtrangely negligent in. Upon the Study of Literature are founded Col-

(22) *Diſciplinam majorum Rempublicam tenet, quæ ſi dilabatur, & nomen Romanum, & Imperium amiſſum iri.* Alex. Sever. apud Lamprid. (23) *Paucos viros fortes natura procreat, bona inſtitutione plures reddit induſtria.* Veget. (24) And the principal ſcribe of the army, who muſtered the people of the land, &c. 2 *King.* 25. 9. (25) *Gen.* 37. 36. (26) *Jerem.* 39. 9.

leges;

leges; for Religion, Convents and Monaſteries. The Church Militant has its Nurſeries for the Edification of Spiritual Soldiers to defend it; for Temporal ones there is none. The *Turk* alone regards this, who, to that end, gathers Children of all Nations into certain Seraglio's, and ſees them brought up in the Exerciſe of Arms; whence afterwards is formed the Body of his Janizaries, who knowing no other Father or Lord but the Grand Signior, are the chiefeſt Strength and Defence of his Empire. Chriſtian Princes ought to do the ſame in all great Cities, by taking Orphans, Foundlings, and all other of that nature, into Seminaries for that purpoſe, there to be inſtructed in Military Exerciſes, taught to forge Arms, twiſt Ropes, make Gun-powder, and all other Ammunition, to prepare them for War-Service. There might alſo be ſome educated in Sea-Port Towns, where they might have an early inſight into Navigation, and ſee the manner of Building Ships, of making Sails and Cables, which would be a means to cleanſe the Commonwealth from thoſe Dregs of Vagabonds, and furniſh it with Perſons that would be uſeful in Military Arts, which might be kept out of what they daily earn; or, if that would not ſuffice, a Law might be made to aſſign ſuch Seminaries the Third of all Pious Gifts or Legacies: For aſſuredly they deſerve no leſs who defend the Altars, than thoſe that offer Incenſe at them.

It would be alſo a very good way, for the Subſiſtence of an Army, to endow the Treaſury of War with certain ſtated Revenues, to be employed to no other uſes: As *Auguſtus* did, who ſetled the Tenth of all Hereditaments and Legacies, and the Hundredth part of all Commodities ſold upon it. Which Tax *Tiberius* would not afterwards take off, even though the Senate requeſted it, becauſe it was the Support of the Military Treaſury (27). Thus *Peter* Count *de Lemos* endowed that of *Naples*;

(27) *Centeſimam rerum venalium poſt bella civilia inſtitutam, deprecante populo, edixit Tiberius militare ærarium eo ſubſidio niti.* Tacit. l. 1. Annal.

but

but Envy afterwards overthrew all that his Zeal and Prudence had eſtabliſh'd.

Neither ſhould this Care be taken for Soldiers only, but alſo in Erecting Fortreſſes, and Garriſoning them; foraſmuch as that Charge may prevent many greater. The Weakneſs of a Place invites an Enemy, whereas ſcarce any one Attacks a State he thinks able to Defend it ſelf. If all that is laviſhly ſquander'd away in Gaming, Shows, and Building, were expended upon this, Princes would live abundantly more Secure, and the whole World enjoy more Peace and Tranquility. The Emperors, *Diocleſian* and *Maximilian*, took it as a ſignal piece of Service of a certain Governor of a Province, who laid out a Summ of Money deſign'd for the Structure of an Amphitheater, upon the Repair of a Citadel (28).

(28) *Ita enim & tutelæ civitatis inſtructæ murorum præſidio providebitur, & inſtaurandi agonis voluptas, confirmatis his, quæ ad ſecuritatis cautionem ſpectant, in ſecuti temporis circuitus circuitione repræſentabit.* L. Unica C. de Expen. Publ. l. 11.

EMBLEM

EMBLEM LXXXIII.

83

THE very Ground whereon Fortreſſes are built is their greateſt Enemy. It is upon the Surface of that with the Shovel and Pick-Axe (Weapons of this Age) Trenches and Approaches are made to begin a Storm. 'Tis within the Bowels of the ſame, that Mines are ſecretly ſprung under the Foundations of the Walls and Bulwarks, which taking Fire, blow them all up. That Caſtle only is Impregnable, which, ſituated in the midſt of Waters, is on all ſides ſurrounded with the Fury of Foaming Billows; which, although they beat againſt it, yet do at the ſame time alſo defend it, by not admitting of a Naval Siege; and all the Danger would be in a Calm, if it ſhould continue long.

long. Thus Governments, while engaged in War, are generally ſafe (1): Then are they induſtriouſly Vigilant, providently forewarn'd; Glory animates; Exerciſe redoubles their Courage; Emulation prompts to great Enterprizes; and Common Danger unites Mens Affections, and purges off the State's ill Humours. Fear of an Enemy, keeps a People Regular, and under Laws (2). The *Romans* were never more Valiant, nor their Subjects more Quiet and Obedient to the Magiſtrates, than when *Pyrrhus* firſt, and after him *Hannibal*, came up to the very Gates of their City. A great Monarchy is in more Danger upon the account of its Power, than others are from their Weakneſs; for that, through too much confidence in its Strength, neglects to provide againſt future Caſualties (3): whereas, on the contrary, Fear puts this always upon its Guard. If Military Diſcipline ceaſe, and be not kept in continual Exerciſe, Sloth effeminates Minds, weakens and throws down Walls, ruſts Swords, and gnaws the Straps of Shields; Debaucheries, by degrees, encreaſe with it, and Ambition reigns; whence ariſe Diſſentions, and from them Civil Wars: ſo that there is not one Inteſtine Malady or Infirmity ingender'd by Lazineſs, but the whole State ſuffers by it. Nothing grows or is preſerved without Motion. *Q. Metellus*, upon the News of the Loſs of *Carthage*, ſaid openly in the Senate, *That he now apprehended that of* Rome *would follow*, when he ſaw that Rival Republick deſtroyed. *Pub. Naſica*, hearing one ſay, *This Succeſs put Affairs in a better Poſture*; anſwer'd, *Nay, rather, they are now in greater Danger.* This wiſe Man well knew thoſe Hoſtile Forces were like Surges, which indeed ſhook the City, but withal added Strength and Courage to it; and therefore exhorts them to beware of their Ruine, as knowing weak Minds to have no greater Enemy than Security, and

(1). *Civitates magna ex parte bellum gerentes conſervantur, eadem ſuperio potitæ corrumpuntur.* Ariſtot. l. 7. Polit. c. 14. (2) *Metus hoſtilis in bonis artibus civitatem retinebat.* Saluſt. (3) Whoſe arrows are ſharp, and all their bows bent: their horſes hoofs ſhall be counted like flints. *Iſai.* 5. 28.

that

that Fear was a neceſſary Tutor to this Pupil People (4). *Swinthila*, King of the *Goths*, was great in *Spain*, and acquired Renown by his Atchievements, while he was engag'd in War: when that ceas'd, he abandon'd himſelf to Luxury, and was ruin'd. King *Alphonſus* VI. reflecting upon the Loſſes he had receiv'd from the *Moors*, ask'd the reaſon of it; and was anſwer'd, It was the Sloth and Looſeneſs of his Men: upon which he immediately forbad Bathing, and all other Wantonneſſes that impair Strength. The Oſcitancy and Drowſineſs of the two Kings, *Roderick* and *Vitiza*, made almoſt all *Spain* fall a Prey to the *Africans*, till the times of *Pelagius* and his Succeſſors, when Warfare beginning to flouriſh again, Valour, and the Glory of Arms, encreaſed by conſtant Emulation, and not only deliver'd *Spain* from that heavy Yoke, but render'd it Head of a Puiſſant Monarchy. The Emulation between the Military Orders of *Caſtile* produced abundance of Great Men, who ſtrove more to ſurpaſs each other in Military Glory, than to conquer an Enemy. The Houſe of *Auſtria* had never aſcended to this Pitch of Grandeur, had it always been given up to Idleneſs. The ſame means Envy takes to pull it down by, ſtrengthen and render it more glorious: For they who live in Peace, like Iron not uſed, loſe their Brightneſs, and become ruſty (5). Leſſer Powers may indeed be preſerv'd without Arms, but not great ones: For it is not ſo difficult to keep Fortune equal in them, as in theſe; out of which, if Arms be not ſent abroad, War is kindled at Home: As it befell the *Roman* Monarchy; with whoſe Grandeur, Ambition, that old inbred Vice, encreaſed and broke out. For when Affairs were in a low Condition, it was eaſie to keep an Equality: but after the Conqueſt of the World, when their Rival Cities and Kings were deſtroyed, and they at leiſure to ſhare their Riches, then it was that the

(4) *Timens infirmis animis hoſtem ſecuritatem, & tanquam pupillis civibus idoneum tutorem neceſſarium videns eſſe terrorem.* Mar. Hiſt. Hiſp.
(5) *Nam pacem agentes, tanquam ferrum, ſplendorem amittunt.* Ariſt. l 7. Polit. c. 14.

Senators

Senators and Common People firſt began to fall out (6). The Emulation of Valour which is exerciſed againſt Enemies, when there is any, is uſually inflamed between Country-men, when there is none. This the *Germans* had Experience of, when, upon the *Romans* leaving them, and their being exempt from Foreign Fear, out of Emulation, turn'd their Arms upon one another (7). The Peace of the *Roman* Empire was very bloody, it being the Source of all their Civil Wars (8). Long Peace was agreeable to the *Cheruſci*, but of no advantage (9). The Wars of the *Low-Countries* put an end to the Inteſtine Commotions in *Spain*. That Theater of War, or rather that School of *Mars*, where ſo many Military Arts have been taught and exerciſed, has been very much to the Advantage of this Monarchy: Though, 'tis true, this Military Exerciſe and Diſcipline has been common to its Enemies and Rivals, almoſt all the Princes of *Europe* having learn'd the Uſe of Arms there, although it is a prodigious Charge to make War in Countries ſo diſturb'd and remote, with ſo much Bloodſhed and Extortion, ſo much Advantage on the Enemies ſide, and ſo little on ours, that it may reaſonably be queſtion'd whether it were better to conquer or be conquered; or if it would not be more expedient to apply ſome Remedy, whereby to quench, or at leaſt damp, for a time, that ardent Thirſt after Blood and Riches; to the end, that what is thrown away there, might be laid out upon a a Fleet, for the Eſtabliſhment of the Empire of the Ocean and Mediterranean, and the carrying on a War in *Africa*, the ſucceſsful Progreſs of which, by reaſon of the near-

(6) *Vetus ac jam pridem inſita mortalibus poſtentiæ cupido, cum Imperii magnitudine adolevit, erupitque. Nam rebus modicis, æqualitas facilè habebatur, ſed ubi ſubacto orbe, & æmulis Urbibus Regibuſque exciſis ſecuras opes concupiſcere vacuum fuit, prima inter Patres Plebemque certamina exarſere.* Ariſt. l. 7. Pol. c. 14. (7) *Deceſſu Romanorum, ac vacui externo metu gentis aſſuetudine, & tum æmulatione gloriæ arma in ſe verterant.* Tac. l. 2. Hiſt. (8) *Pacem ſine dubio poſt hæc verum cruentam.* Tac. l. 1. Annal. (9) *Cheruſci nimiam ac marcentem diu pacem illaceſſiti nutrierunt, idque jucundius quam tutius fuit.* Tac. de Mor. Roman.

neſs

neſs of *Spain* and *Italy*, would the more unite this Monarchy. However, Love of thoſe ſo Ancient and Loyal Subjects, join'd with a Deſire to ſee them redeemed from that vile Slavery, they are, under the Notion of Liberty, miſerably oppreſs'd with, and to reduce them to the true Worſhip of God, have more Influence on us, than State-Intereſt.

Now as the Encouragement of Valour and Military Glory in a Monarchy, is the Security thereof; ſo is it not without Danger, when the Supreme Power is lodg'd in many, as in Commonwealths; their greateſt Hazard being in their own Arms, while they intruſt the Power of the Army to one; that very Hand which they firſt arm'd uſually laying the Yoke on them; thoſe Forces themſelves gave, oppreſſing their Liberty. Thus it was with the *Roman* Republick, and from thence Tyranny paſs'd to almoſt all other Nations. However requiſite therefore it be to keep Armies always ready, and in Exerciſe; yet the Arts of Peace are ſtill more ſecure, eſpecially if the People be corrupted, and ſeparated in diſtant Places: For the Fierceneſs of War does but render them more Inſolent; and it is better to keep them in view of Danger, than ſecure from it, if you expect they ſhould unite for their Conſervation. The Liberty of the Republick of *Genoua* was not leſs ſafe, when its Mountains were not regularly fortified, than now that through ſingular Induſtry and Labour they are made as Impregnable Walls to the State. For too much Security breeds ill Humours, divides the People into Factions, begets Preſumptuous Spirits, and deſpiſes External Means. In a word, In Commonwealths harraſs'd with Inteſtine Broils, Wars are more dangerous than uſeful; and conſequently then only will be of advantage to *Genoua*, when that prudent Senate ſhall act as if they had never built them.

EMBLEM LXXXIV.

IT has been the Opinion of ſome, That Nature was rather a Step-Mother to Man, than his own; and that ſhe had ſhewed her ſelf more liberal to other Creatures, in giving them a clearer Inſtinct and Notice of the Means neceſſary for their Defence and Conſervation. But theſe Perſons did not ſufficiently conſider their own Excellency, their Power and Dominion over Sublunary Things; Nature having beſtowed on them a ſwift Underſtanding, in a Moment penetrating both the Earth and Heavens: a Memory, wherein, without the leaſt confuſion or diſorder, are repoſited the Idea's of Things ſo various: a Reaſon, which Diſtinguiſheth, Collects, and Concludes: a Judgment, that Comprehends,

hends, Weighs, and Determines; Gifts whereby Man is intitled to the Sovereignty of all Created Beings, and a Liberty to diſpoſe of them according to his Pleaſure, having Hands framed with ſuch Skill and Wiſdom, that they are Tools fit for all Arts; ſo that although he comes into the World naked and without Arms, yet he forges them according to his Fancy, either to defend himſelf, or aſſault others. The Earth, to that end, furniſhes him with Iron and Steel; the Water (as you ſee in this Device) turns the Mill that ſtrikes them: Thus all the Elements obey his Will. With any ſlight Plank (Boat) he tames the Sea's Pride, and gathers the Winds into a ſmall piece of Canvas, to make them ſerve him for Wings to fly from one Place to another; confines all the Fire's Violence within Brazen Pipes, call'd Guns, and thence ſhoots Thunderbolts no leſs terrible than thoſe of *Jupiter* himſelf. By Wit and Art he facilitates many Things impoſſible to Nature: By theſe he improves Nature (1); he tempers Breaſt-Plates, and ſharpens Iron into Lances. It behoves the Prince to uſe Induſtry more than Force, Wiſdom than Arms (2), the Pen rather than the Sword (3). For to attempt every thing with one's utmoſt Power, is the Folly of the Gyants, who heaped Mountains upon Mountains. It is not the greateſt Strength that always Triumphs; the little *Remora* ſtops the Courſe of a Ship. That one City, *Numantia*, fatigu'd the whole *Roman* Empire, for fourteen Years: Nor did the Conqueſt of thoſe vaſt Countries of *Aſia* coſt it ſo much Pains as the Taking of *Saguntum* *. Strength decays by degrees, and is conſumed, but Wiſdom and Ingenuity endures for ever; and except War be managed by this, Victory is never obtained by that. A War carry'd on by Policy is ſecure; that which relies wholly upon Strength, hazardous and uncertain.

One Wiſe Head is worth Twenty Hands. †

(1) *Multa quæ natura impedita erant, conſilio expediebat.* Livy, Dec. 2. (2) *Wiſd.* 6. 1. (3) *Eccl.* 9. 18. * A City of *Spain*, now call'd *Murvedre*. † Eurip.

Tiberius, writing to *Germanicus*, boaſts, that in the nine times he was ſent by *Auguſtus* into *Germany*, he had done more by Stratagem than by Force (4). Nor did he uſe to take any other Meaſures, when Emperor, eſpecially to maintain the remote Provinces; and would frequently ſay, *That Foreign Affairs ſhould be managed by Wiſdom and Policy, and Armies kept as far off as poſſible* (5). All things are not ſurmounted by Strength and Expedition, but many by Policy and Deliberation (6). The *Low-Countries* were ruin'd amidſt their continual Victories; becauſe they confided in Strength, more than Prudence. Let Force ſubmit to Policy; for that will conquer where the other cannot. When the *Mooriſh* Armies annoyed *Spain*, in the time of King *Roderick*, the Governor of *Murcia* was defeated in a Battel, where all the Nobility of this City loſt their Lives; and the Women having Intelligence of it, placed themſelves along the Walls, in Mens Habit, and all in Armour. Upon which the Conquerors, thinking by this they were ſtill very Numerous, conſented to Honourable Terms. *Edward* IV. King of *England*, uſed to ſay, That *Charles the Wiſe*, of *France*, without any Armies, by writing Letters only, did him more miſchief than his Father or Grand-father had done with all theirs. The Sword can exert its Force but in a few Places; good Management is of Univerſal Influence. Nor does Princes being remote one from another ſignifie any thing: For as Trees have Communication with, and are united to each other by the means of Roots, their Activity being a very large Extent; ſo they, by their Embaſſadors, and ſecret Practices, may do the ſame. Policy makes the Strength of Foreigners its own by Alliance, having the Common Intereſt in view. A Prince may do more from a private Cloſet, than in an open Plain. King *Philip* II. never went out of *Madrid*, yet kept the World in Awe and

(4) *Se novies à Divo Auguſto in Germaniam miſſum, plura conſilio, quam vi perfeciſſe.* Tacit. l. 6. Annal. (5) *Conſiliis & aſtu, externas res moliendas, arma procul habenda.* (6) *Non omnis viribus ſuperantur, non celeritate, non celeritate, ſed conſilio & ſententia.* Cicero. Mar. Hiſt. Hiſp.

Obedience:

Obedience: He made himſelf more Formidable by Prudence than by Power. The Power that makes uſe of Addreſs, is in a manner Infinite. *Archimedes* often ſaid, If he had a Place to ſtand on, he could, with his Machines, move this Terraqueous Globe. Any Potent Monarchy might eaſily attain to an Univerſal Empire, if to its Strength were joined Skill and Induſtry: But leſt this ſhould be, that *Primum Mobile* of Empires permits the Great Ones to want Prudence, and wholly truſt to their Power. More Affairs are tranſacted by Counſel and Conduct, than by Blows (7). Power with Raſhneſs is as dangerous as Raſhneſs without Power. Abundance of Wars between Chriſtian Princes might be avoided by Induſtry; but either Judgment is inſenſible of their Inconveniencies, and cannot find a way to decline them Honourably, or it does not regard them, Ambition blinding Prudence; or elſe Vanity and Haughtineſs look on it as a piece of Bravery, voluntarily to face them; and thus are tickled with a Counterfeit-Glory of War, which, as it is a Publick Action, whereon the Common Preſervation of all depends, ought not to be meaſured by thin Shadows of Honour, but by the Publick Advantage and Utility; yet ſo, that the Prince muſt in the mean time leave no Stone unturn'd to ſhun War, cutting off all Occaſions, before they happen, or if they be already, getting the Hearts of ſuch as by their Counſel can promote Peace. Let him find out all endearing ways imaginable to preſerve Friendſhip: Let him embrace his Enemy both within and without his Realms; and by croſſing his Deſigns, and entring into Leagues and Alliances Defenſive, terrifie him. And to theſe Humane Means let him join the Divine Aſſiſtances of Prayer and Sacrifice, and apply himſelf to the Pope, as the Common Father of Chriſtendom, ingenuouſly telling him his Intentions and Deſire of the Publick Quiet, of the Injury received, or the Reaſons that induce him to take up Arms,

(7) *Pleraque in ſummâ fortunâ auſpiciis & conſiliis, magis quam telis & manibus geri ſolent.* Tac. 13 Annal.

if Satisfaction be not made him. Whence the Matter being alſo carry'd to the College of Cardinals, and the Authority of the Apoſtolick See interpoſed, either the War will be avoided, or the Prince juſtifie the Cauſe of it at *Rome*, where is the Tribunal at which all Princes Actions ought to be judged, and their Controverſies decided. Nor is this a Mean-ſpiritedneſs, but rather a Chriſtian Generoſity, and Political Proviſion for the maintaining Amity among Nations, and the avoiding of Emulations, and the Confederacy they occaſion.

EMBLEM LXXXV.

85

WHen the *Bear* has got a *Bee-Hive*, he finds no better way than to plunge it under *Water*; for any other would rather hinder his Deſign of getting the Honey,

Honey, and eſcaping the Stings of the Bees. By this Example, the preſent *Emblem* ſhews the Inconveniencies of keeping a Mediocrity in Counſels; experienc'd in that which *Herennius Pontius* gave the *Samnites*, when they had got the *Romans* in a narrow Paſs, who ſeeing his firſt Advice rejected, which was to let them all go, was for putting them all to the Sword: And being ask'd why he thus went from one Extreme to the other, when the Middle-way might be taken, of giving them their Liberty, after the Impoſition of certain Laws, as being Conquer'd? He anſwer'd, *That it was neceſſary either to ſhew themſelves generous to the* Romans, *by ſo ſignal a Kindneſs to eſtabliſh a firm and inviolable Peace with them, or elſe to give ſuch a Blow to their Forces, that they ſhould never again be able to make Head againſt them; Any way between theſe two,* ſaid he, *will neither make Friends, nor take away Enemies* (1). *Hence that of* Ariſtodemus to the *Ætolians: We muſt have the* Romans *either our Allies or Enemies; there's no Middle-way* (2). In thoſe Caſes where any one would oblige a Friend or Enemy, Moderate Expreſſions of Kindneſs do nothing: For Gratitude always looks upon the Omiſſions are made, and ſeldom fails to find a Reaſon not to think it ſelf Obliged. Thus *Francis* I. King of *France*, laid not aſide his Enmity to the Emperor *Charles* V. notwithſtanding he ſet him at liberty, becauſe his Captivity was not ſo generous as that of *Alphonſus* King of *Portugal*, who being taken in a Battel by *Ferdinand* King of *Leon*, was treated by him with all the Humanity imaginable, his Wounds dreſs'd carefully, and himſelf ſet at liberty after his Recovery; Favours which wrought upon him to lay his whole Kingdom at the Conqueror's Feet: But *Ferdinand* refuſed the Offer, ſatisfied with the Reſtitution of ſuch Places as had been lately taken in *Galicia*. The ſame Conſideration had *Philip*, Duke of *Milan*, when having taken Priſoners the Kings of *Arragon* and *Navarr*,

(1) *Neutralitas nec amicos parit, nec inimicos tollit.* Polyb. (2) *Romanos aut ſocios habere oportuit, aut hoſtes, media via nulla eſt.* Ariſtodem.

(the firſt of which was *Alphonſus* V.) he call'd a Council, to deliberate what ſhould be done with them; and while ſome were for having them pay a Ranſom, others for binding them to certain Conditions, and laſty, others for freely Diſmiſſing them without either, he took this laſt Advice, thereby to lay the greater Obligation upon them, and ſo engage their Friendſhip.

When Kingdoms are embroil'd in Civil Wars, there's nothing more dangerous than ſtanding Neuter, as *Henry the Infant* endeavoured to do, during the Troubles of *Caſtile*, occaſion'd by the Nonage of King *Ferdinand* IV. by which means he loſt his Friends, without obliging his Enemies.

Nor is it leſs dangerous in the Puniſhments of the Multitude, to inflict them promiſcuouſly on all; wherefore it ſeems moſt adviſeable, either wholly to connive at their Faults, or to make a ſevere Example of ſome one. Hence *Germanicus* was counſell'd, in the Rebellion of the *German* Legions, either to grant All or None of what the Soldiers demanded (3); and deſervedly blam'd for indulging them Part, taking a Middle-way (4). Thus *Druſus*, in another Occaſion of the like nature, was adviſed either to Diſſemble, or Puniſh with Rigour. The prudenteſt Counſel certainly in the World: For the Common People can never keep a *Medium* between two Extremes, but always exceed in the one or the other (5).

If the Matter require Expedition, it is certain Ruine not to venture enough, or not to uſe ſufficient Precaution; as it happened to *Valens*, who wavering between the Counſels that were given him, could not come to any determinate Reſolution (6).

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(3) *Periculoſa ſegnitas, flagitioſa largitio: ſeu nihil militi, ſeu omnia concederentur in anceps Reipublicæ.* Tac. 1. Annal. (4) *Satis ſuperque miſſione, & pecunia & mollibus conſultis peccatum.* Id. Ibid. (5) *Alii fortioribus remediis agendum, nihil in vulgo modicum: terrere ni paveant, ubi pertimuerint, impunè contemni.* Tac. 1. Annal. (6) *Mox utrumque conſilium aſpernatur, quod inter anceps ancipitia deterrimum eſt, dum media ſequitur, nec auſus eſt ſatis, nec providit.* Id. l. 3. Hiſt.

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In Affairs of War, Fear would ſometimes appear prudent; and to that end, ſuggeſts Moderate Reſolutions; which ſerve but to encourage the Enemy, and give him Time to look about him. As King *John* I. found, who pretending the Crown of *Portugal* was devolved on him by the Death of *Ferdinand*, his Father-in-Law, reſolved to enter that Kingdom alone, and to have his Army follow: whence the *Portugueſe* gained Time to take up Arms in the *interim*; which had never been done, had he immediately fell upon them; but he, to avoid War, left his Right to the Deciſion of Juſtice. Threats ſignifie little, if the Hand lifted up, have no Weapon in it, and do not ſometimes puniſh Diſobedience in earneſt.

The Haſtineſs of the *French*, makes them regard neither the paſt nor preſent Time, and through the Heat of their Minds they are too adventurous, and too precipitous in their Reſolutions: However, this very thing oftentimes gives Succeſs to them; for by this means they avoid Luke-warmneſs, and diſpatch every thing in a trice. The *Spaniards*, on the other ſide, are Dilatory, that they may, by long and much Conſideration, proceed with more Caution; and out of an Affectation of Prudence, uſe to Heſitate; nay, while they take Time to Conſult, loſe the Opportunity of Execution.

The *Italians* know better how to make their Advantage both of the one and the other, uſing the Opportunities as they preſent themſelves: Not like the *Germans*, who are ſlow in Reſolving, lazy in Executing, and conſult only the preſent Time, without any regard to the paſt or future. Their Minds change with Events, which is the reaſon they have ſo little advanced their Fortune; it being otherwiſe a Nation, which, conſidering its innate Courage, might extend its Dominions far and near. To the ſame Cauſe may be aſcribed the long Continuance of the Civil Wars the Empire is harraſs'd with at this day; which undoubtedly, by reſolute Counſel and Expedition, might have been laid aſleep long ago; whereas by ſlow Counſels, which yet paſs'd for

Prudent,

Prudent, we have ſeen vaſt Armies, upon the *Rhine*, which might have made way even into *France*, and forced it to an Univerſal Peace: a thing has done them more prejudice, than if they had loſt ſeveral Battels: For there can be no greater Overthrow, than for an Army inſenſibly to waſte and periſh within it ſelf. It is this has made Havock of their own Country, and the Places adjacent, through which War ought to be carried, when now its Seat is in the very Heart of *Germany*.

In all other Affairs of Civil Government, Middle-Counſels may have place; becauſe of the Danger of Extremes, and becauſe it is of great Importance ever to take away from which you may afterwards (in caſe of Neceſſity) come to any one of the two with the leſs inconvenience. Between theſe two Extremes, the Ancients placed *Prudence*, repreſented by the flight of *Dædalus*, who came neither too near the Sun, nor too near the Sea, leſt the exceſſive Heat of the one ſhould melt, or the Moiſture of the other wet his Wings. In Countries whoſe Inhabitants are not of a Servile Nature, but of a Polite Genius, and Generous Spirit, the Reins of the People ought to be govern'd with ſo much Caution and Addreſs, that neither too much Indulgence ſhall breed Arrogance, nor too much Rigour Averſion. It is equally dangerous to curb them with Bits and Barnacles, and turn them looſe without a Bridle; for they can *neither endure all Liberty, nor all Slavery*, (as *Galba* told *Piſo* of the (7) *Romans.*) Always to execute Power, is to wear out the Chain of Servitude: 'Tis a kind of Tyranny, to go about to reduce Subjects to the model of an abſolute Perfect State, in that the Condition of Humane Nature admits not of it. It is not neceſſary for a Government to be ſuch as it ought to be, but as it is capable of being; for all things that are expedient,

(7) *Neque enim hic, aut in cæteris gentibus, quæ regnantur, certa Dominorum Domus, & cæteri ſervi: ſed imperaturus es hominibus, qui nec totam ſervitutem pati poſſunt, nec totam libertatem.* Tac. l. 1. Hiſt.

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are not poſſible to Humane Infirmity. It is an Abſurdity, to wiſh there may be no Defect at all in a Commonwealth. There will be Vices, as long as there be Men. Exceſs of Zeal is the Spring of many Miſtakes in Governors, in not knowing how to conform to Prudence. The ſame is Ambition, when Princes affect to paſs for Severe, and imagining their Reputation conſiſts in Ruling their Subjects ſo, that they ſhall never in the leaſt degree ſwerve from Reaſon and the Laws. 'Tis a dangerous Strictneſs, which conſults not the ordinary Paſſions of the Vulgar. Open Addreſs prevails more than Power; Example and Complacency, than Inhuman Severity. Let the Prince therefore rather make believe he finds his Subjects good, than value himſelf upon making them ſo: which *Tacitus* commends *Agricola* for, in his Government of *Britain* (8). Let him not ſuffer himſelf to be deceived in the paſt Times, ſo as to wiſh he could ſee thoſe Good Manners he fancies were in thoſe Days: For Malice was ever the ſame in all Times; but 'tis a fault of our corrupt Nature, always to like the Paſt better than the Preſent (9). Beſides, granting that Severity and Obedience were greater formerly, yet this Age will not bear it, if thoſe Ancient Manners are alter'd in it: This Miſtake coſt *Galba* both his Life and Empire (10).

(8) *Maluit videri inveniſſe bonos quam feciſſe.* Tacit. in Vit. Agric.
(9) *Laudamus veteres, præſentes carpimus annos.* (10) *Nocuit antiquus rigor, & nimia ſeveritas, cui pares non ſumus.* Tac. l. 1. Hiſt.

EMBLEM

EMBLEM LXXXVI.

MAN's Mind has not been ſatisfy'd with the Speculation of Terreſtrial Things; but impatient that the Knowledge of the Heavens ſhould be deferred ſo long as till after Death, has broke the Priſon of the Body, and ſoar'd above the very Elements, to find out, by Reaſoning, what it could not by Touching, Sight, and Hearing: and to this end, hath form'd in Imagination an Idea of that moſt Beautiful Fabrick, contriving a Sphere with ſuch various Circles, Equations and Epicycles, as aptly repreſent the ſeveral Motions of the Planets and Conſtellations; and though he be not poſitively aſſured whether the thing be really ſo, he hath, however, acquired this Glory, that he can now conceive

conceive how this World is, or at leaſt how it might have been created. Neither does the Mind ſtay here; but reſtleſs and ventureſom in its Reſearches, has imagin'd another quite different Hypotheſis, and would perſuade others, that the Sun is the Center of thoſe Orbs which move round it, and have their Light from it. An Hypotheſis impious, and directly contrary to Natural Reaſon, which gives Reſt to heavy Bodies; repugnant to Holy Writ, which ſays, *the Earth ſtands for ever* (1): laſtly, inconſiſtent with the Dignity of Man, as if he muſt be moved to enjoy the Sun's Rays, and not the Sun to bring them him, when yet this (as all other Creatures) was made, only for his Service (2). It is certain then, that this Prince of Light, who has in Charge the Empire of all Things here below, illuminates, and by his Preſence informs them, by going, without intermiſſion, from one Tropick to the other, with a Contrivance ſo wonderful, that all Parts of the Earth receive from him, if not an equal Heat, at leaſt, an equal Light, whereby the Divine Wiſdom has prevented the Evil that would unavoidably enſue, if the Sun ſhould never leave the *Æquator*; for then its Rays would utterly burn up ſome Countries, while others would freeze, and be involved in perpetual Darkneſs. This Natural Example teaches Princes how much it advances the Publick Utility, for Them, like that Swifteſt of the Planets, continually to move about their States, to warm the Affection of their Subjects, and give Life to their Affairs (3). This is what the Royal Prophet would intimate, when he ſays, *God has placed his Tabernacle upon the Sun* (4), which never ſtands ſtill, but is preſent on all Occaſions. King *Ferdinand the Catholick*, and the Emperor *Charles* V. kept not their Courts in one certain Place; by which means they atchieved

(1) *Eccleſ.* 1. 4. (2) This Opinion was embraced and maintained by *Copernicus*, *Rheticus*, *Rothmannus*, *Kepler*, *Galileus*, *Des Carter*, and *Gaſſendus*, by whom all Arguments to the contrary are fully anſwer'd. (3) *Velociſſimi ſideris more, omnia inviſere, omnia audire.* Plin. Jun. (4) *Pſal.* 19 4.

many

many Notable Things which they could not poſſibly have done by Miniſters, who, although dexterous and careful enough, yet never perform what the Prince would, were he preſent in Perſon; becauſe they want either Orders or Power. Our Saviour *Chriſt* no ſooner came to the *Sheep-pool*, but he healed the Paralytick (5), which the Angel could not do in Eight and thirty Years, whoſe Commiſſion being only to *trouble the Water*, he, as a Miniſter, could not go beyond it (6). 'Tis impoſſible for States to be well govern'd by the bare Relations of others, and therefore *Solomon* adviſes Kings to give ear to their Subjects themſelves (7); for this is a part of their Office, and to them, not to their Miniſters, is given of the Lord that Power and Vertue which accompanies the Scepter only, wherein it infuſes the Spirit of Wiſdom and Counſel, of Courage and Piety; nay, I may ſay, a kind of Divinity, enabling the Prince to foreſee Things to come, ſo as that he cannot be put upon either in what he ſees or hears (8). Nevertheleſs, in Time of Peace, ſome fix'd Place of Reſidence ſeems by no means inconvenient; and it will be ſufficient, by going a Progreſs round each Country, to have once viſited his States. Nor indeed are any Treaſuries capable of defraying the Expences frequent Removals of a Court will require; nor can they be made without conſiderable Detriment to the Subject, without diſturbing the Order of Councils and Tribunals, and retarding the Proceedings of Government and Juſtice. King *Philip* II. throughout his whole Reign, ſcarce ever went a ſtep out of *Madrid*.

But in Occaſions of War, it appears more adviſeable for the Prince to be himſelf preſent, and to Head his Subjects: For 'tis for that Reaſon the Sacred Writings

(5) Riſe, take up thy bed and walk. *John* 5. 8. (6) For an Angel went down at a certain ſeaſon, and troubled the water. *Ibid.* 4. (7) Give ear, you that rule the people, &c. *Wiſd.* 6. 2. ibid. *ver.* 4. (8) And the ſpirit of the Lord ſhall reſt upon him, the ſpirit of wiſdom and underſtanding, the ſpirit of counſel and might, the ſpirit of knowledge, and of the fear of the Lord. *Iſai.* 11. 2.

call

call him *Shepherd* and *Captain* (9). Thus God, commanding *Samuel* to anoint *Saul*, does not ſay to be King, but to be *Captain over Iſrael* (10): intimating that this was his principal Office; and in effect, that this was the Practice of all Kings in former Ages. Upon this it was that the People grounded their Petition for a King, that they might have one to go out before them, and fight their Battels (11). Nothing encourages Soldiers more in War, than their Prince's Preſence (12.) The *Lacedæmonians* thought theirs, even while in their Cradles, had the ſame Power, and therefore carry'd them, in their Infancy, into the Field. *Antigonus*, the Son of *Demetrius*, took his Preſence, in a Sea-fight, to be equivalent to a great many Ships of the Enemy (13). *Alexander the Great* animated his Men, by repreſenting to them, that he firſt expoſed himſelf to Dangers. When the Prince, in ſuch a caſe, is upon the Place, great Exploits are often performed, which no one, in his abſence, would dare to undertake: Nor is there need to wait for Orders from Court, whence they generally come too late, after the Opportunity is gone, and always full of vain Apprehenſions, and impracticable Circumſtances; a Thing we have often experienc'd in *Germany*, not without great Prejudice of the Publick. There's nothing kindles Spirits ſo generouſly, nothing that inſpires ſuch Lofty Thoughts in the Minds of Soldiers, as to have the Prince, in whoſe Hand is Reward, an Eye-witneſs of their Bravery (14). This Argument *Hannibal* made uſe of, to inflame the Courage of his Men; *There's none of you,*

(9) And I will ſet up ſhepherds over them, which ſhall feed them, and they ſhall fear no more, *&c. Jer.* 23. 4. (10) And thou ſhalt anoint him to be a Captain over my people Iſrael. 1 *Sam.* 9. 16. (11) *Rex enim Dux erat in Bello.* Ariſt. l. 3. Pol. c. 11. (12) Nay, but we will have a King over us; That we alſo may be like all the nations, and that our King may judge us, and go out before us, and fight our battels, 1 *Sam.* 8. 19, 20. (13) *Ne vero, inquit, præſentem, quam multis navibus comparas.* Plut. in Epoph. (14) *Ego qui nihil vobis unquam præcepi, quin primus me periculis obtulerim, qui ſæpe civem meo clypeo texi.* Curt. l 8.

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ſaid he, *whom I am not a Witneſs and Spectator of, and cannot too, in convenient Time and Place, requite, where I obſerve Merit* (15). To the ſame effect, *Godfrey* thus ſpoke to his Men:

Whoſe Country is not known? Whoſe Noble Blood,
Whoſe Courage or whoſe Conduct is not underſtood? *

Upon this account, it will not be convenient for the Prince to intruſt his Forces with a General; which is ſo certain a Danger, that it was looked upon as unſafe for *Tiberius* to put his into the Hands even of his Son *Germanicus* (16). And this takes place more particularly in Civil Inſurrections, where (as has been ſaid) the Princes appearing, eaſily daſhes the Rebels (17). Notwithſtanding, every Motion of War, or the loſs of any ſmall Town, ſhould not make the Prince come abroad, and deſert the Court; whence Government flows to all the other Parts, as *Tiberius* well obſerved in the Troubles of *Germany* (18): He, at another time, hearing himſelf reviled, for not going to quiet the *Hungarian* and *German* Legions, ſtood unſhaken at thoſe Murmurings, and was fix'd not to abandon the Head of the Monarchy, and expoſe that and himſelf to the Chance of War. By theſe Reaſons were they led, who perſuaded *David* not to go out to fight againſt the *Iſraelites* who adhered to *Abſolom*, ſaying, That their being put to flight, or cut off, would not be of ſo bad conſequence, as if he ſhould fly or be killed in his own Perſon, which was

(15) *Nemo veſtrum eſt, cujus non idem ego ſpectator & teſtis, magna temporibus lociſque referre poſſim decora.* Liv. Dec. l. 2. * Taſſ. Cant. 20.
(16) *In cujus manu tot legiones, immenſa ſociorum auxilia, mirum apud populum favor, habere imperium quàm expectare malles.* Tac. l. 4. Annal.
(17) *Divus Julius ſeditionem exercitus verbo uno compeſcuit. Quirites vocando, qui ſacramentum ejus detrectabant. Divus Auguſtus vultu & aſpectu Actiacas legiones exterruit.* Tac. l. 1. Hiſt. (18) *Neque decorum principibus, ſi una alterave civitas, amiſſa urbe, unde in omnia regimen.* Tac. l. 3. Annal.

worth

worth Ten Thouſand of them, and therefore that it ſeemed beſt that he ſhould ſtay behind to guard the City: Which accordingly he did (19). So if the War be made to revenge an Injury or Affront,

Vindictam mandâſſe ſat eſt. *

The ſame may be ſaid when Arms are taken up for Defence only, and there be no evident Danger; for then the Prince will get more Credit by deſpiſing it, and leaving it to a General. So if the War be waged to make any new Conqueſts, it will be thought too eager Ambition in him to hazard his Perſon, and be greater Prudence to try his Fortune by another; as King *Ferdinand the Catholick* did, committing the Conqueſt of *Naples* to the *Great Captain*, and that of the *Indies* to *Herman Cortez*. If a General fall, it is eaſie to find another to ſucceed him; but if the Prince be loſt, all is loſt, as it befell King *Sebaſtian*. The Abſence of Princes from their Courts is very dangerous, as *Spain* found to its coſt, in that of the Emperor *Charles* V. Nor ſhould a Prince venture his own State, to conquer others (20). The ſame *Sun* (whoſe Figure we uſe in this Device) never viſits the Poles, becauſe one of them would be endanger'd in the mean time:

——— *Medium non deſerit unquam*
Cœli Phœbus iter, radiis tamen omnia luſtrat. †

Nature has given the Kings of the Bees Wings, but thoſe very ſmall, leſt they ſhould ſtray too far from their Kingdoms. Let the Prince go to thoſe Wars only whoſe Seat is within his own Dominions, or that threaten him with evident Danger. Hence *Macianus* adviſed the Emperor *Domitian* to ſtay at *Lyons* in *France*, and not ſtir till the State of thoſe Provinces, or the Empire

(19) 2 *Sam.* 18. 3, 4. * Claud. (20) *Ne nova moliretur, niſi prioribus firmatis.* Tac. Annal. I. 12. † Claud.

it ſelf, were in greater danger (21). Nor was it good Counſel which *Titianus* and *Proculus* gave *Otho*, not to be at the Battel of *Bedriacum*, upon the Iſſue of which the whole Empire depended (22). The Arch-Duke *Leopold* ſhews much more Courage and Prudence, who though he ſees himſelf aſſaulted at *Salefeld*, by the Joint-Forces of his Enemies, much ſuperiour to his, yet undervalues his Perſonal Dangers, and always maintains a general Conſtancy, well knowing the Safety of the Empire and Houſe of *Auſtria* to conſiſt in this Event; and ſo is the foremoſt in the Perils and Fatigues of War.

—— Monſtrat tolerare labores,
Non jubet —— *

But even in theſe Caſes too, it is neceſſary to examine the Condition of the War, whether the Prince, by abſenting himſelf, will not leave his State in greater danger, either from within or abroad; if he ſhall not hazard his Succeſſion; whether he have Courage enough, and be capable of Arms, and have an Inclination to them: For if he want but any one of theſe Qualities, he will do more by putting his Power and Forces into another Hand; as we ſee in the Loadſtone, which by touching the Iron, and communicating its Virtue to it, lifts up a greater Weight than it could do by it ſelf. But if the Neceſſity be great, it will ſuffice, if the Prince be hard by, to Influence his Army, ſtaying in ſome Place, whence he may readily Conſult, Reſolve, and give Orders: This was the Emperor *Leopold*'s way, who removed ſometimes to *Aquileia*, ſometimes to *Ravenna* or *Milan*, to be near the Wars of *Hungary* and *Germany*.

(21) *Ipſe Lugduni vim fortunamque Principatus è proximo oſtentaret, nec parvis periculis mixtus, & majoribus non defuturus.* Tac. Hiſt. l. 4.
(22) *Poſtquam pugnari placitum, intereſſe pugnæ Imperatorem, an ſepoſiti melius foret, dubitavere. Paulino & Celſo non adverſantibus, ne Principem obiectare periculis viderentur; iidem illi deterioris conſilii perpulere, ut Brixellum conderet, ac dubiis prœliorum exemptus, ſummæ rerum & Imperii ſeipſum reſervaret.* Tac. Hiſt. l. 2. * Lucan.

EMBLEM

EMBLEM LXXXVII.

PRudence is not always fortunate, nor Temerity always unhappy:

—— *Quiſquis ſapit celeriter, non tuto ſapit.*

It is however good for fiery Tempers to follow the firſt *impetus* of Nature, becauſe by delay they cool inſenſibly, and can never determine themſelves; nor has it uſually an ill End (in War particularly) to let themſelves be led by that ſecret Force of Second Cauſes, which if it does not compell, at leaſt moves them ſo, that with it they ſeldom miſcarry. Some Divine Genius favours Daring Actions.

Scipio paſſes the Sea into *Africa*, and freely truſts himſelf to the Punick Faith of *Syphax*, with apparent Riſque of his Life, and the Publick Safety of *Rome*: *Julius Cæſar* in a ſmall Bark abandons himſelf to the Fury of the *Adriatick*; and both ſucceed in their Raſhneſs. It is impoſſible for all things to be provided againſt by Prudence; nor would any thing great be attempted, if that ſhould ſtand to conſult all Caſualties and Hazards. Cardinal *Gaſpar Borgia* enter'd *Naples* in Diſguiſe, upon hearing of the Sedition between the Commons and Nobility: The Danger was great; and when ſome of the Nobility propoſed ſeveral ways for him to ſecure himſelf, he anſwer'd, with a preſence of Mind truly generous, *It is not now a Time for Deliberation, ſomething muſt be allow'd to Chance* (1). If after the Succeſs of great Enterprizes, we ſhould look back upon all the Dangers that attended them, we ſhould ſcarce venture on them again. *James*, King of *Arragon*, was ſo adventurous, as to ſit down before *Valencia* with only a Thouſand Foot, and Three hundred and ſixty Horſe: And though this Undertaking was look'd on by all Men as raſh, nay, impoſſible, yet the Town ſurrender'd. Bold Counſels are commonly judged by the Event; if they ſucceed, they are commended for Prudent (2), and thoſe Perſons blamed who gave ſafer Advice. No Judgment can either in Precipitation, or when it acts calmly, ſufficiently provide for it ſelf, in that Affairs depend upon Contingencies, which are uncertain even to the moſt wary Foreſight. Sometimes Raſhneſs comes before Occaſion, and Moderation follows it; ſometimes this ſlides ſwiftly between them, nor has it any Hair behind to be held by.

All things depend on that Eternal Providence, which efficaciouſly moves us to act, when the Diſpoſition of it, and the Accompliſhing of its Divine Decrees ſo require;

(1) *Nullam nunc in iſta occaſione deliberandi tempus eſt, aliquid caſui permittendum.* Mar. Hiſt. Hiſp. l. 12. c. 19. (2) *Fortuna in ſapientiam ceſſit.* Tac. de Mor. Germ.

and

and then Fool-hardy Counſels are Prudence, and Errors the higheſt Reaſon. When Providence would pull down the Pride of a Monarchy, leſt, like the Tower of *Babel*, it ſhould attempt to reach Heaven, it confounds the Deſigns and Languages of its Miniſters, that they may diſagree; ſo that if one asks for Lime, another either does not underſtand what he means, or elſe offers him Sand. In the Untimely Death of thoſe who are inveſted with Supreme Government, its end is not to cut their Thread of Life, but to throw down that Grandeur. The Holy Spirit, mentioning *David*'s Victory over *Goliah*, ſays not that his Body, but that his *Boaſting* was beat down with the Stone (3). So if, on the other ſide, it has decreed to Exalt a Monarchy, it creates in that Age brave Commanders, and wiſe Councellors, or cauſes them to be made choice of, and gives them occaſion of exerting their Valour, and giving Proof of their Wiſdom, by which two more is done than by the Arm and Sword (4). Bees then ſwarm into Helmets, and Weapons grow, as that Hunting Spear of *Romulus* did, upon Mount *Palatine*, and erected at a Wild Boar. The very miſſing of the Blow of this Founder of the *Roman* Monarchy was fortunate, being a kind of Prognoſtick of it. Which ſhews, that it is not always Courage or Prudence that raiſes and ſupports Monarchies, (though they are generally the Inſtruments) but that Superior Impulſe which moves all Cauſes together, for their Encreaſe or Preſervation; and then even Chance, directed by that Eternal Mind, effects what Prudence could not ſo much as have imagined before. When *Germany* Revolted, and the *Roman* Affairs were extremely deſperate, the Fortune of this Nation, as it had often upon other Occaſions, came to its Aſſiſtance out of the *Eaſt* (5). If the Valour and Conduct of any Hero be ordained to theſe ends, no

(3) When he lift up his hand with the ſtone in his ſling, and beat down the boaſting Goliah *Eccleſ.* 47. 4. (4) *Pleraque in ſumma fortuna, auſpiciis & conſiliis potius quam telis ac manibus geruntur.* Tac. Annal. l. 3. (5) *Affuit ut ſæpe aliàs fortuna populi Romani ex Oriente.* Tac. Hiſt. l. 3.

other Perſon, though never ſo Brave, and truly Great, can deprive him of the Glory of obtaining them. Could there be a finer Soldier than *D'Aubigny?* Yet he was unſucceſsful, having to deal with the *Great Captain*, who was Deſtined to Eſtabliſh the *Spaniſh* Monarchy in *Italy*: God ſo diſpoſing (as he did in favour of the (6) *Roman* Empire) its Beginnings and Cauſes, by the means chiefly of *Ferdinand the Catholick*, who, by his Prudence and Skill in Government, laid the Foundations of that Monarchy, and by his Valour erected and enlarg'd it; being ſo careful and vigilant to encreaſe it, that he neglected no Occaſion which offer'd it ſelf; nay, of himſelf, found all that Humane Judgment is capable of: Laſtly, ſo ſtrenuous in the proſecution of them, that he was always the firſt in Danger and Fatigue; and as Imitation is abundantly more eaſie to Mankind than Obedience, he made it his buſineſs to Command more by his Actions than Orders. But becauſe ſo great a Fabrick required Workmen, that Age (fertile in Great Perſons) produced *Columbus*, *Herman Cortez*, the two Brothers *Francis* and *Ferdinand Pizarro*, *Antony de Liba*, *Fabritius*, and *Proſper Colonna*, *Raimond de Cardona*, the Marqueſſes of *Peſcara* and *Baſto*, and many other Hero's ſo illuſtrious, that a whole Age now ſcarce brings forth one ſuch. To that end, God then prolonged their Lives; whereas now, not *Mars*'s Fury, but ſome lingring Fever, carries them off before their time. Within how few Years has untimely Death depriv'd us of *Peter* of *Toledo*, *Lewis Tajardo*, *Frederick* of *Toledo*, the Marqueſs *Spinola*, *Gonſalez* of *Cordova*, the Duke *de Feria*, the Marqueſs *d'Aytona*, the Duke of *Lerma*, *John Fajardo*, the Marqueſs *de Zelada*, the Count *de la Fere*, and the Marqueſs *de Fuentes*, all Perſons no leſs conſiderable for the glorious Actions they did, than thoſe which all the World ſtill expected from them? How Profound and Inſcrutable is the Providence of this Eternal Deity! Who would not from

(5) *Struebat jam fortuna, in diverſa parte terrarum, initia cauſaſque imperio.* Tac. Hiſt. l. 2.

hence

hence inferr the Decay of the *Spaniſh* Monarchy? as in the Emperor *Claudius*'s time, the Death of ſo many Magiſtrates, as a Quæſtor, Ædile, Tribune, Prætor, and a Conſul, in a few Month's time, was look'd on as a Prodigy portending ſome Evil (7), unleſs he conſider'd, that theſe Inſtruments are taken away, to let all Men ſee, it is by Divine Grace, rather than Humane Strength, is upheld that Power, the Pillar and Support of Chriſtian Commonwealths. It is this Firſt Mover of the Univerſe that diſpoſes theſe interchangeable Alterations of Things, theſe Revolutions of Empires. One Age raiſes up great Men in a Country, improves Arts, and makes Arms flouriſh; and the ſucceeding immediately overturns and confounds all, without leaving ſo much as the Traces of the Vertue and Valour which were an Ornament to thoſe of the paſt. What great, what ſecret Force on Things, nay, even on Minds, is conceal'd in thoſe Second Cauſes of the Heavenly Spheres? It is not by meer Accident that thoſe Superior Lights are ſo different one from another, ſome having a Fix'd Place, others Wandring; and ſince this Diſorder and Irregularity gives no additional Beauty, it is a ſign at leaſt they contribute to Operations and Effects. O vaſt Volume! in the Leaves of which, God, the Contriver and Maker of all Things (yet without laying any Obligation upon his own Power, or (8) Man's Will) has wrote their Changes and Viciſſitudes in Characters of Light, for the Glory of his Eternal Wiſdom, which paſt Ages have, the preſent do, and thoſe to come will for ever read! *Greece* was heretofore flouriſhing both in Arms and Arts; it left *Rome* enough to learn, but little to invent; but now it lies buried in the Depth of Ignorance and Degeneracy. The Wits in *Auguſtus*'s time exceeded even Expectation, but under *Nero* they began to flag, ſo that all the Pains and Induſtry in the

(7) *Numerabatur inter oſtenta, diminutus omnium magiſtratuum numerus, Quæſtore, Ædile, Tribuno, ac Prætore & Conſule, paucos intra menſes defunctis.* Tac. Annal. l. 12. (8) *Etiam merito accidiſſe videtur, & caſus in culpam tranſit.* Velleius.

World was not ſufficient to ſave the Arts and Sciences from Deſtruction. Unhappy are thoſe great Genius's who come into the World when Monarchies are declining, in that they either are not employed, or if they be, cannot withſtand the weight of their Ruine, or perhaps miſerably fall with them, without Honour or Renown; nay, ſometimes their Fate ſeems deſerved, and they are blamed for what was the effect of Chance (9). God lays no Conſtraint upon Free-Will; but yet either the courſe of Cauſes draws it on, or, for want of that Divine Light, it ſtumbles of it ſelf, and its Deſigns are overthrown or executed too late. Princes and Councellors are the Eyes of Kingdoms; and when God Almighty determines the overthrow of theſe, he blinds them, that they may neither ſee Dangers, nor know their Remedies (10). That which they think to ſucceed moſt by, leads them moſt into Miſcarriages: They ſee Accidents, but do not prevent, but rather, as much as in them lies, forward them. A Dangerous Inſtance of this Truth we have in the *Swiſs-Cantons*, ever ſo prudent and ſtout in defending their Country and Liberty, but now ſo negligent and ſupine, that themſelves are the Cauſe of the Ruine that threatens them. The Firſt Author of Monarchies had ſituated their Republick between the Outworks of the *Alpes* and the *Rhine*, and environ'd it with the Countries of *Alſace*, *Lorrain*, and *Burgundy*, againſt the Power of *France*, and other Princes; and when they were fartheſt from the Fire of War, in the Fruition of a happy and deſired Peace, they of themſelves called and encouraged One upon their own Borders, ſtanding by and ſeeing the Ruine of thoſe Provinces, redounding afterwards to their own Prejudice, they not conſidering the Danger of a neighbouring Power, ſuperiour in Strength, and whoſe Fortune muſt of neceſſity be raiſed out of their Aſhes. May I be deceived,

(9) *Cujuſcunque fortunam mutare conſtituit, conſilia corrumpit.* Velleius.
(10) For the Lord hath poured forth upon you the ſpirit of deep ſleep, and hath cloſed your eyes; the prophets, and the rulers, and the ſeers hath he covered. *Iſai* 29. 10.

but

but I fear this Body of the *Switzers* is already at its full growth, and that it will begin to decay, when thoſe Spirits and Forces are ſpent which ſupported its Reputation and Grandeur. Empires, 'tis certain, have their Periods: That which has endured longeſt, is neareſt its Ruine.

EMBLEM LXXXVIII.

88

WHat ſtrange Force has the Loadſtone, to produce ſuch Wonderful Effects? What ſo Amorous Correſpondence with the Polar Star, that although becauſe of its Weight it cannot always gaze on its Beauty, yet the Needles it touches ſhould? What Reſem-

Reſemblance can there be betwixt theſe two? What ſo great Virtue, that is not loſt at ſo wide and remote Diſtances? And why does it encline to that Star or Point of Heaven, rather than to any other? Were not the Experience common, Ignorance would be apt to impute it to Magick, as it does all other Extraordinary Effects of Nature, when it cannot penetrate the Obſcurity of its Operations.

Nor is the Loadſtone leſs admirable in that other Virtue of Attracting and Lifting up Iron, againſt its Innate Gravity; nay, even this, carried by a kind of Natural Tendency to obey that Superior Power, cloſes with it, and does voluntarily, what, one would think, could not but be violent. How much were it to be wiſh'd that the Prince would, by this Example, learn to know that concourſe of Cauſes, which (as hath been ſaid) ſets up or pulls down Empires, and how to carry himſelf therein, ſo as not to encreaſe their Force by a too obſtinate Oppoſition, nor by a too eaſie Yielding to facilitate their Effects, it being with this Series and Connexion of Cauſes moved by the Firſt Cauſe, as with a River (1), which while it ſtreams in its ordinary Current, is eaſily parted into ſeveral Branches, or, by Banks caſt up, turned this or that way, and ſuffers Bridges to be made over it; but when ſwelled by continual Rains, or melting Snows, admits of no Reſiſtance; and for any one to contend with it, does but augment its Force, and put it in a condition to carry all before it. Hence the Holy Spirit admoniſhes us not to ſtrive againſt the Stream (2). Patience ſurmounts that Violence, which in a moment loſes both its Power and Being. Upon which account it was look'd on as an ill Omen to the War of *Vitellius*, in the *Eaſt*, that *Euphrates* overflowed, and bubbled into a kind of Frothy Crowns, by thoſe who conſider'd how Tranſitory theſe were. When therefore many Cauſes conſpiring together, attend the Victories of an

(1) *Fluminum inſtabilis natura, ſimul oſtenderet omnia rapere ſua.* Tac. Annal. l. 6. (2) *Eccleſ.* 4. 32.

Enemy,

Enemy, and open an happy Way to his Military Expeditions, it will be great Prudence to allow them Time to diſperſe ſenſibly of themſelves, not that they lay any neceſſity upon the Freedom of the Will, but becauſe this Freedom has power only over the Motions of the Mind and Body, not over thoſe External Things: It may indeed give way to Accidents, but cannot avoid being overwhelmed by them. Conſtancy in Expecting, is infinitely more valuable than Valour in Fighting. This *Fabius Maximus* well knew, and therefore let that Torrent of *Hannibal* run by, till having by long Delays weakened, he at length ſurmounted it, and ſaved the *Roman* State. Succeſſes get ſtrength from one another; and by the Reputation Opinion gives them, ſuddenly encreaſe to that degree, that no Power is able to grapple with them. The *Spaniſh* Monarchy render'd *Charles* V. Fortunate and Glorious; and he, by his Prudence, Courage and Vigilance, made the Empire happy. Which eminent Qualities were followed by the general Acclamations and Applauſe of all Nations. All Men joined with his Fortune; and the *French* King, *Francis* I. emulous of ſo great Splendour, ſtriving to eclipſe it, loſt his own Liberty. What Terrors does Lightning ſtrike us with, when it breaks out of the Clouds! Then firſt exerting its Force when it meets with Reſiſtance; without that, vaniſhing into Air. Such was that Thunderbolt raiſed out of the Exhalations of the *North*; within a few Days it triumphed over the Empire, and ſtruck almoſt the whole World with Terrour: And yet one leaden Bullet piercing it, made it preſently diſappear. There is nothing ſo frail and uncertain as the Fame of a Power that ſtands not upon its own Bottom (3). All thoſe Efforts of ſeveral Cauſes concurring, are very brittle, in that they hinder each other; and are ſubject not only to various Accidents, but to Time alſo, which by degrees brings their Effects to Nothing. Many Wars,

(3) *Nihil rerum mortalium tam inſtabile ac fluxum, quam fama potentiæ ſine ſuis viribus.* Tac. Annal. l. 13.

hot

hot and impetuous at the firſt, vaniſh by Delay (4). He who can but a little while bear up againſt the Forces of Confederate Enemies, certainly gets the better of them at laſt: For as they are many, they have different Cauſes, different Intereſts and Deſigns; and if they happen to diſagree in any one thing, part and leave one another. There was never a greater League than that of *Cambray* againſt the Republick of *Venice*, yet the Reſolution and Prudence of this Valiant Senate ſoon broke it. All things in the World arrive to a certain Period; after which, they decline again. Were that Critical Minute known, it would be eaſie to overcome them (5). 'Tis for want of this Knowledge, which ſometimes conſiſts in the leaſt Delay imaginable, that we ſink under Accidents. Our Impatience or Ignorance aggravates them, in that often, not ſenſible of their Force, we voluntarily ſubmit to them, or elſe perhaps promote them by the violence of thoſe very Means we take to ſhun them. God had undertaken the Grandeur of *Coſmo de Medicis*; and they who ſtrove to put a ſtop to it, by Baniſhing him from the Republick of *Venice*, were the Inſtruments of making him Maſter of it. *Nicholas Uzanus* obſerv'd, with much greater Prudence, the Torrent of that Fortune; and leſt it ſhould encreaſe by Oppoſition, thought it moſt adviſable (as long as he lived) to give him no Occaſion of Diſpleaſure; but with his Death the Conſideration of ſuch diſcreet Counſel fell. Nor is it poſſible for the greater Force of ſuch like Caſes to be concealed; foraſmuch as all things conſpire to their Succeſs, though they appear, at firſt ſight, directly contrary to that end. And therefore it is then beſt to Endure what you cannot Mend; and quietly to conform to God, by whoſe Appointment all Things come to paſs (6). The Iron ſhould not obey the Loadſtone more readily, than we the Divine Pleaſure. He

(4) *Multa bella impetu valida per tædia & moras evanuiſſe.* Tac.
(5) *Opportunus magnis conatibus tranſitus rerum.* Tacit. Hiſt. l. 1.
(6) *Optimum eſt pati quod emendare non poſſis, & Deum, quo Auctore cuncta eveniunt, ſine murmure comitari.* Sen. Ep.

comes

comes to leſs Harm who lets himſelf be carried down by the Stream, than he that ſtruggles againſt it. It is a fooliſh Preſumption, to think to overthrow the Decrees of the Almighty. The Predictions of the Statue with Feet of Clay, in *Nebuchadnezzar*'s Dream, was never the leſs certain, for his making another of Gold, and commanding it to be worſhipped (7). However, this Reſignation of our Will to the Divine muſt not be ſo Brutiſh, as that we ſhould believe all Things were ſo Ordain'd from Eternity, that nothing can be Improv'd by our Diligence and Conduct; for this would be the very Weakneſs of Mind which had given occaſion to that Divine Decree: We are to Act as if all depended on our Will, for God makes uſe of our Selves to bring us to Happineſs or Miſery (8). We make a part of the Creation, and that no ſmall one; and though Things were ſet in order without us, yet they were not made without us. 'Tis true, we cannot break that Web of Events wrought on the Loom of Eternity, but we might very well concurr to the weaving of it. The ſame that ranged the Cauſes foreſaw their Effects, and permitted their Courſe, yet ſo that it ſhould be ſtill at his Command. He has ſaved from Danger whom he thought fit; and left others in it, by abandoning them to their liberty: If the firſt was an Effect of his Mercy, or our Merit, this is of his Juſtice. Our Will involved in the Ruine of Accidents, falls with them; and as this moſt Wiſe Contriver of the Univerſe is the Supreme and Abſolute Arbitrator, he might break his Veſſels as he pleaſed, and make one to Honour, another to Diſhonour (9). In the Eternal Diſpoſal of Empires, their Progreſſes, Revolutions, or Ruines; that Sovereign Governor of the Orbs had always preſent in his Mind our Valour and Vertue, our Negligence, Impudence, and Tyranny: And upon this Preſcience it was, that he diſpoſed the Eternal Order of Things, in conformity to the Motion and Execution of our Choice, without the

(7) *Dan.* 3. 1. (8) *Eccleſ.* 10. 5. (9) *Rom.* 9. 21.

leaſt

leaſt Violence done to the ſame. For as he lays no Conſtraint upon our Free Will, who diſcovers its Operations by Reaſoning; ſo neither does the Supreme Being, who by his Immenſe Wiſdom foreſaw them long ago. He forced not our Will in the Alterations of Empires; but rather altered Empires, becauſe our Wills freely and deliberately deviated from Juſtice. The Cruelty exerciſed by King *Peter* was the cauſe of his Brother *Henry*'s ſucceeding him; not, on the contrary, this the Occaſion of that. For the Mind has more Power than any Fortune, turns its Affairs which way it pleaſes, and is the ſole Cauſe of a Happy or Miſerable Life (10). To expect Fortune from Chance, is Heartleſneſs; to think it preſcribed and already determined, Deſperation. At this rate, Vertue would be uſeleſs, and Vice excuſable by Compulſion. Let your Highneſs but look upon your Glorious Anceſtors, who have raiſed the Greatneſs of this Monarchy, and I am aſſured you will ſee, it was not Chance that Crowned them, but Vertue, Courage, and Fatigues, and that it has been ſupported by the ſame Means, by their Deſcendants, to whom an equal Glory is due; he no leſs contributing to the Fabrick of his Fortune who maintains it, than he that at firſt raiſed it. 'Tis a thing equally difficult to get, and eaſie to loſe. One Hour's Imprudence ruines what coſt many Years to acquire. By Labour and Vigilance alone is procured God's Aſſiſtance, and the Grandeur of Princes is deriv'd from Eternity (11).

(10) *Valentior enim omni fortuna animus eſt, in utramque partem res ſuas ducit.* Sen. Epiſt. 98. (11) *Non enim votis, neque ſupplicis muliebribus auxilia Deorum parantur; vigilando, agendo, proſperè omnia cedunt.* Salluſt.

EMBLEM

EMBLEM LXXXIX.

THE ſmalleſt things encreaſe by Concord; by Diſcord the greateſt fall to the ground. Thoſe which being divided, were weak and impotent; when united, reſiſt any Force whatever (1). What Arm can pull off a Horſe's Main when the Hairs are not parted, or break a Bundle of Arrows? And yet either of theſe, of it ſelf, is unable to withſtand the leaſt Violence. By theſe Emblems, *Sertorius*, and *Scilurus* the *Scythian*, expreſs'd the Force of Concord, which of many diſtinct Parts makes one united and conſequently ſtrong Body. Care of the Publick Repoſe has raiſed the

(1) A three-fold cord is not quickly broken.

Walls

Walls of Cities ſo much above the reach of Men, that they might not ſcale them; but however, many Soldiers at once cloſing their Shields, and mutually joining and agreeing to lift one another up, have got above their Battlements, and ſtormed them. All the Works of Nature are preſerved by Amity and Concord; and when this fails, they decay and die: The cauſe of Death being no other than a Diſcord of the Part, whereon Life depends. The very ſame happens in Commonwealths; as common Conſent made them a Society, ſo a Diſſention between the greateſt or moſt powerful part diſſolves again and diſſociates, or elſe new models them. That City, which by Concord was but one, without it becomes two, nay, ſometimes three or four, for want of that Body of Love whereby its Inhabitants made one Body. This Diviſion engenders Hatred, whence Revenge ariſes, and from that a diſreſpect of Laws; without the Authority of which, Juſtice loſes its force; and where that fails, Arms are taken up; and a Civil War breaking out, the Order of the State, which wholly conſiſts in Unity, is confounded (2). The Bees no ſooner fall out, but their Commonwealth is deſtroyed. The Ancients, to repreſent *Diſcord*, painted a *Woman tearing her Cloaths.*

Et ſciſſâ gaudens vadit diſcordia pallâ. *

Now if it has the ſame effect between Citizens, how will they be able to unite for their Common Defence and Intereſt? How will they have God on their ſide, who is Peace it ſelf, and ſo great a Lover of it, that (as *Job* ſays) with it he maintains his Heavenly Monarchy (3). *Plato* uſed to ſay, *Nothing was ſo pernicious to Commonwealths as Diviſion.* Concord is the Ornament of a City, its Walls and Guard; even Malice it ſelf cannot ſtand long without it. Domeſtick Diſſentions are ſo many Victories for the Enemy (4); as thoſe of the

(2) *Wiſdom* 18. 9. * Virg. (3) He maketh peace in high-places. (4) *Noſtris illi diſſentionibus, & diſcordiis clari, vitia hoſtium in gloriam exercitus ſui verſunt.* Tac. in Vit. Agric.

Britains,

Britains, *Galgacus* ſaid, were to the *Romans* (5). But notwithſtanding theſe and other Reaſons, ſome Politicians aſſert, That it is neceſſary, for the Preſervation of a State, to ſow Diſcords among the People; and to this end, alledges, for an Example, the Bees, in whoſe Hives is always heard a kind of Murmurring and Diſſention. But, alas, this is ſo far from ſtrengthning, that it rather overthrows their Opinion; for that *Humming* is not a Diſſonance, as I may ſay, of Wills, but a Harmony of Voices, whereby theſe Creatures, as it were, encourage and ſtir up each other to the Labours of making Honey, as Mariners do when they Hoiſe Sail. Nor is the Argument drawn from the contrariety of the four Humours in living Bodies, of any force; for 'tis rather from this Conflict of theirs that proceed Diſeaſes, and Shortneſs of Life, that which is Prdominant at laſt getting the Victory. Hence Vegetables, becauſe without that contrariety, endure longer. What differs from, and is at variance with it ſelf, muſt of neceſſity ſuffer; and what ſuffers, can never be laſting. Who, when a Republick is divided, can keep the Flame of Diſſentions within certain Bounds? Who will afterwards quench it, when All are involved in them? The more Powerful Faction will now oppreſs the Weaker; and that to Defend, this to Revenge it ſelf, make uſe of Foreign Forces, and ſo enſlave the Commonwealth, or elſe introduce a new Form of Government, which will almoſt always be Tyrannical, as ſeveral Inſtances witneſs. It is not the Prince's Duty to diſtract the Minds of his Subjects, but rather to keep them loving and amicable; and beſides, 'tis impoſſible they ſhould conſpire to love and obey him, who are divided amongſt themſelves, or conſider not whence their Evil comes. As often therefore as the Prince himſelf is the cauſe of Diſcord, Divine Providence (as it abominably (6) deteſts it) permits

(5) *Converſis ad civile bellum animis, externa ſine cura habentur.* Tac. Hiſt. l. 1. (6) And a ſeventh doth my heart abhorr, he that ſoweth diſcord among brethren. *Prov.* 6. 14.

thoſe very Means he thought to preſerve himſelf by, to be the Inſtruments of his Ruine: For when the Parties come to know it, they deſpiſe and abhorr him, as the firſt Author and Promoter of their Differences. King *Italus* gained the Affection and Applauſe of the *Germans*, by never fomenting Diſſentions, and carrying himſelf alike to all.

For theſe then, and ſuch like Reaſons, the Prince ſhould beware of letting Diſcords take root; and rather ſtrive to encourage the Union of his State, which will eaſily be maintained, if he look carefully to the Obſervance of the Laws, the Unity of Religion, Plenty of Corn and Proviſion, to the equal Diſtribution of Favours and Gratuities, to the Maintaining of Privileges; if he take care that the Common People be employed in Mechanick Arts, the Nobility in Publick Government, Arms, and Literature, to prohibit Cabals, and Clandeſtine Meetings, to keep the Great Ones Frugal and Modeſt, and the Inferiours Peaceable, to reſtrain Privileged Perſons, and thoſe who pretend to be exempt from Duties; in a word, if he ſee that Riches be reduced to a Mediocrity, and Poverty remedied. For from the Reformation and Regulating theſe, reſults good Government; and where that is, there Peace and Concord ever flouriſh. There is but one Caſe wherein it ſeems convenient and warrantable to kindle Diſcords in Kingdoms, and that is, when they are already troubled with Seditions, and Inteſtine Broils; for then to diſtract them into Factions, will be a means to weaken the Power of the Bad, the only end in that being to render Peace to the Good. And it is a piece of Self-Preſervation, not to let Diſturbers be at quiet; inaſmuch as the Concord of Ill Men is to the Prejudice of the Good; as 'tis to be wiſh'd that theſe may live Peaceably, ſo it is that thoſe may be in Diſcord: For Good Men always come by the worſt, when Bad Men are united (7).

(7) *Concordia malorum contraria eſt bonorum, & ſicut optandum eſt, ut boni pacem habeant ad invicem, ita optandum eſt, ut mali ſint diſcordes. Impeditur enim iter bonorum, ſi unitas non dividatur malorum.* S. Iſid.

The

The Diſcord we condemn as pernicious to Commonwealths, is that which ariſes from Hatred and Enmity; not that Contention which has place between ſeveral Conditions and Members of the ſame Commonwealth, as between the Lords and Commons, the Soldiers and Tradeſmen: For that Contrariety, or rather Emulation, by the very diverſity of Natures and Ends, keeps up a Diſtinction in the Degrees and Spheres of the State, and ſupports it; nor are there Seditions, but when the States combine together, and make every private Perſon's the Common Intereſt: juſt as from the commixtion of the Elements, and the meeting of Rivers and Streams, proceed Storms and Inundations. It concerns the Prince therefore to employ all his Care upon this Diviſion; ſo moderating it, that it ſhall neither come on the one hand to abſolute Rupture, nor on the other to unlawful Combinations.

The ſame thing ſhould be done between Miniſters, that ſome kind of Emulation and Diffidence one of another, may make them more attentive of their Duty; for if once, through a neglect of this, they Diſſemble, and conceal one another's Faults, or with one conſent join the purſuit of their own Intereſts, there will be an end of the Prince and the State, without the poſſibility of a Remedy, in that none can be apply'd but by their Hands. But if this Honeſt and Generous Emulation ſhould degenerate into Averſion and Enmity, it will create the ſame Inconveniencies; for they will then be more intent on contradicting and thwarting one another, more ſolicitous to overthrow each others Counſels and Actions, than to promote the Publick Good, and their Prince's Service. Every one has his Friends and Creatures, and the Common ſort of People are apt to be lead into Factions, whence generally ariſe Tumults and Diſſentions. For this Reaſon, *Druſus* and *Germanicus* joined themſelves, leſt the Flame of the Differences kindled in *Tiberius*'s Palace, ſhould be encreaſed by the Blaſt of their Favour. Whence it is apparent how erroneous the Judgment of *Lycurgus* was, who ſowed

Diſſentions among the Kings of *Lacedæmon*, and ordained, that when Embaſſadors were to be ſent afar off, ſuch Perſons ſhould be made choice of, as had ſome grudge to each other. We have not a few Examples in this Age of Publick Loſſes, occaſion'd by the claſhing of Miniſters joined in one Commiſſion, upon a Suppoſition that this very Emulation would incite them to execute it carefully. The Prince's Service is One, and cannot be perform'd but by Perſons Unanimous: Whence *Tacitus* commends *Agricola*, for one who was far from envying his Colleagues (8). And certainly it is leſs dangerous for an Affair to be managed by *one* Bad, than by *two* Good Miniſters, if they don't agree, which rarely happens.

The Nobility is the Prince's greateſt Security, or greateſt Hazard, being a Powerful Body, that draws moſt of the People after it. *Spain* and *France* furniſh us with many Bloody Inſtances of this Truth; that in former Ages, this in all. The beſt Remedies are, by the means of Emulation, to keep them divided from the Commons and themſelves, yet with the Moderation above-mention'd. To multiply and level the Titles and Dignities of the Nobles; to ſpend their Eſtates upon Publick Oſtentations, and their Great Souls in the Toils and Dangers of War; to divert their Thoughts by Employments of Peace, and humble their Exalted Spirits by the ſervile Offices of the Court.

(8) *Procul ab æmulatione adverſus collegas.* Tac. in Vit. Agric.

EMBLEM

EMBLEM XC.

KINGS, in Holy Scripture, are compared to *Rivers*; for ſo the Prophet *Habakkuk* is to be underſtood, when he ſays, God would cleave the Rivers of the Earth (1); meaning, that God would divide the Forces of thoſe who took up Arms againſt his People: As *David* actually found he did, in his Defeat of the *Philiſtines*; and therefore openly confeſſed, that the Lord had divided his Enemies before him, as Waters are divided (2). Diviſion is the moſt effectual means

(1) Thou didſt cleave the earth with rivers. *Habak.* 3. 9. (2) The Lord hath broken forth upon mine enemies before me, as the breach of waters. 2 *Sam.* 5. 20.

to pull down any Power; the very greateſt, if divided, being uncapable of making any further Reſiſtance. How impetuouſly does a River ſtream down the midſt of its Channel, breaking through its very Banks to open it ſelf new Paſſages; yet if parted into ſeveral Rivulets, it loſes its ſtrength, and becomes paſſable to all. Thus it happened to the River *Gyndes*, where a beloved Horſe of *Cyrus*'s having been drowned, it ſo enraged him, that he immediately commanded it to be cut into an Hundred and ſixty Canals; by which means it loſt both its Name and Greatneſs; and that which before would ſcarce bear Bridges, might afterwards be eaſily forded. This the Counſel had regard to, which ſome gave the *Roman* Senate, to weaken the River *Tiber*, by turning the Courſe of the Lakes and Brooks that diſcharged themſelves into it (3), to rid the City of continual Fear and Danger of its Inundations. But the Senate refuſed to do it, as unwilling to deprive the *Tiber* of its Glory (4). All theſe things have given occaſion to the preſent *Emblem*, which (by a *River* parted into ſeveral *Branches*) ſhews of what conſequence it is to diſtract the Forces of Puiſſant Princes: For the greater the Power is, the more Forces and Expence its Defence requires; nor is it hardly poſſible to find Officers and Soldiers enough for it, or to prevent all Miſchances. Courage and Prudence are confounded, when Dangers threaten thus on all ſides. Beſides, this is the moſt ſecure and the cheapeſt Method that can be taken; inaſmuch as a Trumpet on a ſudden ſounding an Alarm in ſeveral Parts of a Kingdom, has abundantly greater Effects, than a War ſolemnly denounced.

It is always the beſt and ſecureſt way, to divide Enemies Forces, and ſow ſeeds of Diſſention within their States (5): Nothing ſo much expoſing to Plots and

(3) *Si amnis Nar (id enim parabatur) in Rivos diductus ſupernavigaſſet.* Tac. Annal. l. 1. (4) *Quin ipſum Tiberim nolle, prorſus accolis fluviis orbatum, minori gloria fluere.* Ibid. (5) *Prudentis eſt Ducis inter hoſtes diſcordiæ cauſas ſerere.* Veget.

Invaſions,

Invaſions, as Diſcord and Sedition (6). By theſe Artifices the *Phœnicians* eſtabliſhed their Dominion in *Spain*, dividing it into various Factions. The ſame did the *Carthaginians* againſt them. Therefore the Counſel of the Marqueſs of *Cadiz* was not at all imprudent, when having taken *Boabdili*, King of *Grenada*, he moved *Ferdinand the Catholick* to ſet him at liberty, that his Preſence might foment the Factions a foot between him and his Father, about the Crown, which had diſtracted the Kingdom into a great many Parties. When the *Roman* Empire, ſays *Tacitus*, began to decline, and haſten to decay, nothing greater could be deſired of Fortune, than the Diſcord of its Enemies (7). No Money is laid out to more Advantage, none with leſs Bloodſhed or Danger, than that which is employed in encouraging the Diſſentions of an Enemy's Kingdom, or in getting another Prince to make War upon it; for the Charges and Damage become hereby much more inconſiderable. But this matter demandeth extraordinary Advertency; for ſometimes, upon a miſ-grounded Apprehenſion, Money is expended to no purpoſe, and the Diſcovery of the ill Intention begets open Hoſtility: A thing we have many Inſtances of, in thoſe who without any Provocation, or the leaſt Proſpect of Advantage, have countenanced the Adverſaries of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, to keep its Hands full, by continual Wars, in the mean time unprofitably exhauſting their Treaſuries, without conſidering, that if they ſhould once be attack'd by thoſe of this Houſe, it would be much better to have ſtill by them, for their own Defence, what they had laid out upon the Diverſion of their Forces.

And this whole Doctrine has place, without any ſcruple in Policy, in an open War, where the Reaſon of Self-Preſervation is more cogent, than other Conſiderations leſs ſolid; and the ſame Cauſe that makes the

(6) *Diſcordia & Seditio omnia facit opportuniora inſidiantibus.* Livy.
(7) *Urgentibus Imperii Romani fatis, nihil jam præſtare fortuna majus potuit, quam hoſtium diſcordiam.* Tac. de Mor. Germ.

War lawful, juſtifies alſo this Diſcord. But when the caſe is nothing but an invidious Emulation of Grandeur, theſe Artifices are not warrantable; for he who ſtirs up the Subjects of another Prince to Rebellion, at the ſame time teaches his own to be Traitors. The Emulation ſhould be between the Perſons, not the Offices: Dignity is of the ſame kind in all its parts; that which wounds one, wounds all. Paſſions and Hatreds are tranſient, but Bad Examples remain for ever. It is the Intereſt and Concern of every Prince, not to ſuffer the Dignity of another to be injured by Contempt or Diſobedience, or his Perſon by Treaſon. 'Tis an Action unworthy of a Prince to conquer by Poiſon, not by the Sword. It was ever accounted baſe, among the *Romans* (8); and is to this day with the *Spaniards*, who have been ſo far from making uſe of ſuch ſecret Practices againſt their Enemies, that they have often been aſſiſting to them. A remarkable Example of which, our Catholick King left your Highneſs, when he ſent an Army to aid the *French* King againſt the *Engliſh*, who had poſſeſs'd themſelves of the Iſle of *Rhea*, not regarding the Duke of *Roan*'s Advice, which was, to divide the Kingdom into ſeveral Governments. And another time, when His Majeſty offered, by Monſieur *de Maximi*, the Pope's Nuncio, to aſſiſt the ſame King in Perſon to ſubdue the *Hugonots* of *Montauban*, and drive them out of his Country. Which Signal and Heroick Kindneſs had no other Return but Ingratitude; leaving a Leſſon to Reaſon, not to let it ſelf be too eaſily touch'd with Compaſſion towards a Foreign State.

From what hath been ſaid, it is obvious to deduce how much the Agreement of Subjects Minds, and the Union of States, contribute to their Common Defence: If, I ſay, every particular Perſon did look on the Danger of his Neighbour as his own, be it at never ſo remote a diſtance, and accordingly endeavour all ways,

(8) *Non fraude neque occultis, ſed palam, & armatum populum Romanum hoſtes ſuos ulciſci.* Tac. Hiſt. l. 2.

both

both with Men and Money, to relieve him, that the whole Body may be preſerved. But not a few are deceived in this Point; they who are far off, flattering themſelves with the Thoughts that the Danger will never reach them, or that they are no way obliged to anticipate ſuch Expences, and that it is greater Prudence to keep their Forces entire till the Enemy come nigher. But alas! then all the Difficulties being ſurmounted, and thoſe States taken, which ſerved them for Out-works the reſt will never be able to hold out. This was the Fate of the *Britains*: of whom, thus *Tacitus*; *Heretofore they were under Kings, now are by petty Princes diſtracted into Factions; nor does any thing further our Deſigns againſt the ſtrongeſt Nations, than their not conſulting the Common Good. Seldom above two or three Cities aſſociate to repell the Common Danger: Thus while every one fights ſingle, all are overcome* (9). The Kingdoms of *Spain*, and Provinces of *Italy*, *Burgundy* and *Flanders* are ſenſible of this Danger, with a greater Prudence, a more eminent and exemplary Piety, Zeal and Affection towards their Lawful Lord; in that with a generous Emulation they voluntarily offer His Majeſty their Lives and Fortunes, to protect them from their Enemies, who with joint-Forces conſpire the Overthrow of the Catholick Religion, and that Monarchy. Let Your Highneſs ingrave theſe Services on your tender Breaſt; and let the Gratitude and Eſteem due to Subjects ſo Loyal, encreaſe with your Glorious Years:

Then you will judge which is moſt excellent,
To Rule the World, or ſuch a Government. *

(9) *Olim Regibus parebant, nunc per Principes factionibus, & ſtudiis trahantur; nec aliud adverſus validiſſimas gentes pro nobis utilius, quam quod in commune non conſulunt. Rarus duabus, tribuſve civitatibus, ad propulſandum commune periculum conventus: ita dum ſinguli pugnant, univerſi vincuntur.* Tac. in Vit. Agric. * Cam. Luſ.

EMBLEM

EMBLEM XCI.

Friendſhip ſeems to reſtrain a Government more, and to have been more conſidered by Law-Givers, than *Juſtice*. For if all Men were Friends, there would be no need of Juſtice; but though all were Juſt, yet would they want the Protection of Friendſhip (1). Friendſhip is the greateſt good Mankind enjoys; a ſure Sword always by one's ſide, both in Peace and War; a faithful Companion in both Fortunes.

(1) *Videtur amicitia magis continere, & majore quam juſtitia in ſtudio fuiſſe Legiſlatoribus. Nam ſi amicitia inter omnes eſſet, nihil eſſet, quod juſtitiam deſiderarent; at ſi juſti eſſent, tamen amicitiæ præſidium requirerent.* Ariſt. Ethic. l. 1.

With

With this, Proſperity is crown'd, and Adverſity becomes more eaſie. For it neither is diminiſhed by one, or encreaſed by the other: In one it is guided by Modeſty, in the other by Conſtancy; in the one and the other always at hand, as if by both it were like to gain. Conſanguinity may be without Kindneſs and Affection, Friendſhip cannot. This comes from our own Choice, that from Chance. That may be without the Bond of Communication and Mutual Aſſiſtance, this cannot; foraſmuch as there are three things, which, as conſtituent parts of its Being unite it; Nature by the means of Reſemblance; the Will, by that of Good Humour; and Reaſon, by that of Honour. Hereunto, certainly, King *Alphonſus the Wiſe* alludes, when he accuſeth a certain Perſon of Cruelty and Injuſtice, for carrying away Priſoner one of two Perſons who were endeared to each other by Conſanguinity and Friendſhip (2).

The more tried therefore and ſincere the Friendſhip has been, ſo much the leſs valuable will it be, when once violated. A Cryſtal crackt, is good for nothing. The Diamond loſes all its Worth, when divided into Pieces. A Sword once broken, can never be ſolder'd again. Whoever truſts to reconciled Friendſhip, will find himſelf deceived; for upon the firſt Blow of Adverſity, or Proſpect of Advantage, it will preſently relapſe again. Neither *David*'s Mercy, in ſparing *Saul*'s Life, nor the Acknowledgments and fair Proteſtations of *Saul*, confirmed by Oath, were ſufficient to make the firſt think himſelf e'er the ſafer for this Reconcilement, or the laſt to ceaſe Plotting againſt him (3). *Eſau*, with Embraces, and Tears in his Eyes, tried to regain the Favour of his Brother *Jacob*; and though there paſſed great Signs and Expreſſions of Friendſhip on both ſides, yet could they never take away *Jacob*'s Diſtruſt, who, notwithſtanding, endeavoured all he could to be ſevered from him, and ſecure himſelf *. Renewed Friendſhip

(2) L. 19. Tit. 2. p. 2. (3) And Saul went home; but David and his men gat them up unto the hold. 1 *Sam.* 24. 22. * *Gen.* 33. 12.

is

is like a veſſel of Metal, which to day ſhines, and to morrow is covered with Ruſt (4). Nor are all the good offices in the World capable of making it firm, becauſe the remembrance of Injuries is never quite eraſed out of the Mind. *Ervigius*, after the Uſurpation of *Wamba*'s Crown, marry'd his Daughter *Cixilon* to *Egica*, a very near Relation of that King's, and afterwards nominated him for his Succeſſor; but even this could not keep *Egica* from giving ſome marks of his Hatred to his Father-in-Law, as ſoon as ever he came to the Crown *. The Scars of Wounds made by Injuries on the Mind, always remain in the Perſon wrong'd, and upon the firſt motion bleed afreſh. Injuries are like Marſhes, which, though dried up, are eaſily filled with Water again. There is a certain Shadow always betwixt the Offender and the Offended, which no Light of Excuſe or Satisfaction can diſpell. Nor is Friendſhip ſecure on the former's ſide, in that he never is perſuaded the other has really and from his heart forgiven the Injury, and always looks on him as an Enemy. Beſides that, it is natural to hate one you have injured (5).

This is what happens in the Friendſhip of private Perſons, but 'tis not ſo in thoſe of Princes, (if indeed there be any true Friendſhip to be met with between them) for Self-Intereſt makes them Friends or Enemies; and though the Friendſhip be broke a thouſand times, yet it is preſently renewed again by hopes of Advantage; and as long as this may be executed, continues firm and conſtant. Wherefore in ſuch Friendſhips as theſe, no regard is to be had to the Ties of Blood, or Obligations of Favours received, for theſe are things diſowned by Ambition. Their Duration is to be eſteem'd by Utility, in that all Friendſhips now-a-days are like thoſe of *Philip*, King of *Macedon*, who made Intereſt, not Faith, the Meaſure of them. In theſe, Friendſhips, which are more

(4) Never truſt thine enemy; for like as iron ruſteth, ſo is his wickedneſs: though he humble himſelf, and go crouching, yet take good heed, and beware of him, *Eccl.* 12. 10. * Mar. Hiſt. Hiſp.
(5) *Proprium humani ingenii eſt, odiſſe quem læſeris.* Tac. Vit. Agric.

Reaſon

Reaſon of State, than any Mutual Harmony of Wills, *Ariſtotle* and *Cicero* would never have ſo ſharply reprimanded *Bias*, for ſaying, *We ought to love no otherwiſe, than if we were to hate again:* For a Prince would be deceived in his Confidence, ſhould he ground it upon ſuch Friendſhip. It is beſt then for Princes to be Friends ſo to day, as to think they may poſſibly fall out to morrow. But although this Precaution is not to be found fault with, yet Intereſt and Self-ends are not to be preferred to Friendſhip, ever the more, for that 'tis common for others to do ſo. Let Friendſhip fail in others, but not the Prince we propoſe to form by theſe *Emblems*, whom we exhort to Conſtancy in his Actions and Obligations.

All that has been ſaid hitherto, has reſpect to ſuch Friendſhips as are betwixt neighbouring Princes, between whom there is ſome Emulation of Grandeur; for among others, ſincere Amity, and a reciprocal Correſpondence, may have place. Power ſhould not be ſo over-careful, as to truſt no one. Like a Tyrant, he will be ever in Fear, who puts no Confidence in his Friends. Without theſe, the Crown is Slavery, not Majeſty. 'Tis an unjuſt Empire, that deprives Princes of Friendſhips. Not Armies nor Treaſures are the Defence of a Kingdom, but Friends (6). 'Tis not the Golden Scepter that protects a King, but abundance of Friends; thoſe are the trueſt, thoſe the ſecureſt Scepter (7). Nor is there any greater Inſtrument of good Government, than good Friends (8).

Friendſhip between great Princes, ſhould be maintained rather by a good Correſpondence, than by Preſents; for Intereſt is always ungrateful and inſatiable: For the ſake of *that*, Friendſhips are pretended, never really contracted; as *Vitellius* found, who thinking to preſerve his Friends, by the Richneſs of his Preſents,

(6) *Non exercitus neque theſauri, præſidia Regni ſunt, verum amici*, Salluſt. (7) *Non aureum illud ſceptrum eſt, quod Regem cuſtodit, ſed copia amicorum, ea Regibus ſceptrum utiſſimum*, Xenoph. (8) *Nec ullum majus boni Imperii inſtrumentum quam boni Amici*, Tac. Annal. l. 4.

not by his Merit, deſerved rather than had them (9). Friends are to be kept by Iron, not Gold; for Fear of Arms creates more of them, than Deſire of Money. Pecuniary Subſidies enervate the Giver; and the greater they are, the leſſer time can they be continued; and as faſt as the Prince's Coffers empty, his Reputation diminiſhes. Princes are eſteem'd and lov'd for the Treaſures they ſtill have, not thoſe they have already ſquandered away; more, I ſay, for what they can give, than for what they have given: For Hope prevails much more with Men than Gratitude. He who buys Peace, is unable to uphold it with Arms. This is a Fault which almoſt all Monarchies fall into, when arrived to ſome height of Grandeur, they ſtrive to maintain it by Money, not Arms; and thus conſuming their Treaſures, and oppreſſing their Subjects, to raiſe Contributions for neighbouring Princes, to keep the Circumference quiet, they weaken the Center. And though that Greatneſs be ſupported for a time, yet 'tis at the Price of a greater Downfall; for that Weakneſs being known, and the Frontiers once loſt, the Enemy, without Oppoſition, makes way to their Heart. Thus it befell the *Roman* Empire, when, after having been at ſo many uſeleſs Expences, and waſted their Strength, the Emperors went about to gain the *Parthians* and *Germans* by Preſents, which was the firſt beginning of their Ruine. Hence *Alcibiades* adviſed *Tiſaphernes* not to be ſo liberal of his Succors to the *Lacedæmonians*, but to remember, that it was not his own, but another's Victory he promoted; and that he was to ſupport the War, ſo as not to be obliged to abandon it through Want (10). This Counſel we may make our Advantage of, by taking care, what is expended on Favour of Foreign Princes, to the great prejudice and weakening of *Caſtile*; which

(9) *Dum amicitias magnitudine munerum, non conſtantia morum continere putavit, meruit, magis quam habuit*, Tac. Hiſt. l. 2. (10) *Ne ſanta ſtipendia claſſi Lacedæmoniorum præberet, ſed nec auxilia nimis enixe juvandos, quippe non immemorem eſſe debere, alienam eſſe victoriam non ſuam inſtruere, & eatenus bellum ſuſtinendum, ne impia deſeratur.* Trog. l. 5.

yet,

yet, as being the Heart of the whole Monarchy, ſhould be furniſh'd with the greateſt quantity of Blood, to diſtribute Vital Spirits to all the other Parts of the Body; as Nature her ſelf, the beſt Miſtreſs of Politicks, inſtructs, who fortifies with the ſtrongeſt Fences the interiour Parts, whereon Life depends. If what Timorouſneſs and Solicitude ſpends Abroad to keep the Monarchy in Security, Prudence would lay out at Home in maintaining Forces both by Sea and Land, in Fortifying and Garriſoning Strong Holds, Forts and Cities, the remote Provinces would be abundantly more ſafe; and if any one ſhould be loſt, it might eaſily be recovered by the Forces within. *Rome* was able to defend it ſelf, and even to retake all that *Hannibal* had gotten from them, nay, even to overthrow *Carthage* it ſelf, by keeping all its Wealth and Strength within the Bowels of the Commonwealth.

Not that I ſay this, with a deſire to perſuade Princes always to refuſe their Money to their Friends and Neighbours, but only that they might be very careful how they lay it out, and rather aſſiſt them with Men than Money; for this ſtays with them that receiv'd it, whereas thoſe return to him who ſent them. And this is to be underſtood, when there is no danger of engaging themſelves in the War, by drawing it into their own States, or of getting their Friend greater Enemies; as alſo when it is more Expenſive, and liable to more Inconveniences to aid with Money, than Arms: For one of the two ways State-Intereſt abſolutely requires us to defend a neighbouring Prince, as often as our Fortune is inſeparably joined with his; it being prudenter to carry on a War in another's State, than to feed it in the very Heart of our own. Thus, of old, it was the peculiar way of the *Romans* to make War far from Home, and by the Fortreſſes of the Empire to defend the Fortunes of their Allies (11), not their own Houſes.

(11) *Fuit proprium populi Romani longè à domo bellare, & propugnaculis, Imperii ſociorum fortunas, non ſua tecta defendere,* Cic. pro leg. Man.

And

And this we ought to have learn'd from that Government, that we might not be forced to lament at this day so many Calamities. 'Tis this Policy, rather than Ambition, that has moved the *Swiss-Cantons* to undertake the Protection of some People; for though they were sensible this could not be done without great Charges, and the running the Risque of their own Defence, yet they thought it more their Interest to keep the War out of their own Territories: The Confines of a neighbouring State are the Walls of our own, and as such, to be guarded with all the Care imaginable.

EMBLEM XCII.

EVen the Feathers of Birds are in danger, when too near those of the Eagle; in that these, by that natural Antipathy surviving in them, which is between the Eagle

Eagle and the other Birds, corrode and deſtroy them (1). Thus Protection changes into Tyranny. A Superiour Power obſerves no Laws, Ambition no Reſpect. What was committed to its Truſt, it afterwards detains as its own, under colour of Self-Preſervation. Petty Princes think to ſecure their States by Foreign Aids and utterly ruine them: They fall a Prey both to Friend and Enemy; the former being no leſs dangerous from Confidence, than the latter from Hatred. With a Friend we live ſecure, without the leaſt Fear or Precaution; ſo that he may eaſily ſtrike us, without any Danger on his ſide. Upon this Reaſon, I conceive, was founded that Law, which commanded, the Oxe that had gored any one, to be ſtoned (2), but ſays nothing of the Bull; becauſe we truſt the Oxe more, as being a Domeſtick Animal we every day make uſe of. Ambition creeps in, under the pretext of Friendſhip and Protection; and that, by their means, is eaſily obtained, which never could have been by Force. With what ſpecious Names did the *Romans* mask their Tyranny, when they received the People of other Nations for Citizens, Friends, and Allies? They admitted the *Albani* into their Commonwealth, peopling it with thoſe who before were Enemies: The *Sabines* they made Free of their City; and abundance of Countries called them to their Aid, againſt their Enemies, as the Protectors of their Liberties and Privileges, and the Univerſal Arbitrators of Juſtice. Thus they, who of themſelves could not have gained one Foot of Ground, by the Ignorance of others, extended their Dominions far and near. At firſt they exacted but moderate Tributes of thoſe Nations; thus diſguiſing their Treachery, under the Appearance of Morality. But when that Imperial Eagle had ſpread its Wings wider, over the three Parts of the World, *Europe*, *Aſia*, and *Africa*, ſhe whet her Beak upon Ambition,

(1) Plin. l. 10. c. 3. Æl. l. 9. c. 11. de Animal. (2) If an oxe gore a man or a woman, and they die, the oxe ſhall be ſurely ſtoned, *Exod.* 21. 28.

and discovered the Claws of her Tyranny. The People then found their Confidence was miserably deluded, and the Feathers of their Power destroyed, under those of the Oppression of Taxes, and the loss of their Liberty and Privileges; and now the Tyranny was grown powerful, could neither recover themselves again, nor re-establish their Forces: And to the end the Venom might turn into Nature, the *Romans* invented Colonies, and introduced the Latin Tongue, thus to efface the Distinction of Nations, and leave the *Romans* alone to enjoy the Empire of all. This was that *Eagle* in *Ezekiel*'s Vision, with *great Wings, and many Feathers* (3); or, as the Septuagint has it, *many Talons*, because such were its Feathers. How often do Men think they stand under the one, when they are really under the other? How often do they think themselves covered with the Lily, when stuck so fast amidst Thorns and Briars, that they can't escape without tearing their Cloaths. The City of *Pisa* put their Rights and Pretensions against the Republick of *Florence*, under the Protection of *Ferdinand the Catholick*, and the King of *France*; and both agreed to deliver it to the *Florentines*, under the pretence of the Repose of *Italy*. *Lewis Sforza* employed the Assistance of the *French* against his Nephew, *John Galeas*; and they having divested him of the Dutchy of *Milan*, carried him Prisoner into *France*. But what need is there to look so far for Examples? Let the Duke of *Mantua* tell how dear another's Protection has cost him? Let the Elector of *Treves*, and the *Grisons*, say whether they have preserved their Liberty, by admitting Foreign Armies into their States, for their Defence and Protection: Let *Germany* tell us how it finds it self, under the Patronage of *Sweden*; now the noble Circles of its Provinces, heretofore the Splendour and Support of the Imperial Diadem, are divided and broken; now those sparkling Diamonds, the Cities of the Empire, its an-

(3) And there was also another Eagle, with great wings, and many feathers, &c. Ezek. 17. 7.

cient

cient Ornament, are ſullied and unſet, the Orders of its States overthrown and confounded, the Harmony of its Politick Government deſtroyed, its ancient Nobility ſtript and impoveriſhed; *that*, of all its Provinces which knew beſt how to aſſert its Liberty, now without the leaſt appearance of it, is trampled under foot and laid waſte by the Fire and Sword of Foreign Nations, and expoſed to the Will of a thouſand Tyrants, all living Pictures of the King of *Sweden*; in a word, a Slave both to Friends and Enemies, and ſo ſtupified by its Misfortunes, that 'tis render'd incapable of diſcerning its Intereſt or Diſadvantage. This is the Fate of all People at variance with themſelves, of all Princes who make uſe of Foreign Forces; eſpecially if he who ſends, does not alſo pay them. Thus it happened to the Cities of *Greece*, when *Philip*, King of *Macedon*, contriving to enſnare the Liberty of all, fomented their Contentions; and by ſiding with the Weaker, made both the Victors and Vanquiſhed ſubmit to one Yoke (4). Glory, at firſt, prompts to the Defence; but in the end, Ambition ſeizes all. Whoever employs his Forces for another, expects ſome Amends for it. The Country always loves the Power that protects it; the Subjects imagining they ſhall live more ſecure and happy under his Government, freed from the Fear and Danger of Wars, and the ſevere Taxes inferiour Princes are wont to impoſe, and from thoſe Grievances they generally ſuffer at their Hands. The Nobles too, think it more Honourable to ſerve a greater Maſter, who has larger Rewards to give, and greater Preferments to confer upon them. All theſe Conſiderations make way for Tyranny and Uſurpation. Auxiliary Troops always obey him who ſends them, or in whoſe Pay they are, and treat thoſe Countries they ſerve in, as Foreign; ſo that when the War is ended with the Enemy, they muſt begin with the Friend. Therefore

(4) *Philippus Rex Macedonum libertati omnium inſidiatus, dum contentiones civitatum alit, auxilium inferioribus ferendo, victos pariter, victoresque ſubire regiam ſervitutem cogit.* Juſtin.

I think it better, and leſs hazardous and expenſive, for the weaker Prince to come to a Compoſition, upon any Terms, with the more powerful, than even to conquer him with Foreign Arms: What cannot be obtained but by them, can much leſs be preſerved without them, after they ſhall be withdrawn.

This Danger of Auxiliary Forces is yet more to be feared, when the Prince who ſends them is of a different Religion, or has, or at leaſt pretends to ſome Right to that State; or elſe, if it be of any conſiderable Advantage for him to be poſſeſſed of it, for the opening a Paſſage to his own, or obſtructing that of an Enemy. Theſe Apprehenſions ſhould be meaſured by Neceſſity, the Condition and Manners of the Prince being well examined; for if he be open and generous, Publick Faith and Reputation will have more Influence on him, than Intereſt, and Reaſons of State; as has been experienced in all the Princes of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, (repreſented by that powerful protecting Cherub to which *Ezekiel* (5) compares the King of *Tyre*, before he failed in his Duty) of whoſe Friendſhip no one can juſtly complain. *Piedmont*, *Savoy*, *Cologne*, *Conſtance*, and *Briſac*, all Places defended by the *Spaniſh* Arms, and afterwards reſtored without ſo much as a Garriſon left in them, are everlaſting Witneſſes of this Truth. Nor can *Genoua* deny it; for when oppreſſed by *France* and *Savoy*, it put its Liberty into the Hands of the *Spaniards*, theſe People moſt faithfully preſerved it, as eſteeming more their Friendſhip, and the Glory of Publick Faith, than Dominion.

But if Neceſſity, at any time, oblige the Prince to have recourſe to a Foreigner, he may avoid the Dangers mentioned, by theſe two or three Cautions: If he take care that the Foreign Forces be not greater than his own; That his own Officers Command them; That they be not put in Garriſons; That they be mixed or divided, and immediately drawn out againſt the Enemy.

(5) Thou art the anointed Cherub that governeth, *Ezek.* 28. 14.

EMBLEM

EMBLEM XCIII.

OFten has the *Tyrrhene* Sea felt the Danger of the Neighbourhood of Mount *Veſuvius*: But we learn not always to profit by our Misfortunes, being, out of a vain confidence, apt to perſuade our ſelves, they will never happen a ſecond time. The World had long ſince been at the height of Wiſdom, had it known how to improve by its Experiences: But Time, we ſee, effaces them, as it did in the Ruines the late Conflagrations had left upon the skirts of that Mountain, covering it with a prodigious quantity of Aſhes, which, but a few Years afterwards, the Plough cultivated, and reduced again to Soil. The Remembrance of the Loſſes ſuſtained, was loſt, or rather, no one would retain it,

when yet they ought to have ever kept Humane Caution upon its Guard. The treacherous Mountain conceal'd under its green Garment the Heat and Drought of its Entrails; and the Sea, ſuſpecting no harm, made an Alliance with it, and embraced it with its Waters, not regarding the contrariety of thoſe two Natures. But the treacherous Mountain kept its Intention ſo cloſe, that not the leaſt Smoke gave any ſign of what was plotting within. Their Communication encreaſed by ſecret ways: Nor could the Sea imagine this pretended Friend was raiſing Fortifications againſt it, and preparing Mines with divers ſulphurous Metals; which being afterwards filled, and that in our Age, was ſet fire to. There open'd, on the top of it, a wide and deep Mouth, breathing out Flames, which at firſt ſeem'd to be no more than Plumes, as I may ſay, of Sparks, or Bonfires, but in a few hours proved tragical Prodigies. This heavy Body ſeveral times ſhook; and amidſt its dreadful Thunder, vomited up the liquid Flames of thoſe indigeſted Matters of melted Metals which boiled in its Stomach: like Torrents of Fire they ſtreamed down it, into the Plains adjacent, burning the Trees, and carrying the Houſes along with them, till at length they run into the Sea; which, aſtoniſh'd at ſo ſudden an Hoſtility, retired with its Waters to the very Center, whether out of Fear, or Policy, to raiſe a greater Body of Waves to defend it ſelf withal; for now the old League was violated, it was obliged to prepare for its Defence. The two Elements engaged not without the trembling of Nature her ſelf, afraid of ſeeing this beautiful Fabrick of the Univerſe on Fire: The very Waves, conquered by a ſuperiour Enemy, burned; and the Fiſh, ſwimming in the Flames, were drowned: For the Fire, (as *Solomon* (1) ſpeaks) had power in the Water, forgetting his own Vertue; and the Water forgot his own quenching Nature.

(1) For earthly things were turned into watry; and the things that before ſwam in the water, now went upon the ground, *Wiſd.* 19. 9.

Such

Such will be the Effects of all the like Alliances of contrary Natures. Let not the Catholick Prince, who enters into a Confederacy with Infidels, expect leſs Evils. For there being no more inveterate Animoſities than thoſe which ariſe from the Difference of Religions, the preſent Neceſſity may indeed diſſemble them, but it is impoſſible that Time ſhould not diſcover them: And how is it to be imagined that Amity can ever be maintained between them, when the one cannot truſt the other? when the Ruine of this, is the Intereſt of that? They who differ in Opinions, differ alſo in Minds; and as Creatures of that Eternal Artificer, we cannot ſuffer any other Adoration to be paid him, than what we judge to be true and Orthodox. And altho' the Friendſhip of Infidels were never ſo good, yet Divine Juſtice permits us not to obtain our Ends by the means of his Enemies, nay, uſually chaſtiſes us by the very Infidel's Hand that Sign'd the Treaty. The Emperor which *Conſtantine the Great* tranſlated into the *Eaſt*, was ruin'd by the Alliance of the *Palæologi* with the Turk; God permitting it to remain to Poſterity, for an Example of his Correction, but not any living Memorial of that Family. But if, by reaſon of the Diſtance of Places, or Diſpoſition of Things, the Chaſtiſement cannot be inflicted by thoſe very Infidels, God uſes his own Hand. What Calamities has not *France* ſuffered, ſince *Francis* I. more through Emulation of *Charles* the Fifth's Glory, than forced by any Neceſſity, made a League with the Turk, and called him into *Europe?* This Fault he acknowledged in the laſt moments of his Life, expreſſed his utmoſt Deteſtation of it in Words; which piouſly we ought to impute to a Chriſtian Compunction, though otherwiſe they ſeemed to proceed from extreme Deſpair. God purſued his Chaſtiſement in ſome of his Succeſſors, by taking them off with violent and unhappy Deaths. Now if this Juſt Judge be thus ſevere on Princes who do but ask the Aid of Infidels and Hereticks, what will he do to thoſe who aſſiſt them againſt the Catholicks, and are the reaſon of their making ſuch great Progreſſes? The

Example of *Peter* II. of *Arragon*, will tell us (2): This King ſtuck with all his Forces to the Faction of the *Albigenſes* in *France*; and though he fought at the Head of One hundred thouſand Men, againſt the *Catholicks*, who were but Eight hundred Horſe, and a Thouſand Foot, loſt at once both his Life and the Battel. *Judas Machabæus* no ſooner joined with the *Romans*, tho' only to defend himſelf againſt the *Grecian* Power, but the two Angels, that ſtood by his ſide, left him, and he was ſlain. The ſame Puniſhment, and for the ſame Cauſe, ſuffered *Jonathan* and *Simon*, his Brothers and Succeſſors.

Nor is the Excuſe of Self-Defence always ſufficient; for all the Conditions and Circumſtances that make ſuch Confederacies allowable, very rarely concurr, and are of greater weight than that univerſal Scandal and Danger of defiling the true Religion with Errors; the Communication of Hereticks being a Poiſon apt to infect, a Gangrene that ſoon ſpreads, where Minds are enclined to Novelty and Licentiouſneſs (3). Policy diſtruſting the Divine Aſſiſtance, and wholly relying upon Humane Artifices, may indeed deceive it ſelf, but not God, at whoſe Tribunal meer Appearances of Reaſon are not received. *Baaſha*, King of *Iſrael*, built a Fortreſs in *Ramah*, the laſt City of the Tribe of *Benjamin*, in the Kingdom of *Aſa*, and ſo ſtopt its Avenues, that no one could go in or out of it with ſafety (4). This occaſion'd a War between thoſe two Kings; and *Aſa* fearing the Alliance of *Ben-hadad*, King of *Syria*, with his Enemy, contrived firſt to break that, and then enter'd himſelf into a Confederacy with *Ben-hadad*: which when *Baaſha* heard, he left off building the Fortifications of *Ramah* (5). Nevertheleſs, though *Aſa* made this League out of Ne-

(2) Mar. Hiſt. l. 12. c. 2. (3) And their word will eat as doth a canker, 2 *Tim.* 2. 17. (4) In the ſix and thirtieth year of the reign of Aſa, Baaſha king of Iſrael came up againſt Judah, and built Ramah, to the intent that he might let none go out or come in to Aſa king of Judah. 2 *Chron.* 16. 1. (5) And it came to paſs, when Baaſha heard it, that he left off building of Ramah, and let his work ceaſe, 2 *Chron.* 16. 5.

ceſſity,

ceſſity, and only for his own Defence, whereof the good Effect ſoon appeared; yet God was diſpleaſed that he put more confidence in the King of *Syria* than in him, and ſent *Hanani* the Prophet to repreſent his fault to him, and threaten him with Wars, as a Puniſhment (6); which accordingly happened. Whence it will be eaſie to gather, how much *France* has incurred the Divine Diſpleaſure, by the Alliances it has now engaged it ſelf in with thoſe of another Religion, to oppreſs the Houſe of *Auſtria*: Where is no room for the Pretence of Self-Preſervation in extreme Neceſſity, ſince without any Provocation or Reaſon, he has ſided with all its Adverſaries, and made War upon it, fomenting it out of their States, and enlarging theſe by the Uſurpation of foreign Provinces, and aſſiſting the Hereticks and their Allies with Counſel and Arms to conquer the Catholicks; no one, in the mean time, coming thence to the Treaty of Peace at *Cologne*, although the Pope, the Emperor, and King of *Spain*, had all ſent their Plenipotentiaries thither.

Nor is it unlawful only to make Leagues with Hereticks, but even to make uſe of their Forces. The Holy Scriptures give us an illuſtrious Inſtance of this, in the Perſon of King *Amaſiah*, who having hired an Army of the Sons of *Iſrael*, was commanded of God to diſmiſs it, and reproved, for not rather relying on him (7). And becauſe he preſently obeyed, without any regard to the Danger, or to the hundred Talents he had given them, God gave him a ſignal Victory over his Enemies. Confederacy with thoſe of a different Religion is lawful,

(6) Becauſe thou haſt relied on the king of Syria, and not relied on the Lord thy God, therefore is the hoſt of the king of Syria eſcaped out of thine hand, *&c.* Herein thou haſt done fooliſhly; therefore from henceforth thou ſhalt have wars, 2 *Chron.* 16. 7, 9.

(7) O king, let not the army of Iſrael go with thee: for the Lord is not with Iſrael, to wit, with all the children of Ephraim. But if thou wilt go, do it, be ſtrong for the battel: God ſhall make thee fall before the enemy: for God hath power to help, and to caſt down, 2 *Chron.* 25. 7, 8.

when

when its End is the Intermiſſion of War, and Liberty of Commerce; ſuch as that was which *Iſaac* made with *Abimelech* (8), and as now is between *Spain* and *England*.

When any Treaty is made with Hereticks, provided it interfere not with Religion or Good Manners, and be confirmed by Oath, the Publick Faith is by all means to be kept with them; for in the Oath, God is called to be a Witneſs to the Agreement, and, as it were, a Surety for the Performance of it, both Parties conſenting to make him Judge of it, to puniſh the Perjurer. And certainly it were a hainous Sin, to call him to witneſs to a Lye. Nations have no other Security of the Treaties they make, than the Religion of Oaths; which if they ſhould make uſe of to deceive, there would be an end of Commerce in the World, nor would it be poſſible for firm Truces or Peace to be ever concluded. But though there paſs no Oath, yet the Treaties ſhould nevertheleſs be obſerved: For from the Truth, Fidelity and Juſtice whereby they are maintained, there ariſes in them a mutual Obligation, and a Duty common to all Nations; and as it is not allowable to kill or hate a Man of a different Communion, ſo neither is it to cheat, or break a Promiſe to him. Hence *Joſhua* kept his Oath with the *Gibeonites* (9): A thing which was ſo pleaſing to God Almighty, that he vouchſafed in his favour to interrupt the Natural Order of the Orbs of Heaven, obeying the Voice of *Joſhua*, and ſtopping the Sun in the midſt of its Courſe, to give him Time to proſecute the ſlaughter of his Enemies, and acquit himſelf of his Obligation (10):

(8) We ſee certainly that the Lord is with thee: and we ſaid, Let there be now an oath betwixt us, even betwixt us and thee, and let us make a covenant with thee, That thou ſhalt do us no hurt, *Gen* 26. 28, 29. (9) We have ſworn unto them by the Lord God of Iſrael: now therefore we may not touch them, *Joſh.* 9. 19. (10) So the ſun ſtood ſtill in the midſt of heaven, and haſted not to go down about a whole day. And there was no day like that, before it, or after it, that the Lord hearkened unto the voice of man: for the Lord fought for Iſrael, *Joſh.* 10. 13, 14.

As,

As, on the contrary, he punished *David* with a Three Years Famine, for *Saul*'s breaking this very Treaty Three hundred Years after (11).

(11) Then there was a famine in the days of David, three years, year after year; and David enquired of the Lord. And the Lord answered, It is for Saul, and for his bloody house, because he slew the Gibeonites, 2 *Sam.* 21. 1.

EMBLEM XCIV.

THE *Sun*, when in *Libra*, distributes his Rays with so much Justice, that he makes the Days and Nights equal; not, however, without having a more particular regard to the Zones that are nearest and

and moſt ſubject to his Empire, to which he imparts a greater Force of Light, always preferring thoſe Climates and Parallels that are leaſt remote; and if any Country ſuffers the Intemperatures of Heat under the Torrid Zone, the fault is in its ill Situation, not in the *Sun*'s Rays, ſince they are at the ſame Time benign to other Parts of the ſame Zone. Now what the *Sun* does in the Equinoctial-Line, a Part of Heaven ſo conſiderable, that if the immenſe Being of God could be confined to any limited Place, it could be no other than that; the ſame Effect, I ſay, is produced here below, by that Pontifical Triple-Crown, which from *Rome*, as a Fixed Equinox, with its Divine Rays illuminates all the Parts of the World: This is the Sun of theſe inferior Orbs, in which was ſubſtituted the Power of the Light of that Eternal Sun of Righteouſneſs, that all Things Sacred might receive from it their true Form, ſo as never to be called in queſtion by the ſhadows of impious Opinions. There is no Country ſo near the Poles, but the Brightneſs of its Rays, in ſpite of the Froſts and Miſts of Ignorance, has reached it. This *Tiara*, or Triple-Crown, is the Touch-ſtone on which other Crowns are tried, and the Caracts of their Gold and Silver proved, in that, as in a Crucible, they are ſeparated from other baſe Metals; and it is by the *Tau* they are ſtampt with, that they are aſſured of their real Value. Hence *Ramius*, King of *Arragon*, and many others, voluntarily offered to become Feudataries to the Church, looking on it as an Honour and Happineſs for their Crowns to pay it Tribute. Thoſe that refuſe the Touch of this Apoſtolical Stone, are of Lead and Tin, and ſo ſoon wear out, and conſume, rarely paſſing to the Fifth Generation, (as we ſee by frequent Experience.) It was with the Reſpect and Obedience of Princes, that their Temporal Grandeur and Dignity, foretold by the Prophet *Iſaiah* (1),

(1) Then thou ſhalt ſee and flow together, and thine heart ſhall fear, and be enlarged, becauſe the abundance of the ſea ſhall be converted unto thee, the forces of the Gentiles ſhall come unto thee, *Iſai.* 60. 5.

was

was encreaſed; who afterwards armed the Spiritual Sword, ſo as to render it capable of being the Balance of the Kingdoms of Chriſtendom. And by the ſame means the Popes ſtill endeavour to ſupport their Power, procuring the Favour of Potentates by their Paternal Affection. Their Empire over Minds is a Voluntary one, impoſed by Reaſon, not Force: and if at any time this latter has been too immoderate, it has had quite contrary Effects; for Paſſion is blind, and eaſily runs headlong. The Papacy even unarmed, is ſtronger than the beſt appointed Armies. The Preſence of Pope *Leo* in his Pontifical Robes, ſtruck ſuch a Terrour into *Attila*, that it made him retreat, and lay aſide his Thoughts of Sacking of *Rome*; which had he attempted by Arms, he had never quelled the haughty Spirit of that *Barbarian*. The bare Whiſtle of the Shepherd, or a kind Menace of the Crook or Sling, do more than the hardeſt Stones. It is a Rebellious Sheep, that muſt be led by Rigour: For if the Piety of the Faithful has given Force to the Papal Dignity, that was rather for the Security of its Grandeur, than done with a deſign to let them uſe it, except when the Maintenance of Religion, and the Univerſal Benefit of the Church ſo required. When, contrary to this one Conſideration, the Mitre is turned into a Helmet, no more Reverence or Obedience is due to it, than if it were merely Temporal *: And if it will depend on Reaſons of State, it will be looked upon only as a Politick Prince's Crown, not as the Diadem of a Pope, whoſe Empire is ſupported by a Spiritual Authority. His Paſtoral Office is of Peace only, not War; his Croſier crooked, to guide, not pointed, to wound. The Sovereign Prieſt is the Sovereign Man, and therefore ſhould not, as other Men, be guilty of Envy, Hatred or Partiality, which are always Incentives of War (2). This even the very Pagans required in their Chief-

* The *Italian* is here guilty of partial Omiſſions and Additions.

(2) *Summum Pontificem etiam ſummum hominem eſſe, non æmulationi, non odio aut privatis affectionibus obnoxium*, Tac. Annal. lib. 3.

Prieſt.

Prieſt. The Splendour of his Vertues ſtrike the Mind more than the Sword does the Body, which is much leſs prevalent in compoſing the Differences of Princes than Love and Reſpect; for when Princes once ſee that his good Offices proceed from a true Paternal Love, free from Paſſions, Affections, and Politick Artifices, they willingly lay their Rights, and Arms, at his Feet. This ſeveral Popes have had Experience of, who avoiding Neutrality, have ſhewn themſelves the Common Fathers of the whole World. He who adheres to one alone, denies himſelf to all beſides; and he that is neither on this Side nor that Side, takes the Part of none. Whereas the High-Prieſts ſhould be for All, as their Garments, in the Old Law, gave us to underſtand, whoſe exquiſite Make repreſented the Globe of the Earth (3). 'Tis a piece of Cruelty to ſtand with Arms a-croſs at the ſight of other Mens Calamities. Should a Father ſtand ſtill while his Children quarrel, he would be deſervedly blamed for whatever miſchief they ſhould do one to another; he ought, ſometimes by Rigour, ſometimes by good Words, to part them, putting himſelf betwixt them, or, if need be, eſpouſing one's Cauſe, the better to reduce the other to Agreement. Thus if Princes refuſe to hearken to the Fatherly Admonition of His Holineſs, if they pay not the Reſpect due to his Authority, and there be no hopes of ever recovering them, it ſeems beſt to declare in favour of the moſt juſt Side, always having regard to the Publick Quiet, and the Advancement of Religion and the Church, to aſſiſt that, till the other be brought to its Duty: For he that approves the Cauſe of the one and the other, will be thought to co-operate with both.

* A whole Page is here omitted in the *French*.

* In *Italy*, more than in any other Part of the World, this Care of the Popes is neceſſary (4): For if once they ſo openly betray their Inclination to the *French*, that they may promiſe themſelves their Aid and Favour,

(3) For in the long garment was the whole world, *Wiſd.* 18. 24.
(4) Zurit. Hiſt. Arragon. l. 13. c. 12.

they

they will ſoon bring their Arms thither. This Conſideration prevailed on ſome Popes to ſhew themſelves more addicted to *Spain*, the better to keep *France* within Bounds; and if at any time, any one, induced by an appearance of Good, or through Partiality or Self-Intereſt, and a Forgetfulneſs of this Caution, has uſed Secular Arms, and called in the Aid of Foreigners, he has given occaſion to great Commotions in *Italy*; as Hiſtorians obſerve, in the Lives of (5) *Urban* IV. who ſent for *Charles*, Count of *Anjou* and *Provence*, to his Relief, againſt *Mainfroy*, King of both *Sicilies*: Of *Nicholas* III. who being jealous of the Power of King *Charles*, had recourſe to *Peter*, King of *Arragon*: Of *Nicholas* IV. who enter'd into a League with *Alphonſus* of *Arragon*, againſt King *James*: Of *Boniface* VIII. who appealed to *James*, King of *Arragon*, and called in the Aſſiſtance of *Charles* of *Valois*, Count of *Anjou*, againſt *Frederick*, King of *Sicily*: Of *Eugenius* IV. who ſided with the Faction of *Anjou*, againſt *Alphonſus*, King of *Naples*: Of *Clement* V. who ſought the Aid of *Philip* of *Valois*, againſt the Viſcounts of *Milan*: Of *Leo* X. and *Clement* VII. who made a League with *Francis*, King of *France*, againſt *Charles* V. to throw the *Spaniards* out of *Italy*. This Inconveniency proceeds from the Weight of the Apoſtolick See, it being ſo great, that the Scale wherein 'tis put muſt neceſſarily fall very much. It is probable that ſome Appearance of Good moved thoſe Popes to do thus; but certainly, in ſome of them, the Effect was far from anſwering their Intention.

But as it is the Duty of the Popes to endeavour to maintain Princes in Peace and Tranquility; ſo ought theſe, out of Intereſt (were there no Divine Obligation for it, as there really is) to have continually their Eyes, like the Heliotrope, upon that Sun of the Pope's Triple-Crown, which always ſhines, and never ſets, and to be obedient to, and protect it. Hence *Alphonſus* V. King of *Arragon*, upon his Death-bed, charged his Son

(5) Mar. Hiſt. Hiſp.

Ferdinand,

Ferdinand, King of *Naples*, to eſteem nothing beyond the Authority of the Apoſtolick See, and the Favour of the Popes; and to take care not to diſguſt them, whatever Reaſon he had on his ſide (6). Impious or Imprudent Princes think it a piece of Bravery to carry themſelves haughtily towards the Popes: but ſuch an Humility is ſo far from being a Weakneſs, that 'tis a Religious Act; 'tis no Diſhonour, but a Glory. The moſt ſubmiſſive Deferences paid them by the greateſt Princes, are but a pious Magnanimity, that teaches Subjects what Reſpect is to be paid to all that is Sacred; they beget not any Infamy, but rather an Univerſal Applauſe. No one condemned the Emperor *Conſtantine*, for taking a low Seat in a Council of Biſhops (7); nor King *Egica*, for proſtrating himſelf upon the Ground, in another held at *Toledo* (8). No one ever ſucceeds in oppoſing the Popes; thoſe are Quarrels that never have a good end? And who can ſeparate the Intereſt of the Temporal Prince from that of the Head of the Church? Injury and Authority are ſo joined, that the greater that is, the more it derogates from this. The Pontifical Dignity, when armed with both the Temporal and Spiritual Sword, withſtands the greateſt Power. It meets with an unſhaken Obedience in Foreign Kingdoms; and if it once goes to make War upon them, the People's Piety grows cold, and from fighting with Arms, they come to that of Books; Allegiance totters; and Religion being confounded, changes of Government enſue, and the overthrow of Kingdoms, whoſe only Bottom is the Reverence and Reſpect of the Prieſthood (9), which made ſome Nations unite it to the Regal Dignity. Princes ought therefore to carry themſelves with ſo much Prudence, as to decline, as much as poſſible, giving any Occaſion of Diſtaſte to the Popes; which they will do, if they pay a due Reſpect to the Apoſtolick See, maintaining its Privileges, Rights, and

(6) Zurit. Ann. de Arrag. (7) Euſeb. in Vit. Conſt. (8) Chron. Reg. Goth. (9) *Honor Sacerdotii firmamentum potentiæ aſſumebatur*, Tac. Hiſt. l. 5.

Immunities

Immunities inviolable, and aſſerting their own with Courage and Reſolution, when they interfere not with them, without admitting any Innovations prejudicial to their own States, and which tend not to the Spiritual Good of their Subjects. When *Charles* V. went into *Italy* to be Crown'd, the Pope's Legates would oblige him to take an Oath to preſerve the Rights of the Church. To which he anſwer'd, *That as he would not alter them, ſo neither would he, on the other ſide, do any thing againſt the Conſtitutions of the Empire:* Which he ſaid, upon the account of the Fiefs which the Church pretended on *Parma* and *Placentia*. * King *Ferdinand the Catholick* was ſo exact in this, that one may, in a manner, ſay he fell into Exceſs; judging it not fit to tranſgreſs the Limits of Rights and Privileges the leaſt in the World; becauſe when the Foot is once fixed, it preſently defends the Place it ſtands on, as a Poſſeſſion; and inſenſibly goes farther, when, by briskly oppoſing its firſt ſteps, much greater Loſſes might be avoided. *John*, King of *Arragon*, refuſed to ratifie the Grant of the Archbiſhoprick of *Saragoſſa*, made by Pope *Sixtus* IV. to Cardinal *Auſias Dezpuch*, becauſe he did not Nominate him, as was then the Cuſtom; but cauſing the Cardinal's Goods and Revenues to be ſeized, and miſuſing his Relations, forced him to quit the Pontificate, which he afterwards conferred upon his Nephew *Alphonſus* (10). Such another Diſpute, a little after, aroſe upon the Subject of the Church of *Tarraſſona*; which a certain Temporal Judge having been made Biſhop of, he ordered him to leave it inſtantly, threatning, if he did not, to drive him, and all that belong'd to him, out of his Kingdom. The ſame did his Son *Ferdinand*, in in the Biſhoprick of *Cuenca*, to which Pope *Sixtus* had collated *Raphael Galeot*, a Relation of his own (11): For the King, incens'd that it ſhould be given to a Foreigner,

* A Page and an half is here omitted in the *Italian*.

(10) Zur. Hiſt. Arrag Mar. Hiſt. Hiſp. l. 24. c. 16. (11) Anton. Neb. Hiſt. Hiſp.

and without his Nomination, enjoined all the *Spaniards* to leave *Rome*, proteſting he would call a Council upon that and ſome other Matters; and when the Pope afterwards ſent his Nuncio into *Spain*, he bid him return, complaining that His Holineſs did not uſe him as ſuch an obedient Son of the Church deſerved, and wondred that the Embaſſador ſhould undertake ſuch a Commiſſion: But he humbly making anſwer, That he would renounce the Privileges of an Embaſſador, and ſubmit wholly to His Majeſty's Pleaſure; by this, and the good Offices of the Cardinal of *Spain*, he was admitted, and all the Differences adjuſted. But unleſs, for Self-Preſervation, or otherwiſe, the Caſe be extremely dangerous, recourſe ſhould not be had to theſe Methods; and it is befitting the Paternal Affection of the Popes, not to give Occaſion to them, behaving themſelves ſo Courteous always, ſo as thereby to maintain a good Correſpondence with Princes: For although they have in their Hand, as was ſaid, the two Swords of Spiritual and Temporal Authority, yet this ought to execute nothing but by the Arms of Emperors and Kings, as Protectors and Defenders of the Church: Which makes it (as *Alphonſus the Wiſe* ſays*) of ſo much concernment for thoſe two Powers always to agree, ſo that each may help the other, when Occaſion requires. I doubt not but all thoſe whom God hath placed in this High Station, have this Care deeply rooted in their Hearts; but yet it is often-times perplexed by the Courtiers of *Rome*, whoſe only buſineſs is to ſow Diſcords; as alſo by the Ambition of ſome Miniſters, who think to wind themſelves into the Favour of the Popes, and to procure the beſt Preferments by their Independency on Princes, and by the Averſion they bear them, always inventing Pretences to reject their Petitions, and taking all occaſions of Affronting their Embaſſadors; and who, to appear Stout, ſuggeſt violent Counſels, under colour of Religion and Zeal: all which ruine the good Underſtanding of the Popes and Temporal

* In Proem. p. 2.

Princes,

Princes, to the great prejudice of the Chriſtian Commonwealth, and chills the Veins of Piety, for want of Love, the Artery that cheriſhes them, and maintains their warmth.

EMBLEM XCV.

95

THE Iſthmus maintains it ſelf between the Force and Power of two contrary Seas, as their common Arbiter, not enclining more to this than that: Hence, what one takes from it, the other reſtores again; and by the conflict of both, it is preſerved entire; for if the Waves of either ſhould once ſwell and overflow the whole Tract of Ground, they would ſpoil

its Juriſdiction, and it would be no longer an Iſthmus. This Neutrality betwixt two great Powers ſupported, for a long time, *Peter Ruiz d'Azagra* in his Government of *Albarracin*, ſituate on the Frontiers of *Caſtile* and *Arragon* (1); for each of theſe Kings took care not to let it be oppreſs'd by the other, and thoſe Emulations kept the Freedom of that little State untouch'd. By this the Dukes of *Savoy* may ſee how much it is their Intereſt to ſtand Neuter between the two Crowns of *France* and *Spain*, and to keep in their Hands the free Diſpoſal of the Paſſes into *Italy* by the *Alps*, as a thing whereon their Grandeur, their Conſervation, and the Neceſſity of their Friendſhip, entirely depends; it highly concerning each of theſe Crowns not to let them be ſubdued by the other. Hence the *Spaniards* have ſo often marched to the Aid of *Charles Emanuel*, and recovered ſuch Places as the *French* had taken from him. I know only one Caſe wherein it is better that theſe Princes break this Neutrality, and ſide with one of the two Crowns, and that is, when the other attempts the Conqueſt of their Dominions, particularly that of *France*: For if once the *French* ſhould drive the *Spaniards* out of *Italy*, they would become ſo powerful (conſidering they have already extended their Dominions from the very utmoſt Limits of the Ocean, as far as the *Mediterranean*, through *Calabria*) that over-running the States of *Savoy* and *Piedmont*, they muſt of neceſſity either unite them to the Crown of *France*, or burthen them with an intolerable Slavery, which the whole Body of *Italy* would ſoon feel the Effects of, without hopes of redeeming their Liberty again; and for *Spain* ever to retrieve their Loſſes, or balance their Forces, would be extremely difficult, conſidering the vaſt diſtance between them too. This Danger the Republick of *Venice*, with a great deal of Prudence, weighed, when ſeeing *Charles* the Eighth's Power encreaſe in *Italy*, they ſtruck up that which was called *the Holy League*. From that time, one may ſay,

(1) Mar. Hiſt. Hiſp. l. 11. c. 16.

Divine

Divine Providence began to contrive the Security and Preſervation of the Apoſtolick Chair, and of Religion, and to prevent its falling under the Tyranny of the Turk, or being infected with the Hereſies, then taking root in *Germany*; advanced the Greatneſs of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, and eſtabliſh'd the *Spaniſh* Monarchy in the States of *Naples*, *Sicily*, and *Milan*, that *Italy* might have a Catholick Prince to defend it on all ſides: And to reſtrain the Power of *Spain*, and make it content with the Rights of Succeſſion, Fiefs, and Arms, it raiſed it a Rival in the Perſon of the King of *France*, to lay its Kings under a neceſſity for their Preſervation of gaining the Love and Good-will of their Subjects, and the Eſteem of other Princes, by maintaining Juſtice among them, with theſe Peace, without giving the leaſt Occaſion to War, which always hazards the Rights and Deſigns of the moſt Powerful.

This Advantage which *Italy* reaps from the Power of *Spain*, is, by ſome, unjuſtly traduced as a Yoke of Slavery; when, on the contrary, it is the only Inſtrument of its Repoſe, of its Liberty and Religion: The Miſtake proceeds from their not well knowing the Importance of this Counterpoiſe. A Perſon, ignorant in Navigation, ſeeing the Bottom of a Ship filled with Sand and Stones, thinks it carries the Cauſe of its Wreck in this Weight: whereas they who are acquainted with Sea-Affairs, know, that without this Ballaſt, the Lightneſs of the Ship could never ſubſiſt long againſt the Agitation of the Waves. *Nicephorus*, ſpeaking of this *Æquilibrium* between two Crowns, looks on it as a Common Advantage to the Subjects of both Kingdoms, when he ſays, "That "he could not enough admire the inſcrutable Wiſdom "of God, who makes two directly oppoſite Means tend "to the ſame End; as when he would keep two Powers "at variance, without however ſubjecting the one to "the other, he either gives to both Commanders, "whoſe Capacity and Courage diſcover the Artifices, "and oppoſe the Attempts of the adverſe Party, which "makes for the Liberty of the Subjects of both Sides;

" or elſe ſets over them Men ſo ſenſeleſs and cowardly, " that they undertake nothing conſiderable one againſt " another, but leave the Limits of the Kingdom as they " found them (2). For the ſame ends, Divine Providence has parted the Forces of the *French* and *Spaniſh* Kings, by interpoſing the high Walls of the *Alps*, leſt Propinquity of Territories, or Eaſineſs of Paſſage, ſhould be a Temptation to War, and favour the *French* moſt, if that Nation ſhould have theſe Doors ſo often open. It has ſtill, for greater Security, given the Keys of them to the Duke of *Savoy*, an *Italian* Prince, who having his States between thoſe two Kingdoms, can lock or leave them open, according as the Publick Good requires. This Divine Diſpoſition Pope *Clement* VIII. was ſenſible of, and with ſingular Prudence procured the State of *Saluzzes* to fall into the Duke of *Savoy*'s Hands. * This was a very ancient State-Maxim; on which *Alphonſus*, King of *Naples*, grounded his Advice to the Duke of *Milan*, not to deliver up *Aſti* to *Lewis* the Dauphin: *For* (ſaid he) *it is not for the good of* Italy, *that the* French *ſtrive to get footing there, but to bring it under their Subjection, as was attempted in the* Genoeſe *Expedition.* That *Italian* Prince penetrated not the force of this Counſel, who adviſed the preſent *French* King, by making himſelf Maſter of *Pignerol*, to get firm footing on the *Alps*; deceived probably (unleſs it were Malice) by the appearing Conveniency of having the *French* ready againſt any Attacks of the *Spaniards*; not conſidering, that by the fear of a future War, which might perhaps never have really happen'd, a preſent and moſt certain one is kindled, upon the admiſſion of

* Here is a Page and an half omitted in the *French*.

(2) *Mirari mihi ſubit imperveſtigabilem Dei ſapientiam, qui planè contraria uno fine concluſit. Nam cum duas adverſarias poteſtates inter ſe committere ſtatuit, nec alteram alteri ſubjicere, aut in eam & virtute præſtantes utrinque parti moderatores præficit, ut alter alterius conſilia & conatus vertat, & utrinque ſubditorum libertati conſulatur, aut utroſque habenas & imbelles deligit, ut neuter alterum tentare, & ſepta (quod aiunt) tranſilire audeat, veteresque regnorum limites convellere.* Niceph.

the

the *French* into *Italy*; it being impoſſible for Peace to be preſerved in any one Province betwixt two Nations ſo oppoſite and diſagreeing: Nor were *Italy* like to reap any other Benefit from it than this, That it would nouriſh a Serpent in its Boſom, whoſe poiſonous Sting would certainly afterwards envenom it. Beſides that the *French*, even when within their own Limits, on the other ſide of the *Alps*, are always near enough to march into *Italy*, when called, nor is it neceſſary that they be ſo near as to have the Paſſage at their Command. Beſides, were the *French* ſo modeſt, ſo void of Ambition, as to confine themſelves there, and not move but when called upon; yet who doubts but upon ſuch an Occaſion they would widely tranſgreſs the Bounds of Protection; as *Lewis Sforza*, *Caſtruchio Caſtrocani*, and ſeveral others, have actually experienc'd, who ſought their Aid with no other Advantage, than that the ſame befell them (as it does ſome at this day) which *Tacitus* relates to have happened to the *Frecentini*, who, while they agreed among themſelves, valued not the *Parthians*; but upon their falling into Diſſentions, while each called in Aid againſt his Rival, the Perſon invited by one Party conquered both (3). Now if that Power might be brought into *Pignerol*, ſo as to be wholly at the Diſpoſal of *Italy*, either to call it in, or ſend it out of its Territories, as Occaſion ſhould require, there had then been ſome Reaſon in the Policy, ſome colour of Zeal for the Publick Good, in this Counſel: But now, in a time the moſt improper in the World, to place it within the very Gates of *Italy*, to enter them upon every Motion of Ambition or Levity, and that Fear of it might keep the *Spaniards* continually upon their Guard, and Occaſion be given to other Princes to take up Arms, and a Storm of Wars be raiſed never to be calmed, was ſo far from being good Counſel, that it was the rankeſt Treaſon,

(3) *Quoties concordes agunt, ſpernitur Parthus; ubi diſſenſere, dum ſibi quiſque contra æmulos ſubſidium vocant, accitus in partem adverſum omnes valeſcit.* Tac. Annal. l. 6.

being, in plain terms, no other than expoſing it to the Power of *France*, and wreſting that out of the *Italian* Prince's Hand, which he had over the *Alps*, for the Common Good of All.

In the other Potentates of *Italy*, which are not ſituate between thoſe two Crowns, this Reaſon of Neutrality has not the ſame force; for when once War is brought into *Italy*, they cannot but fall a Prey to the Conqueror, without having obliged either Party; as the Conſul *Quinctius* ſaid to the *Ætolians*, to perſuade them to declare for the *Romans*, in the War againſt *Antiochus*; and as the *Florentines* found, when refuſing to join with the King of *Arragon*, they ſtood Neuter; thereby loſing the Favour of the *French* King, without appeaſing the Anger of the Pope (4). *Neutrality neither makes Friends, nor removes Enemies* (5). Hence *Alphonſus*, King of *Naples*, ſaid of the *Sienois*, who thinking to ſave themſelves by Neutrality, were ruin'd, "That the ſame happened to "them, which uſually does to one who lodges in the "middle of an Houſe, whom they below fill with Smoke, "thoſe above pour Water down upon him." What did not the *Thebans* ſuffer, by being Neutral, when *Xerxes* invaded *Greece*? While *Lewis* XI. of *France* continued ſo, he never had Peace with any Prince (6).

* Let not the Prince be deceived, in imagining this Neutrality to be the beſt means to balance the Forces of *Spain* and *France*; for certainly there ought to be ſome Declaration in behalf of the former, not that it may enlarge its Territories, or make an Inrode into *France*, but that it may maintain what it is already poſſeſſed of, and the *French* be kept within their Kingdom, and not by any Neutrality or Affection be invited out. And this is ſo certain, that the very Declaration of Favour, without any other Publick De-

* This whole Paragraph is omitted in the *French*.

(4) *Quippe ſine dignitate præmium victoris eritis.* Liv. l. 35. (5) *Neutralitas neque amicos parit, neque inimicos tollit.* Polyb. (6) Phil. de Comin.

monſtra-

monſtrations, poiſes theſe Scales, and is a ſufficient Argument of War. *Italy* can never bear two Factions that ſtrive to raiſe their Fortunes by the Contention of both Crowns within its Bowels. This *Charles* V. was ſenſible of, when, to reſtore Peace to *Italy*, he deſtroyed them, and new-modelled the Republick of *Florence*, which at that Time encouraged them; for one of the two Balances of *France* or *Spain*, never ſo little over-loaded, turned the Scale of Peace, which conſiſts in keeping them even. Upon the knowledge of this Truth, all prudent Princes and Commonwealths have ſhewed themſelves more addicted to *Spain*, to add ſome Weight to it; and that by ſetling a more perfect *Æquilibrium*, they, with their States, might enjoy a happy Tranquility; and if at any time any one has diſordered it, by eſpouſing the contrary Party, he has been the Occaſion of great Troubles, and promoted the Ruine of *Italy*.

Glory, that conſtant attendant of Ambition, prompts ſome *Italians* to think it would be more advantageous for them to unite againſt both Crowns, and have no other Maſters but themſelves, either by dividing themſelves into Republicks, or ſetting up one Head. Thoughts more for Talk, than Effect, conſidering the preſent Condition of *Italy*; for either this Sovereign muſt be the Pope, or ſome other. If the Pope, there want not very many plauſible Reaſons to ſhew the impoſſibility of maintaining a Spiritual Monarchy changed into a Temporal one under an Elective Prince (eſpecially if he be of a declining Age, as generally all the Popes are) verſed only in Arts of Peace, and Eccleſiaſtical Tranquility, wholly employed in Spiritual Affairs, and ſurrounded with Nephews and Relations, who, ſhould they not require to ſecure to themſelves the Succeſſion of their States, will be ſure to ſhare them by Inveſtitures. Beſides, it being the Intereſt of Chriſtendom, that the Popes be the Common Fathers of all its Members, and not have any Differences with other Princes, they will hereby be engaged in perpetual Quarrels with thoſe two Crowns; which, on account of the Claims each lay to the

the Dutchy of *Milan*, and the Kingdoms of *Naples* and *Sicily*, will ſoon fall upon the Apoſtolick See, whether joined by ſome Compact to divide the Conqueſts of theſe States, or ſeparately, one breaking into *Italy* through the *Milaneſe*, the other through *Naples*, with the Danger too of one of them calling in the Aid of the *Germans*, or the *Turk*, who would afterwards fix in *Italy*.

But ſuppoſe any Perſon were created King of all *Italy*, yet ſtill the ſame Inconveniencies would remain; nay, another much greater would ariſe from hence; that to form a Monarchy, this King muſt neceſſarily make other Princes ſubject to him, and ſtrip the Pope of his Empire: For ſhould he leave them in the ſame Condition they are at preſent, (though it were under ſome acknowledgment of Homage, or in Alliance) he could never ſupport himſelf; beſides that thus *Italy* would loſe that Spiritual Empire, which renders it no leſs Illuſtrious than heretofore the *Roman* did, and being deprived of its Liberty, would be brought to a kind of Tyrannical Confuſion.

There is yet leſs probability of *Italy*'s continuing in Peace, under ſeveral Native Princes, for they can never agree ſo uniformly as to unite againſt the two Crowns, but will rather ruine one another by Inteſtine Wars, as it happened in former Ages; the *Italian* Nation being of ſo lofty a Genius, that it ſcorns a *Medium*; either it muſt abſolutely Govern or Obey.

From all which, it appears, how neceſſary ſome Foreign Power is to *Italy*, which, oppoſed to all others, neither ſuffers Wars between its Princes, nor allows them to make uſe of Foreign Arms; which is the reaſon, that ſince it was united with the Crown of *Spain*, it has always enjoy'd a perfect and continual Peace.

The Advantage therefore that attends that neceſſity of joining it ſelf to one of the two Crowns, may prevail upon the *Italian* Nation to conform to the preſent State, eſpecially ſince if there ſhould happen any Alteration in *Milan*, *Naples* and *Sicily*, it could not but give a great Diſturbance

Diſturbance to other Governments: For no New Forms are introduced without the corruption of others; and ſeeing one of the two Nations muſt be incorporated with *Italy*, the *Spaniſh* has moſt Reaſon for it, they lying both under the ſame Climate, which renders them more alike in Firmneſs of Religion, Obſervance of Juſtice, Gravity of Actions, Fidelity to their Princes, Conſtancy in their Promiſes and Publick Faith, in Moderation of Mind, and, briefly, in all other Cuſtoms and Manners; and beſides, becauſe the King of *Spain* governs not in *Italy* as a Stranger, but as an *Italian* Prince, who aims at nothing more there, than to maintain what he juſtly poſſeſſes, ſince he can, with much more Advantage to his States, extend his Monarchy over the vaſt Countries of *Africa*. This Maxim *Ferdinand the Catholick* left to his Succeſſors, in generouſly refuſing the Offer of the Title of Emperor of *Italy*, ſaying, *That he deſired nothing but what of Right belonged to him, and that it was not his deſign to diſmember the Imperial Dignity.* This Truth is ſufficiently atteſted by the Reſtitutions the King of *Spain* has made of ſeveral Places, without making uſe of any Law of Arms, or demanding Satisfaction for Charges and Damage, or taking up Arms but upon neceſſity, either for his own defence, or that of another, as the Dukes of *Mantua* have experienc'd; and if he has at any time made War upon the Duke of *Nevers*, it was not, as Malice would inſinuate, to make himſelf Maſter of *Caſal*, but to put it in the Power of the Emperor to do Juſtice to thoſe who laid Pretenſions to theſe States. For the Duke of *Nevers* having implored, by the Marqueſs of *Mirebeau*, His Majeſty's Protection and Conſent to the Marriage of his Son, the Duke of *Retel*, with the Princeſs *Mary*, obtained both: But after the Concluſion of this Matter, Advice was brought to *Madrid*, That by the under-hand Practices of Count *d'Eſtrige*, the Wedding was already celebrated, *Vincent*, Duke of *Mantua*, being at the point of Death, without the King's knowledge, directly againſt the Agreement between him and the Duke; which was the reaſon that this Novelty, which appeared

appeared to ſome a kind of Slight and Diſtruſt, deferred firſt the execution of the Protection, and gave afterwards place to freſh Deliberations; wherein it was reſolved, That without any Notice taken of all this, the Favour promiſed, ſhould remain in full force, and One be ſent to give the Married Couple Joy. But as Divine Providence had determined the Deſtruction of the City and Houſe of *Mantua*, for the Vices of its Princes, and their Violation of ſo many Marriages, it directed all Events to that end; and accordingly, for this Reaſon, while theſe Things paſſed in *Spain*, Cardinal *Richlieu*, a ſworn Enemy to the Duke of *Nevers*, brought it about, that the Duke of *Savoy*, aſſiſted by his Maſter, denounced War againſt him, to get what he laid claim to in *Montferrat*. But the Duke ſmelling this to be nothing but a Pretence, under which to bring the *French* Arms into *Italy*, and by the Ruine of both Dukes, to encreaſe the Grandeur of *France*, diſcover'd the whole Intrigue to *Gonſalvo* of *Cordoua*, Governor of *Milan*, promiſing to deſert the *French*, if he would aſſiſt him. *Gonſalvo* deſired Time to conſider, and ſend Advice of it into *Spain*; and ſeeing the Duke make ſome difficulty to grant it, and that if he did not ſuccour him, the Doors of the *Alps* would be open to the *French*, he, of his own head, agreed with the Duke, hoping to make himſelf Maſter of *Caſal*, by the means of *Eſpadin*, whereby (as himſelf wrote to His Majeſty) the Emperor might with much more eaſe determine the Controverſies on foot in *Montferrat* and *Mantua*: a Reſolution which obliged His Majeſty to ſuſpend a ſecond time the execution of the Protection promiſed, though contrary to his Deſign of procuring the Peace of *Italy*; nevertheleſs, to maintain that, and cut off all Occaſion of Jealouſie, he gave Order to *Gonſalvo* of *Cordoua*, That if, as was ſuppoſed, he was already poſſeſſed of *Caſal*, he ſhould keep it in the Name of the Emperor, the true Maſter of it, at the ſame time diſpatching Letters to him to that effect, to convey, in that caſe, to His Imperial Majeſty. But the Treaty with *Eſpadin* not ſucceeding,

ceeding, *Gonſalvo*, without any Order from His Majeſty, inveſted *Caſal*; which was the Occaſion of the King of *France*'s Journey to *Suſa*, and of *Spain*'s being unexpectedly engaged in the War, after having publickly proteſted that thoſe Forces were only Auxiliaries to the Emperor, to the end the Rights of the Pretenders upon *Montferrat* and *Mantua* might be decided by way of Juſtice; nor would *Gonſalvo* accept of the Term offered him by the Duke of *Nevers*, of raſing *Caſal*, leſt any ſhould think His Majeſty engaged in theſe Commotions more out of private Intereſt, than for the ſake of the Publick Quiet. This is the very Truth of the Matter, which ſo many have unjuſtly exclaim'd againſt, ſo few really known.

Let the Prince therefore and Republick of *Italy* lay aſide the empty Shadows of Jealouſies, aſſuring themſelves that *Spain* aims at nothing more than to keep up its Grandeur amongſt them, not to encreaſe it; and let them give place to this true piece of Policy, if they deſire the Peace of *Italy*: for theſe imaginary Emulations tend to no other end, but to promote its Diſquiet; there being no War but what proceeds either from the Ambition of a powerful Monarch, or the Apprehenſions of an inferiour Prince.

EMBLEM

EMBLEM XCVI.

VIctory in juſt Wars, aims at no other end but Peace: Hence that is the moſt Glorious, which is obtained with leaſt Damage, and more by Stratagem than Force, which was leaſt covered with Duſt and Blood; which *Horace* calls,

——— *Dulcis ſine pulvere palma*: *

"Lawrels with Eaſe obtain'd, ſmell always ſweet."

The *Romans*, for bloody Victories, ſacrificed a Cock; and an Oxe, for thoſe got by Stratagem. If by Wit and

* Horat.

Under-

Underſtanding we are like God, but have Force in common with Brutes, undoubtedly there is more Glory in conquering with the former than the latter. *Tiberius* was better pleas'd in having quieted the Empire by Prudence, than if he had done it by the Sword (1): And *Agricola* looked on it as Glorious to vanquiſh the *Britains* without the loſs of *Roman* Blood (2). If Victory propoſes the Preſervation and Encreaſe of the Commonwealth, it will ſucceed much better by Policy or Negotiation, than by Arms. The Life of one Citizen is of more account than the Death of many Enemies. Whence *Scipio* the *African* uſed to ſay, *That he had rather ſave one Citizen, than conquer a thouſand Enemies:* A Sentence which afterwards the Emperor *Marcus Antoninus Pius* took for his Device. For to conquer an Enemy is the Work of a General; to ſave a Citizen, that of a Patriot. *Vitellius* conſidered not this, when having defended *Otho*, he ſaid, in paſſing among the dead Bodies, *The ſmell of dead Enemies is ſweet, but that of Citizens yet ſweeter.* A barbarous Saying, unworthy even of a Vulture. A quite different Compaſſion was ſeen in *Himilcon*, who having obtained conſiderable Victories in *Sicily*, becauſe he had loſt moſt of his Men by Sickneſſes which ſeized the Army in their Camp, entered *Carthage*, not in Triumph, but in Mourning, and the Habit of a Slave, and going ſtrait to his Quarters, killed himſelf, without ſpeaking a word to any. Cruel Victory ſeems to be more the Heat of Revenge, than Effect of Courage; it has more of Fierceneſs than Reaſon in it. When *Lewis* XII. King of *France*, received News, that his Army had gotten the better in the Battel of *Ravenna*, though with the loſs of all his Officers, and the beſt part of his Soldiers; *Would to God* (ſaid he, ſighing) *I had loſt the Day, and my brave Captains were now alive! May ſuch Victories as theſe be for my Enemies, wherein the Conquered is Conqueror, and the Victor vanquiſhed.* For this Reaſon,

(1) *Latine Tiberio, quia pacem ſapientiâ firmaverat, quam ſi bellum per acies confeciſſet,* Tac. Annal. l. 2. (2) *Ingens victoriæ decus citra Romanum ſanguinem bellantis,* Id. in Vit. Agric.

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the moſt prudent Commanders decline Engagements and Attacks as much as poſſible; and value themſelves more upon obliging the Enemy to yield, than upon ſubduing him by Force (3). The *Great Captain* received *Gajeta* by Surrender: and ſome thinking he had better, ſince he was now Maſter of the Field, have ſtormed it, and taken the Officers, with the Garriſon, Priſoners, to prevent any miſchief they might do, if let go; he anſwered, *It would have coſt more in Powder and Ball than the Danger would have been worth.* It is a generous Valour that brings the Enemy to a Surrender without Bloodſhed, and a happy War that is ended by Mercy and Pardon (4). Valour is for the Enemy, but Mercy for the Captive (5). This Generoſity of Mind is very rare now-a-days, when War is undertaken more to ſatisfie Paſſion, than to exert Valour, more for Devaſtation than Conqueſt. It is called *Peace*, to reduce Cities into Aſhes, and Countries into Deſarts (6), to lay waſte and burn up Fields, as we ſee in *Germany* and *Burgundy*. What a barbarous Cruelty, how inconſiſtent with Humane Reaſon is it thus to wage War with Nature her ſelf, and take from her thoſe Means wherewith ſhe nouriſhes and ſupports us? The Holy Scriptures forbid even the Trees that grow near beſieged Cities to be cut down, becauſe they are Wood, not Men, and ſo cannot encreaſe the Enemy's Number (7). To that degree does God abhorr Blood ſpilt in War, that though he had made his People take up Arms againſt the *Midianites*, yet he afterwards enjoined, That whoſoever had killed any Perſon, or touched any Slain, ſhould purifie himſelf

(3) *Dare in diſcrimen legiones haud imperatorium ratus*, Tac. Annal. lib. 2. (4) *Bellorum egregios fines, quoties ignoſcendo tranſigatur*, Tac. Annal. l. 12. (5) *Quanta pervicacia in hoſtem tanta beneficentia adverſus ſupplices utendum*, Id ibid. (6) *Ubi ſolitudinem faciunt pacem appellant*, Tac. in Vit. Agric. (7) When thou ſhalt beſiege a city a long time, in making war againſt it to take it, thou ſhalt not deſtroy the trees thereof, by forcing an axe againſt them: for thou mayeſt eat of them, and thou ſhalt not cut them down (for the tree of the field is man's life) to employ them in the ſiege, *Deut.* 20. 19.

ſeven

ſeven Days out of the Camp (8). *Æneas* thought it a Crime to touch Things Sacred before he had waſhed his Hands in ſome living Stream:

> *Attrectare nefas, donec me flumine vivo*
> *Abluero.* *

God, as he is equally the Author of Peace and Life, hates thoſe who diſturb that, or cut the thread of this: even to Weapons, as the Inſtruments of Death, he has declared his averſion; for hence, I conceive, he commanded his Altars to be built of rough, unpoliſh'd Stone, which no Iron had touched; ſuch as that was which the People of *Iſrael* raiſed, after they had paſſed the River *Jordan* (9); and that of *Joſhua*, after his Victory over the Men of *Ai* (10). The Reaſon of this, is, that Iron is the Matter of War, whereof Swords are made: nor would he ſuffer the uſe of it in the purity and peaceableneſs of his Sacrifices, as that other Precept ſeems to intimate (11).

But ambition of Glory ſeldom gives place to theſe Conſiderations, imagining there can be no Reputation got, where Valour is not exerciſed, and Blood ſpilt; and thence it is that ſome care not to make uſe of Auxiliaries, or admit of Companions in Victory. King *Alphonſus* III. loſt the Battel of *Arc*, only becauſe he would not ſtay for the coming up of the Forces of *Leon* and *Navarr*; and *Tilly*, that of *Leipſick*, by not waiting for the Imperial Forces. In which thing Ambition is much in the wrong; the Glory of Victories con-

(8) And do ye abide without the camp ſeven days: whoſoever hath killed any perſon, and whoſoever hath touched any ſlain, purifie both your ſelves and your captives, on the third day, and on the ſeventh day, *Numb.* 31. 19. * Virgil. (9) And there ſhalt thou build an altar unto the Lord thy God, an altar of ſtone: thou ſhalt not lift up any iron tool upon them, *Deut.* 27. 5. (10) Then Joſhua built an altar, &c. an altar of whole ſtones, over which no man had lift up an iron, *Joſh.* 8. 30, 31. (11) If thou wilt make me an altar of ſtone, thou ſhalt not build it of hewn ſtone: for if thou lift up the tool upon it, thou haſt polluted it, *Exod.* 20. 25.

ſiſting not ſo much in any degree of Courage, as in having known how to make good uſe of ſafe Counſels; foraſmuch as the one depends on Chance, the other on Prudence. He obtains the Victory ſoon enough, who has with Judgment ſo provided that he ſhould not be overcome. Ambition burns; and Reaſon, once diſturbed, follows its Natural Force and Tendency, and deſtroys it ſelf. States are never more beholding to their Prince, than when undervaluing Trophies and Triumphs, he ſtrives to maintain Peace by Negotiation, and purchaſes Victory with Money; for it is much cheaper buying for that than Blood, and generally ſafer fighting with Golden than Iron Weapons.

The variety of paſt Accidents is apt to make Victory forget it ſelf; Glory, to make it vaniſh; Joy, to diſorder; Spoils, to puff it up; Acclamations, to make it over-confident; and Bloodſhed prompts it to deſpiſe the Enemy, and ſleep ſecure, when it ſhould be moſt vigilant, and ſhew greater Fortune in ſubduing it ſelf, than it met with in conquering the Enemy: for this latter may poſſibly be more an effect of Fortune than Courage; but in the Triumph over our Affections and Paſſions, Chance has no part. The General therefore would do well, immediately after a Victory, to retire into himſelf, and with Prudence and Conſtancy compoſe the Civil War of his Paſſions; foraſmuch as without this Triumph, that other will but be more dangerous. Let him watch his Spoils and Trophies the more carefully, the more of them he has gotten; for in Danger, Fear doubles Guards and Sentinels, when he who thinks himſelf out of it, abandons himſelf to Sleep. *Joſhua* drew not back his Hand, till he had utterly deſtroyed all the Inhabitants of *Ai* (12). Between the Battel and Victory there is no Security: Deſpair is daring; and the moſt contemptible Animal, when pro-

(12) For Joſhua drew not his hand back wherewith he ſtretched out the ſpear, until he had utterly deſtroyed all the inhabitants of Ai, *Joſh.* 8. 26.

voked,

voked, turns again. This Experience coſt Archduke *Albert* dear, at *Newport*: And *Abner* told *Joab* the danger of making his Sword too bloody (13). Beſides, Adverſity is ingenuous; and the Enemy it oppreſſes often lays hold on the Occaſion, and recovers in a moment whatever it had loſt, baffling *Fortune* by her own Inconſtancy: A Goddeſs, who the more ſhe ſhines, the more brittle ſhe is, and the ſooner broken. A General muſt not therefore be elated by his Victories, nor think it impoſſible for him to become in his turn a Trophy to the Perſon he has conquered. He ſhould have ever before his eyes the like Caſualty, phanſying he always ſees plunged under the Waters of Calamities the ſame *Palm* which he has once lifted up in Triumph: Thus that of this *Emblem* looks it ſelf in the Water, whoſe liquid Mirrour repreſents to it the Condition, the Force of Winds, or Injury of Time, may reduce it to. This prudent Cautiouſneſs made the Spouſe compare the Eyes of her Beloved to Rivers of Waters (14), becauſe in them the Mind dreſſes and prepares it ſelf for Adverſities. Proſperity is Glory's greateſt Enemy: Confidence rendring Vertue negligent, and Pride undervaluing Danger. Neceſſity obliges the Conquered to good Diſcipline; Anger and Revenge animate him, and inſpire Courage (15): Whereas the Conqueror, through Arrogance, and breach of Diſcipline, grows dull and heavy (16). The gain of a Battel is often-times the Beginning of Happineſs to the Conquered, of Misfortune to the Victor; the one being blinded by his Fortune, the other caſting about to retrieve his. What Arms flouriſhing could not conquer, thoſe thrown down often do; and Spoils ſcattered here and there, inflaming the

(13) Shall the ſword devour for ever? knoweſt thou not that it will be bitterneſs in the latter end? 2 *Sam.* 2. 26. (14) His eyes are as the eyes of doves by the rivers of waters, *Cant.* 5. 12. (15) *Aliquando etiam victis ira virtusque*, Tac. in Vit. Agric. (16) *Acriore hodiè diſciplinâ victi quam victores agunt: hos ira, odium, ultionis cupiditas ad virtutem accendit*, Tac. Hiſt. l. 2.

Avarice of the Victorious, make of them an eaſie Victory. Thus it befell the *Sarmatæ*, who being loaded with Plunder, were cut in pieces, as if they had been bound, and immovable (17). The Battel of *Tarro*, againſt *Charles* VIII. of *France*, was loſt, at leaſt dubious, only by the *Italian* Soldiers falling too ſoon upon the Baggage. Hence *Judas Maccabæus* required his Men not to touch the Booty, until the Fight was over (18).

Victories are to be eſteemed more for the Progreſſes may be expected from them, than for themſelves, and therefore ſhould be cultivated, that they may bear the more. To give the Enemy Time, is to Arm him; and to ſit down ſatisfied with the Fruit already gathered, to leave Arms barren. It is as eaſie for a Fortune raiſed to fall, as it is to lift up again one fallen. *Tiberius*, conſidering this Uncertainty of Things, endeavoured, with many Arguments, to perſuade the Senate not to be ſo quick in executing the Honours decreed to *Germanicus*, for his Victories in *Germany* (19).

Although Victories ſhould be purſued, yet it ought not to be with a Heat ſo ſecure and careleſs as to ſlight Dangers. Let Expedition conſult with Prudence, with regard to Time, Place, and Occaſion. Let the Prince uſe his Victories with Moderation, not with a Bloody and Inhumane Tyranny, always having before him that Counſel of *Theodorick*, King of the *Oſtrogoths*, in a Letter to his Father-in-Law, *Clovis*, about the *German* Victories; *In ſuch Caſes, let him be heard who has moſt Experience: No Wars have been more ſucceſsful to me, than thoſe I have ended with Moderation; for he comes oſteneſt off Conqueror, who beſt uſes his Victory; and Fortune ever favours them moſt, who are leaſt puft up* *.

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(17) *Qui cupidine prædæ graves onere ſarcinarum velut vincti cædebantur*, Tac. Hiſt. l. 2. (18) But ſtand ye now faſt againſt your enemies, and overcome them; then may ye ſafely take the ſpoils, 1 *Maccab.* 4. 18. (19) *Cuncta mortalium incerta, quantoque plus adeptus foret, tanto ſe magis in lubrico diſtans*, Tac. Annal. l. 1.

* Caſſiod.

The

The *French* follow not this prudent Advice, but rather have impoſed a heavier Yoke on *Germany* than it ever yet bore, and haſtened the Ruine of that Empire. The Piety and Modeſty of *Marcellus* made a greater Shew, when he wept to ſee the Ruine of the beautiful Buildings of *Syracuſe*, than his Valour and Glory in having ſtormed it, and made a Triumphant Entry at the Breach. Count *Tilly* ſtruck the Hearts of ſeveral, more by the Tears he ſhed for the burning of *Magdeburg*, than by his Sword. And though *Joſhua* commanded the Officers of his Army to put their Feet upon the Necks of the Kings taken in the Battel of *Gibaon* (20); yet this was not done out of Pride or Vain-glory, but to animate his Soldiers, and to remove the Fear they had conceived of the Giants of *Canaan* (21).

To treat thoſe one has ſubdued with Humanity, to maintain their Privileges and Nobility, and to eaſe them of Taxes, is twice to conquer them, once by Arms, and afterwards by Kindneſs, and in the mean while to prepare a Chain for other Nations; no fewer yielding to Generoſity, than to Force.

Expugnat noſtram clementia gentem,
Mars gravior ſub pace latet. *

By theſe Artifices the *Romans* made themſelves Maſters of the whole World; and if ever they forgot them, their Victories were the more difficult. Deſpair it ſelf arms againſt a bloody Conqueror.

Una ſalus victis nullam ſperare ſalutem. †

" The Wretch's only Comfort is Deſpair. "

(20) Come near, put your feet upon the necks of theſe kings, *Joſh.* 10. 24. (21) Fear not, nor be diſmayed; be ſtrong, and of good courage: for thus ſhall the Lord do to all your enemies againſt whom ye fight, *Joſh.* 10. 25. * Claud. † Virg.

There are ſome Men, who, with more Impiety than Reaſon, adviſe, for greater Security, to extirpate the hoſtile Nation, as the *Romans* did in demoliſhing *Carthage*, *Numantia*, and *Corinth*, or elſe to oblige it to ſeek a new Habitation; which is a barbarous and inhumane Counſel: Others are for extinguiſhing the Nobility, building Forts, and diſarming the Inhabitants. But this Tyranny is practicable only in ſervile Nations, not among People of a more generous Nature. *Cato* the Conſul, to ſecure himſelf from ſome People of *Spain*, near the River *Iberus*, took away their Arms, but was ſoon obliged to return them; they being ſo exaſperated to ſee themſelves without them, that they killed one another; they deſpiſed a Life deſtitute of Inſtruments to defend their Honour, and acquire Glory (22).

(22) Mar. Hiſt. Hiſp.

EMBLEM

EMBLEM XCVII.

HERCULES having maſter'd the *Lion*, knew how to enjoy his Victory, in covering his Shoulders with its Skin, in order the more eaſily to tame other Monſters. Thus the Spoils of a Triumph arm the Conqueror, and encreaſe his Power. Thus ought Princes to uſe their Victories, augmenting their Forces by the Priſoners, and advancing the Grandeur of their States by the Places they take. All Kingdoms, in their Original, were ſmall; and if they encreaſed, it was by getting, and preſerving. The ſame Reaſons that make the War lawful, juſtifie alſo the detaining of what it brings. To ſpoil, only that you may reſtore again, is a fooliſh and extravagant Levity. That Man

holds not himſelf at all obliged, who to day receives what was yeſterday wreſted from him with Bloodſhed. Princes, by Reſtitution, barter for Peace, and buy its contrary: Their Acquiſitions render them Formidable; what they return, makes them Contemptible, this being generally interpreted Faint-heartedneſs; and if after, upon Repentance or Provocation, they go about to recover it, they meet with inſuperable Difficulties. His Majeſty, to avoid Envy and War, had put the *Valtaline* in the Power of the Apoſtolick See; and the *French* immediately ſeizing upon it, put the State of *Milan* in Danger, and all *Italy* in Confuſion and Arms. By holding faſt what one is poſſeſſed of, Audaciouſneſs is check'd, and Power ſecured, as it were, by ſo many Pawns kept to purchaſe Peace, in caſe of Neceſſity. Time and Occaſion will inſtruct the Prince in what Caſes it is proper to detain or ſurrender, to prevent greater Dangers and Inconveniencies; which, however, muſt be weighed by Prudence, not Ambition, whoſe blind Appetite often-times diminiſhes States by thoſe very means it thought to enlarge them.

Princes frequently, in times of Peace, let ſeveral conſiderable Forts out of their Hands, which, in War, they are ſorry for, but too late. Preſent Neceſſity accuſes paſt Liberality. No Power ſhould be ſo confident of it ſelf, as to think it ſtands not in need of every one of them for its Defence. The Eagle parts not with her Tallons; which if ſhe did, ſhe would become the Jeſt of other Birds: They reſpect her not as their Queen, for her Beauty, ſince in that the Peacock much exceeds, but for the Strength of her Pounces. The Grandeur of His Majeſty would now be in far more Veneration and Security, had he ſtill kept the State of *Siena*, the Garriſon of *Placentia*, and, in general, all thoſe Places which he has left in other Hands. Even Reſtitution of a State is not to be made, when it cannot be without Prejudice to another.

There is no leſs Inconveniencies in making War upon another, than in uſing Arms negligently: To take them

up

up only to offer Blows, is a dangerous way of fighting. A Sword drawn without being dyed in Blood, returns aſhamed into the Scabbard; if it wounds not our Enemy, it does our Honour. Fire is the Inſtrument of War; whoever holds it up in his Hand, will be burnt by it. The Army, if not kept in the Enemy's Country, waſts its own, nay, is waſted it ſelf. Courage grows cold, without Occaſions to exerciſe, and Spoils to inflame it. Hence *Vocula* quartered his Men in the Enemies Land (1); and *David* went out of his own Realms to meet the *Philiſtines* (2). The ſame did *Jehoaſh*, King of *Iſrael*, when he heard that *Amaziah*, King of *Judah*, was coming againſt him (3). Subjects can never long bear a War at Home; for by maintaining, in this manner, both Friends and Enemies, Charges encreaſe, Means fail, and Dangers continue. But if any one thinks hereby to ſooth up, and the more eaſily appeaſe him he engaged with, it is imprudent Counſel, there being no flattering a declared Enemy. Moderation in War, is not imputed to Clemency, but to Weakneſs, and the moſt Powerful loſe their Reputation, and are endanger'd by it. The King of *Spain*'s Mildneſs to *Charles* of *Savoy*, coſt him dear. This Duke made War againſt *Ferdinand* Duke of *Mantua*, to aſſert his ancient Pretenſions upon *Montferrat*; and King *Philip* III. not thinking it fit that the Sword ſhould decide this Suit, then depending before the Emperor, and that the Quarrel of theſe two Princes ſhould diſturb the Peace of all *Italy*, made War upon the former, and ſate down before *Aſti*, not with any deſign to enter that Place forcibly, (which might have been eaſily done) but by this Menace to oblige him to Peace, as accordingly he did. This moderate way of proceeding encreaſed the Duke's Obſtinacy, and,

(1) *Ut præda ad virtutem incenderentur*, Tac. Hiſt. l. 4. (2) And David came to Baal-perazim, and David ſmote them there, 2 *Sam.* 5. 20. (3) Therefore Jehoaſh king of Iſrael went up, and he and Amaziah king of Judah looked one another in the face at Bethſhemeth, which belongeth to Judah: And Judah was put to the worſt before Iſrael, 2 *King.* 14. 11, 12.

contrary

contrary to the Treaty, he again took up Arms, kindling another War more dangerous than the firſt. Upon which, His Majeſty beſieged *Verceil*; which he took, but preſently reſtored again: ſo that the Duke, who ſaw his Deſigns ſucceed ſo happily, ſtruck up a League with the *French* and *Venetians* at *Avignon*, and a third time diſturbed *Italy*. All which Wars might very eaſily have been avoided, had the Duke of *Savoy* been made to feel the weight of the *Spaniſh* Arms, and ſuffered the loſs of part of his State. Whoever has once oppoſed a greater Power, will never become a Friend, till he ſees himſelf oppreſſed and robb'd of all, (as *Vocula* ſaid to the Mutinous Legions, when he encouraged them againſt ſome Provinces of *France* (4) that revolted.) Princes are not feared for having the Weapons in their Hands, but for knowing how to uſe them. No one aſſaults him who dares turn again. Almoſt all Wars are grounded either upon the Oſcitancy or Cowardice of the Perſon againſt whom they are waged. What Riſque is there in making War againſt a Prince wholly devoted to Peace, ſince whatever the Succeſs be, that will certainly be obtained? For this Reaſon, it ſeems convenient, that the Maxims of the *Spaniards* be changed in *Italy*, which endeavour to inculcate, That the King wiſhes nothing ſo much as Peace, and would purchaſe it at any Rate. It is fit, indeed, Princes ſhould know that His Majeſty is always Sincere, and willing to keep a good Underſtanding with them, ready to employ all his Forces for their Conſervation and Defence, and that he will ſpare no Care which may contribute to the Quiet of thoſe Provinces: but withal, they ſhould know, That if any one unjuſtly oppoſes his Grandeur, and conſpires to overthrow it, putting him to the Damages and Expences of War, he will get Satisfaction, by detaining what he ſhall take from them. What Court of Juſtice will not allow Coſts to the Party that ſues another without Reaſon?

(4) *Nunc hoſtes, quia molle ſervitium, cum ſpoliati exutique fuerint amicos fore*, Tac. Hiſt. l. 4.

Who

Who will not try his Sword upon the Body of a potent Prince, if he can do it with ſafety?

When a Victory is obtained, the Spoils ſhould be ſhared among the Soldiers, and particular Honour ſhewed ſuch as have eminently ſignalized themſelves in the Fight; that Valour ſeeing it ſelf rewarded, may be encouraged to greater Enterprizes, and be an Example to others. To this end, the *Romans* invented ſo many Crowns, Collars, Ovations, and Triumphs. *Saul* erected to himſelf a Triumphant-Arch, upon the Defeat of the *Amalekites* (5). Nor are theſe Honours to be done the Survivors only, but thoſe alſo who have valiantly loſt their Lives in the Battel, ſince they bought the Victory at ſo dear a Price. Signal Services done the State, cannot be recompenſed but by ſome Eternal Remembrance. Thus thoſe of *Jonathan* were requited with a Sepulchre which laſted for many Ages (6). The Soul, ſenſible of its own Immortality, undervalues Dangers, to make the Memory of its Actions immortal too: Hence the *Spaniards* of old raiſed as many Obelisks about every Soldier's Tomb, as he had killed Enemies (7). God being the Sovereign Diſpoſer of Victories, to him we ought to pay our Acknowledgments firſt, to engage him to grant us others, not only by way of Thankſgiving and Sacrifice, but by Spoils alſo and Offerings; as the *Iſraelites* did, upon raiſing the Siege of *Bethulia*, and routing the *Aſſyrians* (8); and *Joſhua*, after his Victory over the

(5) Saul came to Carmel, and behold, he ſet him up a place, 1 *Sam.* 15. 12. (6) And ſet up ſeven pillars upon it, one againſt another, for his father, his mother, and four brethren: And he ſet great pillars round about them, and ſet arms upon the pillars, for a perpetual memory, and carved ſhips beſide the arms, that they might be ſeen of men ſailing in the ſea. This ſepulchre, which he made at Modin, ſtandeth yet unto this day, 1 *Maccab.* 13. 28. 29, 30. (7) *Et apud Hiſpanos, bellicoſam gentem, obeliſci circum cujuſque tumulum tot numero erigebantur quot hoſtes interemiſſet*, Ariſt. l. 7. Pol. c. 2. (8) After, when they went into Jeruſalem, they worſhipped the Lord; and as ſoon as the people were purified, they offered their burnt-offerings, and their free-offerings, and their gifts, *Judith* 16. 18.

Men

Men of *Ai* (9). In which particular the *Spaniſh* Kings have always been very liberal; which Piety of theirs God has rewarded with the preſent Monarchy.

(9) And thou ſhalt offer burnt-offerings thereon unto the Lord thy God, and thou ſhalt offer peace-offerings, *Deut.* 27. 6.

EMBLEM XCVIII.

WAR, in many things, reſembles *Fire*, not only in its Nature, which is to deſtroy, but alſo for that the ſame Matter wherewith it is fed, when there is too much of it, extinguiſhes it. Arms ſupport War; but if they are very powerful, quench it, or

or change it into Peace. Therefore whoever would obtain this, muſt uſe them; it being impoſſible that any Peace ſhould be concluded with Honour and Advantage, unleſs it be treated of under the Shield; and with this the Arm muſt be guarded, which reaches out the Hand to receive the Olive of Peace. *Clovis* wiſh'd for two Right-Hands; one arm'd, to oppoſe *Alaricus*; the other naked, to preſent in token of Peace to *Theodorick*, the Mediator between them. The Arms of a Prince ſhould be equally prepared for Peace and War. *Clovis* never thought he could obtain that by ſhewing his unarmed Right-Hand, without having at the ſame time another upon its Guard. This is that the *Greeks* meant, by the Hieroglyphick of a *Man* holding in one Hand a *Pike*, in the other a *Caduceus*. Negotiation, expreſſed by the latter, can never ſucceed, except the Menace of the former attend it. When the *Athenians* were annoyed by *Eumolphus*, their General marched firſt, with a *Caduceus* in his Hand, and was follow'd by the flower of his Men in Armour, hereby ſhewing himſelf ready as well for Peace as War. When the *Rhodians* ſent an Embaſſy to *Conſtantinople*, there went one by the Embaſſador's ſide carrying three Boughs, ſignifying the ſame Diſpoſition of Mind: To which *Virgil* ſeems alſo to have alluded, in this Verſe of his,

Pacem orare manu, præfigere puppibus arma. *

" To ſue for Peace, yet proſecute the War.

Even after the Concluſion of Peace, Care ought ſtill to be taken of War; ſince between the Conqueror and Conquered no firm Faith is ever eſtabliſhed (1). One Day ſaw that of the *French* ſeveral times engaged and violated at *Caſal*, and the Marqueſs *de Saint Croix*'s Goodneſs abuſed, he who preferred the Quiet of *Italy* before the Glory of Victory, which an advantageous

* Virg. (1) *Cum in victores victoſque, nunquam ſolida fides convaleſceret*, Tac. Hiſt. l. 2.

Poſt,

Poſt, and ſuperiour Forces, offered him as infallible.

In Treaties of Peace, a Free Temper is no leſs requiſite than in the Management of a War. He that conſults too much his Honour in them, and would conquer his Enemy as well with the Pen as Sword, buries Sparks under the Aſhes, to kindle the Fire of a greater War. Thoſe Peaces which *Pompey*, and after him, the Conſul *Mancinus*, made with the *Numantines*, had no effect, becauſe they were not a little derogatory to the Honour of the *Roman* Commonwealth. The Capitulation of *Aſti*, between *Charles Emanuel*, Duke of *Savoy*, and the Marqueſs *de Hinojoſa*, was ſoon broken, upon account of one of the Articles about Diſarming the Soldiers, not much for His Majeſty's Reputation, which thoſe Diſturbances and Innovations of the Duke ſeemed to tend to. No Peace can be ſecure, when there is ſo much inequality (2). One of the *Privernates* being asked by the *Roman* Senate, how his Countrymen would obſerve the Peace, if it were allowed them; anſwered, *Faithfully, and for Ever, if you grant us a good and equal one; but if you impoſe hard Conditions, you muſt not expect we ſhould keep them long* (3). Never does any one obſerve a Peace which he knows is to his Diſadvantage (4). Except it be Honourable, and for the Conveniency of both Parties, it will be but a lame Contract: he that ſtudies moſt his own Intereſt in it, makes it moſt ſlender, and ſubjects it to an eaſie Rupture.

Upon any ill Succeſs, one is not immediately to have recourſe to Peace, as long as the leaſt room is left for putting Affairs in a better poſture; otherwiſe it can never go well with the Oppreſſed: Hence, after the loſs of the Battel of *Toro*, *Alphonſus*, King of *Portugal*, thought it not a good Time to talk of Agreeing with

(2) *Bellum anceps, an pax inhoneſta placeret, nec dubitatum de bello,* Tac. Annal. l. 15. (3) *Si bonam dederitis, & fidam, & perpetuam; ſi malum, haud diuturnam,* Tit. Liv. l. 8. (4) *Nec credideris ullum populum, aut hominem denique in ea conditione, cujus cum pœniteat, diutius, quam neceſſe ſit, manſurum,* Tit. Liv. l. 8.

Ferdinand

Ferdinand the Catholick. That is a weak Peace which Force and Menace extort; for Honour and Liberty never ceaſe to plot againſt it.

There are uſually no leſs Cheats and Contrivances in Treaties of Peace than in War: witneſs thoſe pretended ones of *Rhadamiſtus*, to take away *Mithridates*'s Life *. They are generally ſet on foot only to diſcover the Actions and Deſigns of the Enemy, to give Time for Fortifications, Succours, and the Practices of Alliance; to waſte the Enemy's Forces, break Confederacies, and lull aſleep with the Hopes of Peace, Diligence and Precaution. Sometimes they are clapt up, in order to raiſe new Forces, fruſtrate Counſels; and, in a word, to ſerve as a Truce, or Ceſſation of Arms, until a better Opportunity for taking them up again ſhall offer it ſelf, or that the Seat of the War may be changed. Thus the *French* Sign'd the Peace of *Mouzon*, with no other intent than to remove the War into *Germany*, and fall upon the *Valtoline* that way. So the only end of the Peace of *Ratisbone* was to diſarm the Emperor; for at the ſame Time the *French* agreed to it, they were brewing a League with the Crown of *Sweden* againſt him, and there was not above two Months between the one and the other. Now in the like Caſes, War is much better than a ſuſpected Peace (5); this being indeed a Peace without Peace (6).

Peaces ſhould be perpetual, as all thoſe of God have been (7). Hence the Holy Scriptures call ſuch Treaties, *Covenants of Salt*; by this expreſſion intimating their Permanency (8). A Prince who is a real Lover of Peace, and ſincerely endeavours the Settlement of it, is

* Tac. Annal. l. 12. (5) *In pace ſuſpecta turius bellum*, Tac. Hiſt. l. 4. (6) Saying, Peace, peace, when there is no peace, *Jer.* 6. 14. (7) And I will eſtabliſh my covenant between me and thee, and thy ſeed after thee, in their generations, for an everlaſting covenant; to be a God unto thee, and to thy ſeed after thee, *Gen.* 17 7. (8) The Lord God of Iſrael gave the kingdom over Iſrael to David for ever, even to him and to his ſons by a covenant of ſalt, 2 *Chron.* 13. 5.

not

not afraid to bind even his Poſterity to its Obſervance. A ſhort Peace is good for nothing but to gather Fuel to light War withal. The ſame Inconveniencies attend Truces made for a few Years; they do but ſuſpend Anger for a time, and give place for the ſharpening of Swords, and pointing of Lances; by their means Uſurpations paſs into Preſcription, and Peace is afterwards rendred more difficult, inaſmuch as no one reſigns willingly what he has poſſeſſed a long time. The Ten Years Truce between the Emperor *Charles* V. and *Francis* I. gave not Peace to *Europe*, as * Pope *Paul* III. very well obſerved.

But when the Peace is ſecure, firm, and honourable, no prudenter Courſe can be taken than to embrace it, however Victorious your Arms are, or whatever conſiderable Progreſſes may be expected from them; ſince the Caſualties of War are various and fortunate, often beget unhappy Succeſſes. How frequent is it to ſee him begging for Peace, who was but juſt before asked it. A Certain Peace is better than a Victory in Expectation; the one depends on our own Pleaſure, the other is in God's Hand (9). And though *Sabinus* ſaid, *That Peace was to the Glory only of the Conqueror, but Profitable to the Conquered* (10): yet this Advantage reaches the Victor too; for by being ſo, he may have it the more advantageous, and ſecure the Progreſſes already made. There is no better Time for Peace, than when one is uppermoſt in War. This, among other Reaſons, moved *Hanno*, when News was brought to *Carthage* of the Victory of *Canna*, to adviſe the Senate to cloſe with the *Romans*: And it was for nothing but the neglect of this, that they were forced in the end to ſubmit to ſuch Laws and Conditions as *Scipio* thought fit to impoſe. In the Heat of Arms, when Succeſs is yet dubious, to ſhew a Deſire of Peace, betrays weakneſs, and gives

* In Bul. Indict. Conc. Trident. (9) *Melior enim tutiorque eſt certa pax, quam ſperata victoria; illa in tua, hæc in Deorum manu eſt*, Liv. Dec. 3. l. 1. (10) *Pacem, & conſurdiſcunt victis auſilia, victoribus tantum pulchra eſſe*, Tac. Hiſt. l. 3.

Heart

Heart to the Enemy. He that is too paſſionate for it at ſuch a time, never obtains it: Valour and Reſolutions are much better Perſuaſives to it. Let the Prince then love Peace, yet not to that degree, as to commit Injuſtice, or ſuffer Indignities, for the ſake of it: Let him not look on that he has made with a Neighbour ſuperiour in Strength, to be ſafe; for it can never be, where the one is powerful, the other weak (11). Ambition knows not how to contain it ſelf, where there is a proſpect of Uſurping any thing; and ſpecious Names, and Pretexts of Moderation and Juſtice, are never wanting to him that ſeeks to enlarge his Dominions, and aſpires to be a Monarch: For one who is ſo already, aims at nothing more than the Enjoyment of his own Grandeur, without going to intrench upon that of another, or deſigning any thing againſt it (12).

(11) *Quia inter innocentes, & validos falſo quieſcunt*, Tac. de Mor. Germ. (12) *Ubi manu agitur, modeſtia, ac probitas, nomina ſuperiora ſunt*, Tac. ibid.

EMBLEM XCIX.

HE knows not how to value the Quietneſs of the Harbour, who has not felt the Storm; nor is he ſenſible of the ſweetneſs of Peace, that has never taſted the bitterneſs of War: Then firſt this wild Beaſt, the ſworn Enemy of Life, appears in its true Colours, when it is tamed. To that agrees *Samſon*'s Riddle of the *dead Lion*, in whoſe Mouth Bees ſwarmed, and wrought their Honey-Combs (1). For when War is ended, Peace opens the Doors of Commerce, brings the Hand to the Plough, re-eſtabliſhes the Exerciſe of

(1) And behold, there was a ſwarm of bees, and honey in the carkaſs of the lion, *Judg.* 14. 8.

Arts,

Arts, the effect of which is Plenty, as of that Riches which freed from the Fears that drove them away, then begin to circulate. Peace then, as *Iſaiah* the Prophet ſpeaks (2), is the greateſt Good that God has beſtowed on Mankind, as War the greateſt Evil. Hence the *Egyptians*, to deſcribe *Peace*, repreſented *Pluto*, the God of Riches, as a Boy crowned with Ears of Corn, Laurel and Roſes, to ſignifie all the Happineſs it brings along with it. God has given it the Name of *Beauty*, in *Iſaiah*, ſaying, his People ſhould take their Reſt in it, as upon a Bed of Flowers (3). Even the moſt inſenſible Beings rejoyce at Peace. How chearful, how fertile do the Fields look, which that cultivates? How beautiful the Cities adorned and enriched by its Calmneſs? On the other ſide, what Deſarts, what ruinous Countries are not thoſe where the Fury of War has ranged? Scarce can one know now the fair Cities and Caſtles of *Germany*, by thoſe diſfigured Carkaſſes. *Burgundy* ſees its Verdant Perriwig (as I may call it) dy'd in Blood; and its Cloaths, once ſo gay and fine, now ragged and ſcorch'd up, with amazement at ſo wonderful a Change. Nature has no greater Enemy than War. He who was the Author of the whole Creation, was at the ſame time Author of Peace. Juſtice gives it ſelf up to its Embraces (4). Laws tremble, hide themſelves, and are dumb at the frightful ſight of Weapons. Hence *Marius* excuſes himſelf, for having done ſomething againſt the Laws of the Country, by ſaying, he could not hear them for the Noiſe of Arms. In War, it is equally unfortunate to good Men to kill and to be kill'd (5). In War, Fathers, by a ſubverſion of the Order of Mortality, bury their Children; whereas in Peace, theſe bury them. Here every one's Merit is conſidered, and

(2) Lord, thou wilt ordain Peace for us: for thou haſt wrought all our works in us, *Iſai.* 26. 12. (3) And my people ſhall dwell in a peaceable habitation, and in ſure dwellings, and in quiet reſting places, *Iſai.* 32. 18. *Et ſedebit populus meus in pulchritudine pacis*, Vulg. (4) Righteouſneſs and Peace have kiſſed each other, *Pſal.* 85 10. (5) *Æquè apud bonos miſerum eſt occidere, quam perire*, Tac. Hiſt. l. 1.

Cauſes examined: In War, Innocence and Malice run the ſame Fortune (6). In Peace, Nobility is diſtinguiſht from Populacy: In War, they are confounded, the Weaker obeying the Stronger. In that, Religion is preſerved; in this, loſt; *that* maintains, *this* uſurps Dominions; the one breaks the haughty Spirits of Subjects, and renders them Submiſſive and Loyal (7), the other makes them haughty and rebellious. This made *Tiberius* fear nothing ſo much as diſturbing the Repoſe *Auguſtus* had left in the Empire (8). With Peace, Delights and Pleaſures encreaſe; and the greater theſe are, the weaker are Subjects, and more ſecure (9). In Peace, all depends on the Prince himſelf; in War, on him that has the Command of the Armies. Hence *Tiberius* diſſembled all Occaſions of War, that he might not commit it to the Management of another (10). *Pomponius Lætus* well knew all theſe Inconveniencies, when he ſaid, *That while the Prince could live in Peace, he ſhould by no means kindle War.* The Emperor *Marcianus* uſed this Motto, *Pax bello potior*; and certainly not without Reaſon, foraſmuch as War can never be convenient, unleſs carried on to maintain Peace. This is the only Good that Infernal Monſter brings with it. That of the Emperor *Aurelius Caracalla*, *Omnis in ferro ſalus*, was a Tyrannical Saying, and fit for that Prince only who cannot maintain himſelf but by Force. That Empire is of a ſhort continuance, whoſe ſupport is War (11). As long as the Sword is by the Side, Danger is ſo too: and though Victory be in one's Power, yet Peace is rather to be embraced: for there is none ſo happy, but the Damage that attends it is greater.

Peace is the greateſt Treaſure Man e'er knew,
A Thouſand Triumphs to it ſeem but few. *

(6) *Nam in pace cauſas, & merita ſpectari: ubi bellum ingruat, innocentes ac noxios juxta cadere*, Tac. Annal. l. 1. (7) *Sed longa pax ad omne ſervitium fregerat*, Tac. Hiſt. l. 2. (8) *Nihil æque Tiberium anxium habebat, quam ne compoſita turbarentur*, Tac. Annal. l. 2. (9) *Quantâ pecuniâ dites, & voluptatibus opulentos, tanto magis imbelles*, Tac. Annal. l. 3. (10) *Diſſimulante Tiberio damna, ne cui bellum permitteret*, Tac. Annal. l. 4. (11) *Violentia nemo imperia continuit diu, moderata durant*, Seneca. * Sil. Ital.

No

No Victory can make amends for the Expences of it. So miſchievous is War, that even when triumphant, it throws down Walls, as it was the Cuſtom among the *Romans.*

Now then we have conducted our Prince amidſt Duſt and Blood, and thus ſeated him in the quiet, happy ſtate of Peace; our next Advice is, That he do his utmoſt to preſerve it, and enjoy the happineſs thereof, without imbittering it with the Perils and Calamities of War. *David* never took up Arms, but when indiſpenſibly obliged. The Emperor *Theodoſius* did not ſeek, but rather found War. It is a Glorious and Princely Care, that of procuring Peace.

Now Cæſar*'s Grandeur*, Cæſar*'s Glories reign,*
His Conqu'ring Arm ſheathing his Sword again. *

Nothing in the World is more an Enemy to Poſſeſſion than War. It is a wicked, as well as fooliſh Doctrine, which teaches, that Seeds of Hatred ſhould be nouriſhed, that Matter for War may be furniſhed, whenever it ſhall be thought fit (12). He always lives in War, who has it always in his Thoughts. The Advice of the Holy Spirit is much more wholſom, *Seek Peace, and purſue it* (13).

When a Peace is once Concluded, the Laws of God and Man oblige to a faithful Obſervance of it, even although tranſacted with one's Predeceſſors, without any Diſtinction between the Government of One and Many; both the Kingdom and Commonwealth, for the Benefit, and upon the Faith of which the Contract was made, being always the ſame, and never dying. Time, and Common Conſent, have Paſſed what was once Agreed upon into a Law. Nor is Force or Neceſſity a ſufficient Excuſe for making War: For if the Publick Faith might be violated for theſe things, there would be

* Propert. (12) *Semina odiorum jacienda, & omne ſcelus externum habendum cum lætitia*, Tac. Annal. l. 12. (13) *Pſal.* 34. 14.

no Capitulation, no Treaty of Peace, but might be broken, under the ſame colour. *Francis* I. was blamed for declaring War againſt *Charles* V. contrary to the Agreement made during his Impriſonment, under pretence of Conſtraint. By ſuch Artifices, and Equivocal Negotiations, it comes to paſs, that none at all are firm; ſo that to eſtabliſh them, it is neceſſary to demand Hoſtages, or detain ſome conſiderable Place; things which embarraſs a Peace, and fatigue the World with perpetual Wars.

The Prince then being free from the Toils and Dangers of War, ſhould apply himſelf wholly to the Arts of Peace, (according to *Taſſo*,)

Learning and Arts promote throughout your Realm,
Divert your Subjects Minds with Plays and Balls:
With equal Juſtice puniſh and reward;
And out of Danger, ſtand upon your Guard.

Yet not without reflecting how ſoon War may poſſibly diſturb his Reſt. Let not his Eye quit the Arms his Hand has laid down; nor thoſe old Medals influence him, upon the Reverſe of which *Peace* was deſcribed burning Shields with a Torch: This was far from being a prudent Emblem; for there is nothing ſo neceſſary after War, as the preſerving of Arms, to keep Violence from making any attempt againſt Peace. None but God alone could, when he gave it to his People, *break the Bow*, (as the Pſalmiſt expreſſeth it) *cut the Spear in ſunder*, and *burn the Chariots in the fire* (14); foraſmuch as he being the Arbiter of War, needs not Arms to maintain Peace withal: But among Men there can be no Peace, where Ambition is not reſtrained by Fear or Force. This gave Occaſion to the Invention of Arms, which Defence found out before Offence. The Plough marked out the Walls before the Streets were diſpoſed, and almoſt at the ſame time Tents were pitched, and Houſes built. The Publick Repoſe would never be ſecure, did not Care armed

(14) Pſal. 45. 9.

guard

guard its Sleep. A State unprovided with Arms, awakens the Enemy, and invites War. Never had the *Alps* heard the Echo's of ſo many Trumpets, had the Cities of the *Milaneſe* been better fortify'd: This State is, as it were, an Outwork to all the Kingdoms of the *Spaniſh* Monarchy, and each ought, for its own Security, to contribute to its Strength; which, joined with the Power of the Sea, would render the Monarchy firm and unſhaken. Mens Hearts, were they of Adamant, could not ſupply the Defect of Walls. King *Witiza*, by demoliſhing theſe, made the *Moors* ſo bold as to invade *Spain*, when thoſe Banks were gone, which, till then, had ſtopt their Inundations (15). *Auguſtus* was not guilty of this Negligence, in that long Peace he enjoyed; but appointed a Publick Treaſury, as a Proviſion againſt a War. Except Forces be Exerciſed in Time of Peace, and the Mind diſciplin'd in the Arts of War, it will not eaſily be done, when Danger of Invaſion ſhall have put all Men in a Conſternation, and they be more intent on flying and ſaving what they have, than on their Defence. There is no greater Stratagem, than to leave a Kingdom to its own Idleneſs. When Military Exerciſe fails, Valour does the ſame. Nature produces in all Parts great Souls, which either Occaſion diſcovers, or want of Buſineſs burieth. Paſt Ages have not furniſh'd braver Men in *Greece* and *Rome*, than are at this day born; but they then appeared ſo Heroical, becauſe Deſire of Rule made them uſe themſelves to Arms. Let not a Prince be diſcouraged at the Sluggiſhneſs of his Subjects; Diſcipline will fit them either to preſerve Peace, or to maintain War. Let him keep them always employed in the Exerciſe of Arms; for he that deſires Peace, muſt prevent War.

(15) Mar. Hiſt. Hiſp.

EMBLEM C.

IT is a ſhort breathing between the Cradle and the Tomb; ſhort, I ſay, yet capable of occaſioning conſiderable Evils, if ill employed. Often does a Commonwealth lament whole Ages the Errour of one Moment. On this Point turns the Fall or Riſe of Empires. One bad Counſel, in a Minute throws down what has coſt Valour and Prudence many Years to build (1). And therefore it is not enough, in this Amphitheater of Life, to have run well, if the Courſe be not equal to the End. He only receives the Crown, who has lawfully touch'd the laſt Goal of Death. The Foundation of

(1) *Brevibus momentis ſumma verti poſſe*, Tac. Annal. l. 5.

Houſes

Houſes conſiſts in the firſt Stones; that of Renown, in the laſt: except they be Glorious, it ſoon falls, and is buried in Oblivion. The Cradle does not flouriſh until the Tomb has firſt, and then even the Briars of paſt Vices turn to Flowers; for Fame is the laſt Spirit of our Actions, which thence receive their Beauty and Luſtre, a thing never ſeen in an infamous Old Age, *that* rather effacing the Glory of Youth, (as it happened to (2) *Vitellius.*) The moſt perfect Stroaks of the Pencil or Chizel are not eſteemed, if the whole Work remain imperfect: And if ever Fragments were regarded, it was for being the Reliques of a once perfect Statue. Envy or Flattery, while Life laſts, give different Forms to Actions; but Fame, unbyaſs'd by thoſe Paſſions, pronounces, after Death, true and juſt Sentences, which the Tribunal of Poſterity confirms (3). Some Princes are ſenſible enough of how great Conſequence it is to Crown their Life with Vertues; but they are miſtaken, in thinking to ſupply that, by leaving them deſcribed in Epitaphs, and repreſented in Statues; not conſidering that they bluſh to accompany him in Death, whom they had not accompanied while alive, and that the Marbles are, as it were, in Indignation to ſee the Counterfeit-Glory of a Tyrant inſcribed on them, but ſeem to ſoften to facilitate the engraving of that of a Juſt Prince, hardening again afterwards to preſerve it to Eternity; which even the Stones themſelves ſometimes write on their hardneſs. Letters of a miraculous Epitaph were the Tears of Blood, ſhed by thoſe before St. *Iſidore*'s Altar at *Leon*, for the Death of King *Alphonſus* VI. * Nor came they out of the Joints, but from the Heart of the Marbles, which ſeemed mollified for the Loſs of ſo great a King. The Statue of a vitious Prince is a kind of Tranſcript of his Vices, nor is there either Marble or Braſs ſo durable as not to ſubmit to

(2) *Ceſerunt que prima poſtremis, & bona juventæ, ſenectus flagitioſa obliteravit*, Tac. Annal. l. 6. (3) *Suum cuique decus poſteritas rependit*, Tac. Annal. l. 4. * Mar. Hiſt. Hiſp.

Time:

Time: For as the Natural Fabrick is diſſolved, ſo alſo is the Artificial; and that only is laſting which Vertues frame, thoſe intrinſick and inſeparable Ornaments of an Immortal Soul (4). What is engrav'd on the Minds of Men, being ſucceſſively deriv'd from one to another, endures as long as the World. *No Statues are more perpetual than thoſe carved by Vertue and good Offices on the Eſteem and Acknowledgment of Men*, (as *Mecænus* (5) told *Auguſtus*.) For this Reaſon, *Tiberius* refuſed the Temples which the *Nearer Spain* would have built in Honour of him, ſaying, *That the Temples and Statues which he moſt eſteemed, was to perpetuate his Memory in the Minds of the Commonwealth* (6). The Aſhes of Hero's are preſerved in the Everlaſting Obelisks of Univerſal Applauſe and Triumph, even after having been ſpoiled by Fire, as it happened to thoſe of *Trajan*. The dead Body of that Valiant Prelate, *Giles d'Albornoz*, was carry'd from *Rome* to *Toledo* upon the Shouiders of Nations as well Friends as Enemies, and a Guard was forced to be ſet to defend that of *Auguſtus* (7). But granting the Firmneſs of the Marble, and Solidity of the Braſs, ſhould equal future Ages, yet it is not known afterwards who they were raiſed for *; as it is at this day with the Pyramids of *Ægypt*, where we ſee the Names of thoſe worn out who laid their Aſhes there to immortalize themſelves (8).

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(4) *Ut vultus hominum, ita ſimulacra vultus imbecilla ac mortalia ſunt; forma mentis æterna, quam tenere, & exprimere non per alienam materiam, & artem, ſed tuis ipſe moribus poſſis*, Tac. in Vit. Agric. (5) *Statuas tibi neque aureas, neque argenteas fieri unquam ſine, benefaciendo autem alias tibi ſtatuas in ipſis hominum animis nihil interitui obnoxias effice*, Mecæn. ad Auguſt. (6) *Hæc mihi in animis veſtris templa, hæ pulcherrimæ effigies & manſuræ, nam quæ ſaxo ſtruuntur, ſi judicium poſterorum in odium verterit, pro ſepulcris ſpernuntur*, Tac. Annal. l. 4. (7) *Auxilio militari tuendum, ut ſepultura ejus quieta foret*, Tac. Annal. l. 1. * The memory of them is forgotten, *Eccleſ.* 9. 5. (8) *Inter omnes eos non conſtat à quibus facta ſint, juſtiſſimo caſu obliteratis tantæ vanitatis auctoribus*, Plin. 36. 12.

From

From what has been ſaid, may be eaſily gathered how much it concerns the Prince, in the Declenſion of his Life, to endeavour that his former Glories may receive new Life and Vigour from thoſe of his laſt Days, and that both, after his Death, may remain for ever in the memory of Mankind. To which end, we ſhall offer ſome Rules to direct him how he ought to govern himſelf, with relation to his Perſon, his Succeſſor, and his Dominions. As to his Perſon, he is to know, that as he advanceth in Years, his Empire grows more ſavage, and leſs ſubject to Reaſon; for the variety of Accidents he has met with, inſtruct him in Malice; and by indulging Jealouſies and Diſtruſts, he becomes Cruel and Tyrannical. A long Reign is apt to beget Pride and Preſumption (9); and the Experience of Want, Avarice: whence proceed many things inconſiſtent with the Decorum of Majeſty, and from them contempt of the Royal Perſon. Princes will ſtill retain their ancient Cuſtoms and Gravity, forgetting what they did when young, and thus they render themſelves odious. In the Beginnings of Government, Paſſion for Glory, and Fear of Ruine, make them take care to Act with Prudence and Caution: But afterwards Ambition is tired, and the Prince has neither any Satisfaction in good, nor any Concern for ill Succeſs (10); but imagining Vice to be the Recompence of his Glory, and Reward of his Toils, ſhamefully gives himſelf up to it: Whence it is that ſo few Princes grow better by Ruling, of which the Holy Scriptures give us Inſtances in *Saul* and *Solomon*. They are, in their Government, like the Image in *Nebuchadnezzar*'s Dream, its Beginning's of *Gold*, its End of *Clay*. *Veſpaſian* was the only Prince remarkable for having paſſed from bad to good (11). Beſides, let the Prince ſtrive never ſo much to continue like himſelf, it is impoſſible for

(9) *Vetuſtate imperii coalita audacia*, Tac. Annal. l. 14. (10) *Ipſum ſane ſenem, & proſperis, adverſiſque ſatiatum*, Tac. Hiſt. l. 3. (11) *Soluſque omnium ante ſe principem, in melius mutatus eſt*, Tac. Hiſt. l. 1.

him

him to pleaſe All, if his Reign be long; for the People hate to be ruled ſo long by the ſame Hand. They love Novelty, and rejoyce at Revolutions, though dangerous, as it fell out in the Reign of *Tiberius* (12). If the Prince be Vertuous, he is hated by the Bad; if Vitious, both by the Good and Bad, and then the only talk is of the Succeſſor (13), whom every one makes his Court to; a thing which cannot but incenſe the Prince, and which uſually enclines him to hate his Subjects, and uſe them ill. As his Strength decays, his Care and Vigilance, his Prudence alſo, Underſtanding and Memory proportionably fail: For the Senſes grow old no leſs than the Body (14); and as he deſires to reſerve this ſmall remainder of his days to himſelf, free from the Hurry and Fatigue of Government, he ſurrenders all to his Miniſters, or ſome Favourite, on whom the Weight of Affairs lies, and the Odium of the People is transferred. In which Caſe, they who are not in the Prince's Favour, and have no ſhare in the Adminiſtration and Preferments, wiſh for, and do their utmoſt to procure a new Maſter.

Theſe are the moſt dangerous Rocks of a declining Age, among which the Prince cannot uſe too much Precaution againſt a Shipwreck. Yet though the Courſe be hazardous, he ought not therefore to deſpair of paſſing ſecurely, ſince many Princes have maintained their Eſteem and Reſpect to their laſt Gaſp. An Excellency which the whole World admir'd in *Philip* II. The motion of a prudent Government continues uniform to the very ſhore of Death; a former Character and Reputation ſupport it againſt the Hatreds and Inconveniencies of Age, as *Tiberius* experienc'd in himſelf (15). Beſides, we paſs over a great many

(12) *Multi odio præſentium cupidine mutationis, ſuis quoque periculis lætabantur*, Tac. Annal. l. 3. (13) *Pars multo maxima imminentes dominos variis rumoribus differebant*, Tac. Annal. l. 1. (14) *Quippe ut corpus, ſic etiam mens ſuum habet ſenium*, Ariſt. l. 2. Pol. c. 7. (15) *Reputante Tiberio publicum ſibi odium, extremam ætatem magiſque fama, quam vi ſtare res ſuas*, Tac. Annal. l. 6.

Slips

Slips in Old Age, which would be unpardonable in Youth, (as *Druſus* (16) obſerved.) The more boiſterous the Storms are, with the more Reſolution the Prince had need be armed to bear up againſt them, and the cloſer he ought to keep to the Helm of Government; leſt by entruſting it in the Hands of others, both himſelf and the Commonwealth ſhould fall a Prey to the Sea. While the Prince's Vigour laſts, he ſhould live and die in Action. Government is like the Spheres, which never ſtand ſtill; it admits no Poles but thoſe of the Prince. In the Arms of the State, not thoſe of Sloth, the Prince muſt find Refreſhment in the Toils of his Old Age (17): And if through the Infirmities of his Age he wants Strength to bear them, and has need of other Shoulders, yet let him not wholly refuſe the Aſſiſtance of his own, were it only for Shew, ſince that is the ſame thing in the Eyes of the ignorant Mobb as Reality, and (as we obſerved elſewhere) is a Reſtraint to Miniſters, and Support to Reputation. In this Caſe it is ſafer to form a Privy-Council of Three, as *Philip* II. did, than to leave all to the Management of One ſingle Perſon; becauſe the People look not on them as Favourites, but as Councellors.

Let the Prince beware of Covetouſneſs, a Vice univerſally deteſted, and peculiar to Old Age, which it never forſakes, though it has bid adieu to all others. Undoubtedly *Galba* might have ingratiated himſelf with the People, had he been in the leaſt Generous (18). Let him conform to the Mode, and preſent Cuſtoms, and forget thoſe more harſh and rigid ones of former Times, a fault Old Men are too apt to fall into, whether it proceed from the prejudice of their Education,

(16) *Sane gravaretur aſpectum civium ſenex imperator, feſſamque ætatem, & actos labores, prætenderet: Druſo quod niſi ex arrogantia impedimentum?* Tac. Annal. l. 3. (17) *Se tamen fortiora ſolatia è complexu Reip. petiviſſe,* Tac. Annal. l. 4. (18) *Conſtat potuiſſe conciliari animos quantulacunque parci ſenis liberalitate,* Tac. Hiſt. lib. 1.

from

from Vain-glory, or the difficulty they find in taking up thoſe new Cuſtoms; whence they incurr the hate of all Men. They give way to that melancholy Humour, which ariſeth from the Coldneſs of their Age, and exclaim againſt all Paſtimes and Divertiſements, not remembring how much Time they have formerly ſpent in them themſelves.

Let him not diſcover any Jealouſy of his Succeſſor, as *Ferdinand the Catholick* did, when *Philip* I. was to ſucceed him in the Kingdom of *Caſtile*. That is the time when moſt adore the Riſing Sun; and if any one appears reſerved in this particular, it is a Trick to make himſelf paſs for a Loyal, Conſtant Man, in the Opinion of the Succeſſor, and to gain his Eſteem; as was obſerved of ſeveral, at the Death of *Auguſtus* (19).

Let him ſtrive to endear himſelf to All by Courteſy, Equality of Juſtice, by Clemency and Plenty; being aſſured, that if he have governed well, and got the Love and good Opinion of his Subjects, he will maintain them without much difficulty, begetting in their Minds a fear of loſing, and a deſire of keeping him.

All theſe Methods will be yet of more force, if the Succeſſor be ſuch as he may be in a manner born again, and immortalized by; for although Adoption be only a Fiction of the Law, yet the Perſon Adopting ſeems to renew his Youth in him, (as *Galba* (20) ſaid to *Piſo*.) Succeſſion ought not to be the leaſt Care of Princes, it being not ſo frivolous a thing as *Solomon* imagined (21). Sons are the Anchors and Props of a State, the Joy and Comfort of a Government and Court. *Auguſtus*

(19) *Patres, Equet. Quanto quis illuſtrior, tanto magis falſi ac feſtinantes, vultuque compoſito, ne lati exceſſu Principis, neu triſtiores, primordio lachrymas, gaudium, quæſtus, adulationes miſcebant*, Tac. Annal. lib. 1. (20) *Et audita adoptione deſinam videri ſenex, quod nunc mihi unum objicitur*, Tac. Hiſt. l. 1. (21) Yea, I hated all my labour which I had taken under the ſun: becauſe I ſhould leave it unto the man that ſhall be after me, *Eccleſ.* 2. 18.

well

well knew this, when having none, he Adapted his Neareſt Relations, to be, as it were, Pillars to ſupport the Empire (22). Neither Fleets nor Armies are greater Securities to a Prince, than a numerous Off-ſpring (23). There are no greater Friends than They; no more zealous Oppoſers of Tyranny, Domeſtick and Foreign. All bear a part in the Happineſs of Princes, their Children only are Sharers in their Misfortunes (24). Friends change and fall off with Adverſity, but never our own Blood, which though transfuſed into another, ſtill correſponds with us by a ſecret and Natural Inclination (25). The Safety of the Prince includes that of his Relations, and his Faults reflect upon them; and therefore they endeavour to mend them, being moſt concerned to obſerve, and moſt free and bold to reprove them. Thus *Druſus* made it his buſineſs to diſcover what was diſliked at *Rome* in his Father, that he might correct it (26). And theſe Reaſons may ſerve to excuſe that Authority which ſome Popes have allowed their Nephews in the Management of Affairs. The Subject has, in the Heir, one to reward his Services; and, on the other ſide, he is afraid to offend the Father, who leaves a Son to inherit his Power and Quarrels (27). On this *Marcellus* grounded his Advice to *Priſcus*, not to pretend to preſcribe to *Veſpaſian*, a Man grown old in Triumphs, and the Father of many young Children (28).

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(22) *Quo pluribus munimentis inſiſteret*, Tac. Annal. l. 1. (23) *Non legiones, non claſſes, perinde firma imperii munimenta quàm numerum liberorum*, Tac Hiſt. l. 4. (24) *Quorum proſperis & alii fruantur, adverſa ad juſtiſſimos pertineant*, Tac. Hiſt. l. 4. (25) *Nam amicos tempore, fortuna, cupiſſinibus, aliquando aut erroribus imminui, transferri deſinere: ſuum cuique ſanguinem indiſcretum*, Tac. Hiſt. lib. 4. (26) *Utrumque in laudem Druſi trahebatur: ab eo in urbe inter cœtus & ſermones hominum obtrectante ſecreta patris mitigari*, Tac Annal. l 3. (27) He leaveth behind him an avenger againſt his enemies, and one that ſhould ſhew favour unto his friends, *Eccluſ.* 30. 6. (28) *Suadere etiam Priſco, ne ſupra Principem ſcanderet; ne Veſpaſianum ſenem triumphalem, juvenum liberorum Patrem præceptis coërceret*, Tac. Hiſt. l. 4.

The

The Hopes of the Riſing Sun makes the cold and gloomy Evenings of the Setting much more tolerable. Ambition is confounded, and Tyranny trembles. Liberty dare not break the Chain of Servitude, when ſhe ſees the Links continued in a long Train of Succeſſors. The Publick Repoſe is not diſturbed by Factions and Differences about the Succeſſion (29), every one already knowing that a new Phœnix muſt ariſe out of the Aſhes of the old one, and that even now this Succeſſor has taken Root, and got Strength, by making himſelf beloved and feared; as an old Tree ſhoots out of its Stump a young Sprig, which, in time, comes to grow in its place (30).

Nevertheleſs, if it lie in the Prince's Breaſt to appoint the Succeſſor, he is not to make ſuch uſe of this Advantage, as to preferr the Intereſt of his Kindred to that of the Publick. *Moſes*, diſtruſting the Abilities of his own Sons, left to God the Choice of a new Captain of his People (31): And *Galba* gloried, in having had more Regard to the Publick Good, than to his Family, and having choſen a Perſon out of the Commonwealth to ſucceed him (32). This is the laſt and greateſt Benefit the Prince is capable of doing his States, (as the ſame *Galba* told *Piſo* (33), when he Adopted him.) 'Tis a Noble Inſtance of the Prince's Generoſity, to ſtrive to make his Succeſſor better than himſelf. He has but a mean Opinion of his Merit, who ſeeks a Name only by the Vices of him that comes after, and by the Compariſon of one Reign with another. Herein *Auguſtus* himſelf was faulty, in chuſing

(29) *Intemperantia civitatis donec unus eligatur multos deſtinandi*, Tac. Hiſt. l. 2. (30) *Ex arbore annoſâ, & trunco novam producis quæ antequam antiqua decidat, jam radices & vires accepit*, Tol. de Rep. l. 7. c. 4. n. 1. (31) Let the Lord, the God of the ſpirits of all fleſh, ſet a man over the congregation, *Numb.* 27. 16. (32) *Sed Auguſtus in domo ſucceſſorem quæſivit; ego in Republica*, Tac. Hiſt. l. 1. (33) *Nunc ea neceſſitatis jampridem ventum eſt, ut res meæ ſenectus conferre plus populo Romano poſſit quam bonum ſucceſſorem, nec tua plus juventa quam bonum Principem*, Tac. Hiſt. l. 1.

Tiberius

Tiberius upon the ſame motive (34), without conſidering, that the glorious or infamous Actions of a Succeſſor are charged upon the Predeceſſor who was concerned in his Election.

This Care to provide a good Heir is a Natural Duty in Parents, and they ought to attend it with utmoſt Application, ſince in their Sons they in a manner live for ever: And indeed it were againſt Natural Reaſon to envy the Excellency of their own Image, or leave it unpoliſh'd. And though the Inſtitution of a Great Perſon be generally the Occaſion of Domeſtick Dangers, inaſmuch as Mens Ambition is proportion'd to the Capacity of their Souls (35); and though oftentimes, by the ſubverſion of the Ties of Reaſon and Nature, Children grow weary of expecting the Crown ſo long, and ſeeing the Time of their Pleaſure and Glory waſte, as it was with *Rhadamiſtus*, in the long Reign of his Father *Pharaſman*, King of *Iberia* (36); although too it was the Counſel of the Holy Spirit (37) to Fathers, not to give their Sons Liberty in their Youth, nor wink at their Follies: yet for all this, I ſay, a Father ought to ſpare no Pains that may contribute to the good Education of his Son, which is the ſecond Obligation of Nature, nor let fall his Hopes and Confidence for a few particular Caſes. No Prince was ever more jealous of his Children than *Tiberius*, yet he abſented himſelf from *Rome* to leave *Druſus* in his Place (38).

But if the Prince would prevent theſe Suſpicions by Politick Methods, let him allow his Son a part in the Adminiſtration of Affairs both Civil and Military, but never in the Diſpenſation of his Favours; for by

(34) *Ne Tiberium quidem caritate aut Reipublicæ cura ſucceſſorem adſciſcitum: ſed quoniam arrogantiam ſævitiamque introſpexerit, comparatione deterrima ſibi gloriam quæſiviſſe*, Tac. Annal. l. 1. (35) *Optimos quippe mortalium, altiſſima cupere*, Tac. Annal. l. 4. (36) *Is modicum Hyberiæ regnum ſenecta patris detineri, ferocius crebriuſque jactabat*, Tac. Annal. l. 12. (37) Give him no liberty in his youth, and wink not at his folly, *Eccluſ.* 30. 11. (38) *Ut amoto Patre, Druſus munia conſulatus ſolus impleret*, Tac. Annal. lib. 3.

the former the Applauſe of the People is not ſo much got, who are apt to be taken with the Liberal and Obliging Temper of the Son, a thing not very pleaſing to the Fathers who ſit on the Throne (39). In a word, he may be admitted into the Secrets of State, not into the Hearts of the Subjects. *Auguſtus*, who well underſtood this, when he deſired to have *Tiberius* made Tribune, commended him with ſo much Artifice, that he diſcovered his Faults in excuſing them (40). And it was believed that *Tiberius*, to render *Druſus* odious, and make him paſs for one of a cruel Temper, gave him leave to frequent the Sword-Plays (41); as he was glad when any Conteſt aroſe between his Sons and the Senate (42). But theſe Artifices are more hurtful and treacherous than becomes the Sincerity of a Father; it is more prudent to join with the young Prince ſome Confident, in whoſe Power the Direction and Management of Affairs may be: as *Veſpaſian* did, when he gave the Prætorſhip to his Son *Domitian*, and aſſigned *Mutian* for his Aſſiſtant (43). But if the Son ſhall ſeem to harbour great and enterpriſing Thoughts, ſuch as may give juſt Apprehenſion of ſome ambitious Deſign againſt the Reſpect due to a Father, out of impatience of his long life, the beſt way will be to employ him in ſome Undertaking that may wholly engage thoſe Thoughts, and cool the warmth and vigour of his Mind. It was this made *Pharaſman*, King of *Iberia*, put his Son *Rhadamiſtus* upon the Conqueſt of *Armenia* (44). But as this Caution of Honouring the Son, and employing him in Places of Difficulty, is abſolutely neceſſary, ſo alſo muſt care be taken to put the Command of the Armies

(39) *Diſſylicere regnantibus civilia filiorum ingenia*, Tac. Annal. l. 2. (40) *Quanquam honora oratione, quædam de habitu, cultuque & inſtitutis ejus jecerat, quæ velut excuſando exprobraret*, Tac. Annal. l. 1. (41) *Ad oſtentandam ſævitiam movendaſque populi offenſiones, conceſſam filio materiam*, Tac. Annal. l. 1. (42) *Latabatur Tiberius quum inter filios & leges Senatus diſceptaret*, Tac. Annal. l. 2. (43) *Cæſar Domitianus Prætoram cœpit. Ejus nomen epiſtolis edictiſque proponebatur, vis penes Mutianum erat*, Tac. Hiſt. l. 4. (44) *Igitur Pharaſmanes juvenem potentiæ promptæ & ſtudio popularium accinctum, vergentibus jam armis ſuis metuens, aliam ad ſpem trahere & Armeniam oſtentare*, Tac. Annal. l. 12.

in

in the Hand of another; for whoever is Maſter of them, rules the whole State. To this end, *Otho* gave his Brother *Titianus* the Name and Reputation of the Supreme Command, yet left all the Authority and real Power lodged in *Proculus* (45): And *Tiberius*, when the Senate had decreed *Germanicus* all the Provinces beyond the Seas, made *Piſo* Lieutenant of *Syria*, to be a Check to his Hopes and Deſigns (46). Indeed, the Conſtitution of States and Governments in *Europe* is ſuch, that there is little fear of thoſe Dangers; yet if the Genius of the Son ſhould be ſo violent and terrible, that the Remedies mentioned cannot ſufficiently provide for the Father's Security, let him conſider whether it be proper to apply that which *Philip* II. uſed with his only Son, *Don Carlos*, the execution of which made Politicks admire its own Power, ſtruck Nature with Amazement, and the whole World with Horrour.

But if he diſtruſt the Fidelity of his Subjects, becauſe of their Averſion to his Son, there is uſually no better Remedy than to have him educated in ſome other Court, and under the Protection of ſome greater Prince, (provided there be no danger of any Emulation between them) with whom he may afterwards eſtabliſh an Alliance. This Motive prevailed with *Phraates*, King of *Parthia*, to bring up *Vonones* in the Court of *Auguſtus* (47): Though this oftentimes produces a contrary effect, the People being apt to hate him afterwards as a Foreigner, who returns to them with ſtrange Manners, which was the Caſe of the ſame *Vonones* (48). In the Diſpoſal of his Dominions to his Children, the Prince cannot be too cautious; inaſmuch as it is ſometimes the Advancement, ſometimes the Ruine of a Kingdom, eſpecially in the Younger Sons, who generally envy the Elder his Prerogative, and in the Daughters matched with his own Subjects; whence ariſe Jealouſies and Uneaſineſſes, which end in Civil Wars. *Auguſtus*

(45) *Profecto Brixellum Othone, honor imperii penes Titianum fratrem, vis, ac poteſtas penes Proculum Præfectum*, Tac. Hiſt. l. 2. (46) *Qui Syriæ imponeretur, ad ſpes Germanici coercendas*, Tac. Annal. l. 2. (47) *Partemque prolis, firmandæ amicitiæ, miſerat: haud perinde noſtri metu, quam fidei popularium diffiſus*, Tac. Annal. l. 2. (48) *Quamvis gentis Arſacidarum, ut externum aſpernabantur*, Tac. Annal. l. 2.

reflecting upon this, refuſed his Daughter to a *Roman* Knight, who might occaſion Diſturbance (49), and propoſed *Proculejus*, and others, who lived a calm and retired Life, and intermedled not with Affairs of State (50).

The Choice of a Tutor for the Son who is to ſucceed in his Non-age is another thing, which demands all the Skill and Prudence the Father is Maſter of, there being nothing more expoſed to Caſualties than that; as we ſee preſent, and read of paſt Examples of many Princes, who, during their Minority, have loſt their Lives and Kingdoms, at leaſt been reduced to great Diſtreſs (51). For if the Guardianſhip be left to the Mother, though that may be looked upon as moſt ſecure, yet the Prudence and Experience requiſite for ſuch a Task are rarely to be met with in a Woman, and moſt of that Sex want Courage to awe Subjects, and gain Reſpect. But ſhould it fall to the Uncle, Ambition of Rule is wont to break the ſtrongeſt and moſt cloſe Ties of Blood. If it light upon the Miniſters, every one of them is wholly devoted to his private Intereſt, which occaſions Diviſions among them. Beſides, Subjects deſpiſe the Government of their Equals, which is the Riſe of Troubles, and Civil Commotions; and therefore out of all theſe Dangers and Inconveniencies the Prince muſt chuſe the leaſt, conſidering the Nature of the State, and of the Perſons moſt capable of the Education of his Son, and picking out a Claſs of Subjects, whereby the Security of the Pupil may be ſo provided for, that they cannot poſſibly unite and conſpire to ruine him. In this Caſe it is highly requiſite that they be immediately brought into Buſineſs, who are to have, after the Father's Death, the Tuition and Guidance of the Heir, and Adminiſtration of the Government.

Nor is it the Prince's only Duty to get the Succeſſor ſecured and inſtructed, but he is alſo to prevent the Accidents of his new Government, and their ill Conſequence;

(49) *Immenſumque attolli proviſeret quem conjunctione tali ſuper alios extuliſſet*, Tac. Annal. l. 4. (50) *Proculejum, & quoſdam in ſermonibus habuit, inſigni tranquillitate vitæ nullis Reip negotiis permixtos*, Tac. Annal. l. 4. (51) Wo to thee, O land, when thy king is a child, *Eccleſ.* 10. 16.

for

for when the Sails are changed the Ship is endanger'd; and by the Introduction of New Forms, Nature ſuffers; becauſe Things end faintly, but begin with vigour: 'Tis from this Viciſſitude of Things that thoſe Dangers proceed which threaten upon the meeting of the Waves of both Reigns, as it happens when one rapid River runs violently into another of an equal Current. The Authority of the Succeſſor is eaſily loſt, and Conſpiracies and Innovations contriv'd againſt him (52); and therefore the Prince ſhould endeavour to make the latter part of his Reign ſo calm, that the new one may be entred on without the leaſt hazard: and as Seamen, when they enter the Port, quit their Oars, and furl their Sails; ſo ought he to cloſe his Government, by laying aſide all thoughts of Enterprizes and Wars, by confirming ancient Alliances, and making new ones, particularly with his Neighbours, that Peace may be ſetled in his Realms.

'Tis no leſs worthy Praiſe, when Age draws on,
To ſettle Peace and Quietneſs at Home;
That no Inteſtine Broils ſubvert the State,
Or pow'rful Neighbours War without create. *

Let him diſſemble Injuries, as *Tiberius* did with *Getulicus* (53), and *Philip* II. with *Ferdinand de Medicis*; for at ſuch a time the moſt prudent Princes order a Rainbow to be put over their Tombs, for a Token of Peace to their Succeſſors, not a Lance fixed in the Earth, to prompt them to revenge their Quarrels, as the *Athenians* uſed to do. Let him govern his foreign Provinces with Counſel and Addreſs, not Arms (54); and ſee that the Governors he ſets over them be Eloquent, Lovers of Peace, and unexperienc'd in War, leſt they kindle it, as it was done in the time of *Galba* (55). Let him compoſe

(52) *Quando auſuros expoſcere remedia, niſi novum, & nitantem adhuc Principem, precibus vel armis adirent*, Tac. Annal. l. 1.

(53) *Multaque gratia manſit reputante Tiberio publicum ſibi odium, extremam ætatem, magiſque fama quam vi ſtare res ſuas*, Tac. Annal. l. 6.

(54) *Conſilis & aſtu res externas moliri, arma procul habere*, Tac. Annal. l. 6.

(55) *Hiſpaniæ præerat Cluvius Rufus vir facundus, & pacis artibus, belli inexpertus*, Tac. Hiſt. l. 1.

* Taſſo.

the Minds of his Subjects, and reconcile their Differences; protect them from Injuries, moderate their Taxes, and remove all Novelties odious to the People. Let him make choice of prudent Miniſters, Friends to Peace and the Publick Quiet; for by this means his Subjects Minds being formed to Eaſe, and gentle Uſage, will promiſe themſelves the ſame from the Succeſſor, and ſo not attempt any Innovation.

EMBLEM CI.

MAny great Men have laboured, by Speculation and Experience, to form the Idea of a Perfect Prince. It hath required whole Ages to faſhion this Royal *Porcelain*, this Noble Veſſel of Earth, no leſs brittle than others, and

and more ſubject to Caſualties than any; particularly when the Potter is of the School of *Machiavel*, whence all come out diſtorted, and of ſhort continuance, as that was which he laid down as a Model of the reſt.

The Deſign of theſe *Emblems* has been to ſet off that Purple, whoſe Scarlet Dye ſoon turns to Aſhes; they began at the Cradle, and end at the Tomb. They are the Parentheſis of Man's Life, which the leaſt clauſe of Time includes; nor is it eaſie to determine which Hour is the moſt happy, that wherein the Eyes are open to the Day of Life, or that in which they are cloſed to the Night of Death (1), ſince the one is the beginning, the other the end of our Labours; and however great the difference may be betwixt *being* and *not being*, yet the Material Part of Man only feels that, not the Form, which is Immortal, and improved by Death. The Dread we have of the Grave is natural; but had Reaſon more influence on us than Deſire of Living, we ſhould rejoyce at the ſight of it, as thoſe do, who looking for Treaſures, find urns, being ſure to meet with Riches there (2); for it is in the Grave that the Soul finds the real Treaſure of Eternal Reſt. This *Simon Maccabæus* ſignified by that Hieroglyphick of *Ships* carved upon the Pillars he ſet about the *Mauſoleum* of his Father and Brothers (3); intimating, that the Ship of our Life floating upon the Billows of the World, is never quiet till landed at the Shore of Death. In effect, what is Life but a perpetual Fear of Death? without any thing to aſſure us of its continuance. Many Signs portend the Approach of Death, not one exactly marks out the Bounds of Life. The moſt flouriſhing Age and ſtrongeſt Conſtitution are not ſufficient Sureties for one Hour of Health. The Heart, which performs the part of a Balance in this Clock of the Body, points indeed to

(1) And the day of death, than the day of birth, *Eccleſ.* 7. 1. (2) And dig for it more than for rich treaſure, which rejoyce exceedingly, and are glad when they can find the grave, *Job* 3. 21, 22. (3) And ſet great pillars round about them, and ſet arms upon the pillars, for a perpetual memory, and carved ſhips beſides the arms, 1 *Maccab.* 13. 29.

the preſent Hours, but never to the future. Nor ought this Incertainty to be termed Diſdain, but rather a Favour of Nature; for were the preciſe Time determined for Death as it is for Birth, for the Diſſolution as for the Formation of the Body, Man would become Inſolent to Reaſon; and therefore ſhe has not only given him one ſure Minute to breath in, but, on the contrary, hath in all things imaginable laid before him Evidences of the Shortneſs of Life: The Earth repreſents it to him in the Youth of its Flowers, and Gray-Hairs of its Harveſts; the Water, in the Rapidneſs of its Current; the Air, in the Fires it kindles, and extinguiſhes again in a moment; and the Heavens, in that Prince of Light which the ſame Day ſees riſe in the golden Cradle of the Eaſt, and ſet in the dark Tomb of the Weſt. But if Death be the laſt of all Evils, that it comes not too late is to be eſteem'd a Happineſs. The ſhorter the Interval is between the Cradle and the Tomb, the ſhorter is the Courſe of our Labours; and therefore *Job* wiſhed he had been immediately carried from the Womb of his Mother to that of the Earth (4). We are bound as ſoon as born, and all our Life-time after involved in Cares (5); nor have Kings, in this, any Privilege above the reſt of Mankind *. Did Humane Felicity conſiſt in long Life, Man would undoubtedly out-live the Stag; for it were abſurd that any Creature ſhould be happier than him, for whoſe Service they were all created (6). That Natural Deſire we have of ſeeing Hours paſs ſwiftly away, is an Argument that it is not Time which makes our Happineſs; for then would the Mind find its Reſt in that: whatever it deſires out of Time, it always wants. In Princes, more than in others, as they are expoſed to greater Accidents, Experience ſhews, that in a long Life

(4) Wherefore then haſt thou brought me forth out of the womb? O that I had given up the Ghoſt, and no eye had ſeen me, I ſhould have been as though I had not been, I ſhould have been carried from the womb to the grave, *Job* 10. 18, 19. (5) I was nouriſhed in ſwadling cloaths and with cares, *Wiſd.* 7. 4. * For there is no king that hath an other beginning of birth, *Wiſd.* 7. 5. (6) *Ita ſas omnes feras hominum cauſa factas natura fuiſſe neceſſe eſt*, Ariſt. Pol l. 1. c 5.

Fortune

Fortune is endanger'd, ſhe being tired as much with being propitious, as with being adverſe. *Lewis* XI. had been a happy Prince, had he ended his Days before the Calamities of his laſt Years. Sovereignty is a kind of tempeſtuous Sea, not to be kept calm by a long Courſe of Life; he who lives longeſt, ſuffers moſt Storms and Dangers. But if we conſider the End and Perfection of Nature, a long Life is happy, when, according to the Teſtimony of *Job*, it comes into the Grave in its Maturity, as Corn into the Barn (7), before Decrepidneſs makes it wither; for with the Shadow of Death the Vital Spirits congeal, and the Body remains uſeleſs. The trembling Hand can no longer ſteer the Helm of the State, the Eye perceive the Clouds of Heaven, the Courſe of the Winds, and the Rocks of the Sea, nor the Ear hear the Barkings of *Scylla* and *Carybdis*. Amidſt ſo many Miſeries of Nature, Conſtancy fails the Prince; and being reduced, by the Moiſture of the Senſes, to a ſecond Infancy, he believes every thing, and ſuffers himſelf to be govern'd by Malice, which is then moſt awake in thoſe about him, who at ſuch a time offend with equal Profit and Impunity (8). Women get Poſſeſſion of his Will, as *Livia* did of *Auguſtus*'s, when ſhe made him baniſh his Nephew *Agrippa* (9), bringing him to ſuch a paſs, that he who before knew how to maintain the whole World in Peace, became incapable of ruling his own Family (10). By this means Majeſty is made the Deriſion of all Men, of which *Galba* was an Inſtance (11). Other Nations deſpiſe him, and are not afraid to riſe up againſt him, as *Arbanus* did againſt *Tiberius* (12). The Authority of a decrepid Prince is loſt, and his Orders

(7) Thou ſhalt come to thy grave in a full age, like as a ſhock of corn cometh in, in his ſeaſon. *Job* 5. 26. *ſecund. Septuagint.* (8) *Cum apud infirmum & credulam, minore metu & majore præmio peccaretur*, Tac. Hiſt. l. 1. (9) *Nam ſenem Auguſtum devinxerat, adeo, ut Nepotem unicum Agrippam Poſthumum in inſulam Planaſiam projiceret*, Tac. Annal. l. 1. (10) *Nulla in præſens formidine dum Auguſtus ætate validus, ſeque & domum, & pacem ſuſtentavit, poſtquam profecta jam ſenectus & ægro corpore fatigabatur, adeundæque finis, & ſpes novæ; pauci bona libertatis incaſſum diſſerere*, Ibid. (11) *Ipſa ætas Galbæ, & irriſui & faſtidio erat*, Tac. Hiſt. l. 1. (12) *Senectutem Tiberii ut inermem deſpiciens*, Tac. Hiſt. l. 6.

diſregarded,

diſregarded, becauſe not taken for his own, as it was thought of thoſe of *Tiberius* (13). He is hated by the People, who look upon him as an unprofitable Inſtrument, the Source of all the Evils the Government ſuffers: And as Love is in a manner bred by Intereſt, and brought up by Hope, all make ſlight of him; inaſmuch as he is not able to give much, who hath but a little while to live. His Empire is accounted precarious, and ſhort lived, as that of *Galba* was (14); and the Miniſters, like the Goſs-Hawks of *Norway*, that they may get the day, lay their Pounces upon the Publick Treaſures, ſelling Places and Favours, as the Servants of the ſame Emperor did (15). When therefore the Age is come to this paſs, the Prince has more need of Inſtructions to make him ſenſible of his inability, and reſign the weight of the Government to his Succeſſor, than of Precepts to continue it to himſelf. Let not Ambition delude him, by the Repreſentation of his paſt Character and Applauſe; for Men conſider not the Prince as he was, but as he now is: Nor is it enough to have once made himſelf feared, if he cannot do it now; nor to have governed well heretofore, if he neither is able nor knows how to govern well ſtill. Dominion is like the Sea, which immediately caſts on Shore all unprofitable Carkaſſes. The Prince is eſteemed for the Form of the Soul with which he Ordains, Commands, Rewards and Puniſhes; ſo that when Age comes to diſcompoſe that Form, the Eſteem vaniſhes; and therefore it will be prudent to acknowledge the Injuries and Contempts of Age in time, and ſo ſlip from them before they arrive. If the Prince and Buſineſs muſt part, it is better that he bid the firſt adieu. 'Tis a glorious Action to ſubmit to own one's Frailty, and voluntarily diveſt one's ſelf of Grandeur, before Death takes it away by Force; leſt it ſhould be ſaid, that he died unknown by himſelf, who

(13) *Falſas literas, & Principe invito exitium domui ejus intendi clamitat*, Tac. Annal l. 5. (14) *Precarium ſibi imperium & brevi tranſiturum*, Tac. Hiſt. l. 1. (15) *Fam afferebant venalia cuncta, præpotentes liberti. Servorum manus ſubditis avidæ, & tanquam apud ſenem feſtinantes*, Tac. Hiſt. l. 1.

lived

lived known by all Men. He ſhould conſider, that his Royal Scepter is like the Herb of the ſame Name, which in a little time turns to Worms (16): and that if the whole Globe of the Earth be no more than a Point, in compariſon of the Heavens; What will one Monarchy, one Kingdom be? And though this were never ſo large, yet he can have no more of it than a Place to bury him in (17), or, as *Saladin* ſaid, a *Shrowd*, without carrying away with him any other Glory. The Prince is not to live always for the Commonwealth, he ſhould reſerve ſome Time to himſelf, and endeavour, that at the ſetting of his Life the Horizon of Death may be cleared from the Vapours of Ambition, and the Clouds of Paſſion and Intereſt, as is expreſſed by the *Sun* in this Emblem, taken from the Sepulchre of *Joſhua*, upon which a Repreſentation of that Planet was raiſed, with this difference only, that there it was put in memory of its ſtanding ſtill, at the Voice of this Great Captain (18); here, to ſignifie, that as a Clear and Fair Evening is an infallible Sign of the Serenity of the next Morning, ſo a Reign ended in Sanctity and Happineſs, portends, that he who is to ſucceed will be alſo happy, for a Reward to the Vertue, and by the irreſiſtible Efficacy of this laſt Example. The Art of Living and Dying well, that glorious Retirement of the Emperor *Charles* V. may teach, who ſo far laid aſide all Publick Cares, that he never ſo much as enquired after the State of his Monarchy, but brought his great Soul, otherwiſe made for brave Atchievements, to the dreſſing of a Garden, or to divert the Hours (after his Spiritual Exerciſe performed) at ſome Ingenious Art or other.

But if there are any Diſputes or Revolutions to be apprehended upon account of the Succeſſion, it will be Prudence in the Perſons preſent at the King's Death to keep it ſecret, and make that and the Poſſeſſion of the Succeſſor publick at one time. For in ſuch Caſes the People are like a Colt not broke, which ſuffers not the Saddle, unleſs it

(16) Theophr. l. de Plant. (17) My breath is corrupt, my days are extinct, the graves are ready for me, *Job* 17. 1. (18) And the ſun ſtood ſtill, and the moon ſtayed, *Joſh.* 10. 13.

be

be laid on before he ſees it. Thus *Livia* concealed the Death of *Auguſtus*, until *Tiberius* was ſetled in his Place (19); as *Agrippina* did that of *Claudius*, with ſo much Diſſimulation, that even after his Deceaſe a Senate was convened in his Name, and Prayers offered for his Health, till Time was gained to contrive *Nero*'s Succeſſion (20). The Death of the Prince being made known, neither Piety nor Prudence diſſuade from Tears, and Demonſtrations of Sorrow. The Holy Ghoſt, far from forbidding, recommends them (21). All the People of *Iſrael* lamented the Death of *Abner*, and *David* followed his Corps to the Grave (22). For though there want not Chriſtian Conſiderations to comfort us; and though there hath been heretofore a Nation, which, leſs enlightned with the Rays of Immortality, received thoſe with Tears who came into the World, and took leave of them that went out of it with Rejoycings; yet theſe Reaſons ſtand good only on their ſide who are gone to a better Life, but are not for thoſe who are left alone, and deprived of their Services and Converſation. Even our Saviour *Chriſt* going to raiſe *Lazarus*, wept over his Sepulchre (23). Theſe laſt Expreſſions of Grief muſt not be denied the Tenderneſs and Reſentments of Nature: They are the Scales wherein the Merit of the deceas'd Prince is weighed, and whereby may be known what Value his Subjects had for him; in a word, the Touch-ſtone on which their Love and Obedience is tried, which ſtrengthens the Links of Subjection, and gives Heart to the Succeſſor. Yet for all this, the People muſt not be obliged to an expenſive Mourning, for fear their Prince's Death ſhould turn to a burthenſom Tax.

Not, however, that Funeral Pomp, and magnificent Tombs, adorned with Statues, and coſtly Imboſſed Works, are to be look'd on as a meer Vanity of Princes; they are

(19) *Simul exceſſiſſe Auguſtum, & rerum potiri Neronem fama eadem tulit*, Tac. Annal. l. 1. (20) *Dum res ſimulando Neronis imperio companuntur*, Tac. Annal. l. 12. (21) My ſon, pour forth tears over the dead, *Eccluſ.* 38.16. (22) Mourn before Abner: and king David himſelf followed the bier, 2 *Sam.* 3.31. (23) Jeſus wept, *Joh.* 11.35.

rather

rather a generous piece of Piety, which marks out the laſt Bounds of Humane Greatneſs, and ſhews, in the Magnificence wherewith their Aſhes are honoured, what Reſpect is owing to Majeſty; Sepulchres being no other than a kind of mute Hiſtory of the Royal Race (24). The Obſequies of *David* and *Solomon* were celebrated with extraordinary Pomp and Splendour.

In the Funerals of private Perſons great Care is required, becauſe Superſtitions prejudicial to Religion are eaſily introduced, the Imagination being deluded in what is hoped or feared from the Deceaſed; and for that Funeral Charges are things which happen every day, and concern many, it is abſolutely neceſſary they ſhould be moderated, Sorrow and Vain-glory being apt to raiſe them too high. *Plato* ſet a certain Rate upon the Building of Sepulchres, as did *Solon* alſo, and after them the *Romans*. King *Philip* II. made a Law to regulate the Abuſes and Exceſſes of Funerals and Monuments; ſaying, That what was laid out ſuperfluouſly upon them, were better given to pious Uſes, and to pray for the Souls of the Deceaſed.

Thus far Your Highneſs has ſeen the Birth, Death, and Burial of the Prince whom theſe *Emblems* form; being, as it were, preſent at the Building of this Politick Edifice, from the very Foundation, to the laſt Stone.

And now, that Your Highneſs may with more eaſe take a Review of the whole Fabrick, I have thought convenient to ſubjoin here a kind of Platform thereof, or Looking-Glaſs, wherein it may be repreſented, as a greater City is in a leſſer. This ſhall be King *Ferdinand the Catholick*, one of Your Royal Highneſſes's Anceſtors; in whoſe glorious Reign, all the Arts both of Peace and War flouriſhed, and Accidents both of proſperous and adverſe Fortune occurred. The Infancy of this Great King was ripe and vigorous, his Youth employed in Military Exerciſes; and what Art and Induſtry could not perfect in

(24) *Quamodo imaginibus ſuis noſcantur, quas nec victor quidem abolevit, ſi. partem memoriæ apud ſcriptores retinent*, Tac. Annal. l. 4.

him,

him, Experience ſupplied. His very Leiſure was Employment; and his Diverſions, Attention of Mind. He was abſolute Maſter of his Paſſions, following more the Dictates of Policy, than his own Natural Inclinations. He own'd his Grandeur to be from God only; and gloried in his own Actions, not thoſe of his Anceſtors. He look'd on Sovereignty rather as a Charge than a Succeſſion. He quieted his Realms by Diligence, and Perſonal Preſence, rais'd his Monarchy by Valour and Prudence, eſtabliſh'd it by Religion and Juſtice, ſupported it by Love and Reſpect, embelliſh'd it with Arts and Sciences, enrich'd it by Trade and Husbandry, and eterniz'd it by Maxims and Inſtitutions truly Politick. He was a King as well of his Court as Kingdoms, and Maſter as well at Home as Abroad. He temper'd his Liberality with Frugality, Affability with Authority, Modeſty with Gravity, and Clemency with Juſtice. By puniſhing ſome few, he terrified many; and by rewarding others, he encourag'd the Hopes of all. Perſonal Affronts he eaſily pardon'd, but thoſe which ſtruck at the Royal Dignity he never forgave. The Injuries done to his Subjects he reveng'd as his own, behaving himſelf always as a Father to them. He valu'd his Glory more than his Dominion; but was neither puft up by Proſperity, nor dejected by Adverſity: In the one he fortify'd himſelf againſt the other; and when Fortune frown'd, he us'd all his Induſtry to retrieve her Favour. He made uſe of Time, not Time of him; and though he ſubmitted to Neceſſity, he made it ſubſervient to his own Advantage. His Conduct render'd him both belov'd and fear'd of all. He gave Audience with readineſs; Hearing, that he might know; and asking Queſtions, for his more certain Information. He truſted not his Enemies, and was reſerv'd even with his Friends. His Friendſhip was Conveniency; his Kindred, Reaſon of State; his Confidence vigilant; his Diffidence conſiderate; his Providence, Aſſurance; his Jealouſy, Circumſpection; his Malice, a Defence; and his Diſſimulation, a Refuge. He deceived none, yet others were deceived by the Ambiguity

biguity of his Words and Treaties, which he knew how to manage with ſo much Artifice (when it was neceſſary to baffle Malice with Prudence) as to be able to extricate himſelf without violating the Publick Faith. Neither Falſhood dared attack his Majeſty, nor Flattery his Knowledge. He made his Miniſters ſerviceable to him, without making them Favourites; and ſuffer'd himſelf to be counſel'd, not govern'd by them. What he could do himſelf, he committed not to others. He took Time for Conſultation, but was very Expeditious in Execution. In his Reſolutions the Effects were ſeen ſooner than the Cauſes. He conceal'd his Deſigns from his Embaſſadors, when he deſir'd, that being deceiv'd themſelves, they ſhould more effectually perſuade others the contrary. He knew how to rule with his Queen, and obey his Son-in-Law. He impoſed Taxes through Neceſſity, not out of Avarice and Luxury; and what he then took from the Church, he afterwards reſtor'd, reſpecting the Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction, and maintaining the Regal. He kept no fixed Court, but, like the Sun, mov'd continually about the Orbs of his Realms. He manag'd Peace with Moderation and Integrity, and proſecuted War with Force and Stratagem, neither deſiring the one, nor refuſing the other. Whatſoever his Foot was fixed on, his Arm and Conduct join'd in the Defence thereof, encreaſing his Strength by the Spoils of his Enemies. He did as much by his Negotiations, as by his Arms, never committing to the Sword, what he could conquer by Addreſs. He plac'd the Oſtentation of his Grandeur and Pomp in the Bravery of his Battalions. He was always preſent, in time of War, within his Kingdoms. The ſame Orders which he gave, he obſerv'd himſelf; and made Leagues ſo as to remain Arbiter, not ſubject. He was neither exalted when Conqueror; nor when beaten, diſpirited. He Sign'd Treaties of Peace under the Shield. In a word, He liv'd to all the World, and dy'd to himſelf; yet always remaining, in the memory of Men, as an abſolute Pattern for Princes, and Immortalizing himſelf in the Deſire of his Subjects.

THis naked Skull of Death, the diſmal Scene,
Which now the ſimple Spider meaſures o're
With its ſlight Web; which baffled heretofore
The niceſt Subtilties of Humane Brain,

Once wore a Di'dem, and triumphant ſtood,
As Monarch of the Arts of Peace and War:
His Smiles gave Life; his Anger dire Deſpair;
And all the World depended on its Nod.

What once gave proudly Laws to War and Peace,
Spiders and Ear-wigs do now poſſeſs.
Why then this Pride, O Princes, ſince the Grave
Makes no Diſtinction 'twixt the Baſe and Brave,
Betwixt the mighty Prince and wretched Slave?

On

On the Author and his Book, in Alluſion to the EMBLEM.

WHither ſo faſt, vain Man? 'ſore out of breath,
Stop, and behold this lively Scene of Death.
The Head thou ſeeſt was Great Saavedra's *once,*
A greater Name no Rhetorick can pronounce.
Here Piety with Policy were join'd.
Here Honour, Sence and Learning were combin'd,
Falſe Machiavilian *Notions to convince,*
And form at once a Wiſe and Vertuous Prince.
Where now, alas! Worms having eat it bare,
The Death-watch Spiders ſpread their curious Hair,
And with their Bowels nobly re-interr.
Scepters and Crowns here tumbled down you ſee;
A trifling Loſs to one ſo Great as He:
But ſince this Work remains, the World may cry,
Death, where's thy Sting? Grave, where's thy Victory?

FINIS.